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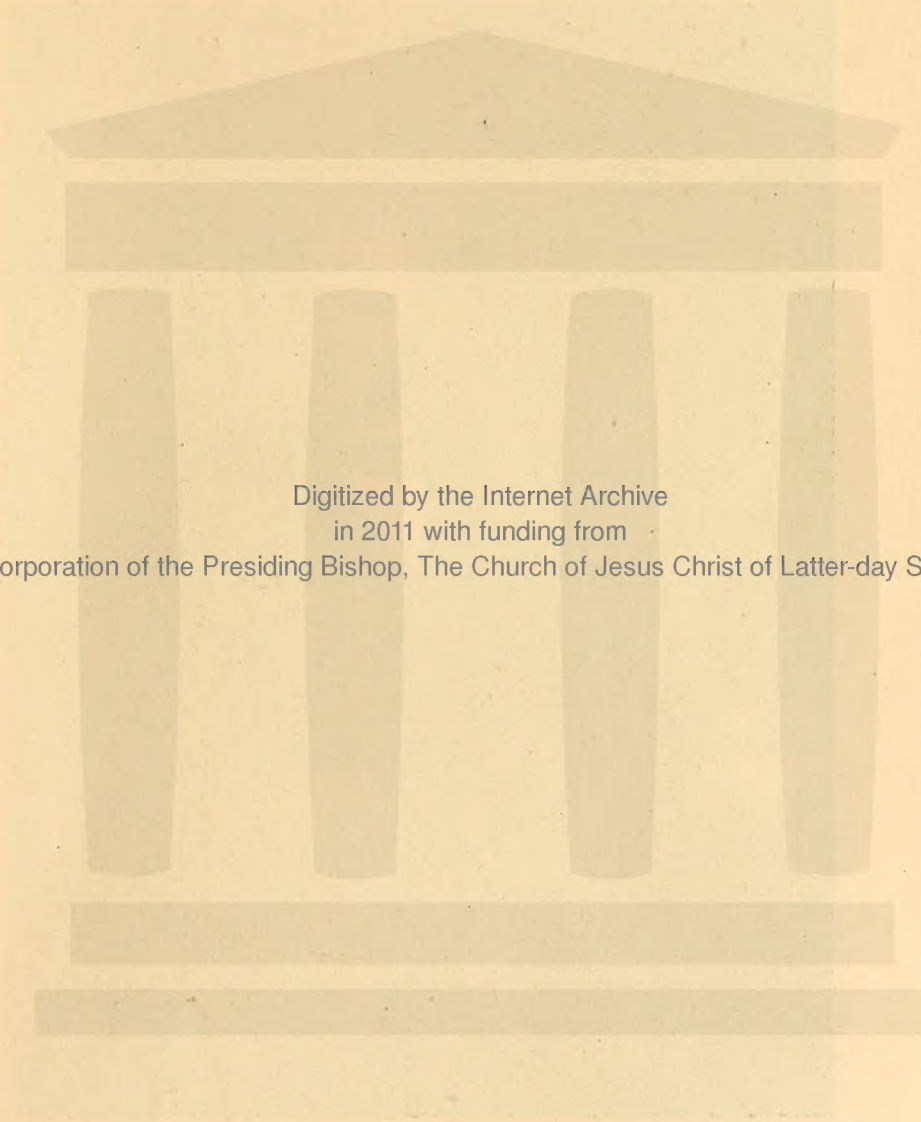
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Abraham Lincoln

AMERICANA

February, 1912

Abraham Lincoln: An Example of Patriotism and Self Education

BY THOMAS S. LONERGAN

ABRAMHAM LINCOLN was born of poor and humble parents, in a log cabin in a wilderness of Kentucky. When he was seven years of age, his family moved to Indiana, two years after which his mother died. Almost a half century later, when he was President, he said to Seward with tears in his eyes: "All that I am, all that I hope to be, I owe to my angel mother."

For fourteen years the family lived in the backwoods of Indiana, during which time the future President worked as a farm laborer on his father's miserable acres or "hired out to" the neighboring farmers. His formal schooling did not amount to more than a year, but he had an insatiable thirst for knowledge, and his real schooling continued for many years. Books were few in that community, but the Bible, "Pilgrim's Progress," "Aesop's Fables," Burns and a life of Washington came within his reach, and he devoured and studied the contents of those great books during his leisure hours. We are told that he traveled six miles to borrow an English grammar. Before he reached man's estate, he knew the poems of the Scotch ploughman by heart, and his mind was thoroughly saturated with the language and literature of the Old and New Testaments.

In 1830, the family moved to Illinois, and in the following year Lincoln made a second trip, in a flat boat, to New Orleans. While there he saw negroes sold under the hammer of the auctioneer, and heard the profane and obscene language of the bru-

tal wretches who surrounded the auction block. The sale of a beautiful octoroon girl was so revolting that it drove the iron into his soul and aroused all the chivalry of his kindly nature.

The first half of Lincoln's life was a hard struggle for existence and self-education. In 1834 he was elected to the Legislature, and in 1836 was admitted to the bar, for law and politics went hand in hand in those days. He soon acquired an extensive practice and became a good all-round lawyer—never a profoundly learned lawyer, but an honest lawyer, which was much better. He took a keen interest in state and national politics and, within a comparatively short period after entrance into public life, became one of the best political speakers in Illinois.

From 1836 to 1860, the slave power, through the political sagacity and eloquence of Stephen A. Douglas, practically controlled the public sentiment of Illinois. Lincoln and Douglas were political rivals both in the Legislature, in Congress and in the forum of public debate.

During Lincoln's whole career he was heart and soul opposed to slavery. He recognized, to the full, the fundamental principle of the Declaration of Independence that all men are created equal and are entitled to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. That doctrine was the bed-rock of his political principles, and like Wendell Phillips, he could never resort to subterfuge or deception in its interpretation.

The series of joint debates between Lincoln and Douglas, in 1858, attracted the attention of the whole country. Both men were skilful debaters and brilliant orators. Two intellectual giants met in the political arena, each with absolute confidence in himself. Lincoln's powerful arguments carried conviction everywhere. He saw with unerring accuracy that the coming conflict was irrepressible, and accepted the inevitable conclusion; for in one of the debates he used these words: "A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free." On another occasion he exclaimed: "Those who deny freedom to others deserve it not for themselves, and under a just God cannot long retain it."

In February, 1860, Abraham Lincoln delivered a remarkable

speech in Cooper Union before a great audience which included many of the great men of the time. William Cullen Bryant presided, and the learning and culture of New York city were well represented on that occasion, to see and hear the rail splitter of Illinois. He electrified that great gathering and won a signal triumph for himself and the cause he represented.

We must bear in mind that, when Lincoln was elected President, the slave power, which had ruled this country for sixty years, would not accept the result. The commercial interests held aloof, and the financial classes bought government bonds at forty cents on the dollar. Had Lincoln relied on those classes, the Republic would have perished and slavery would have triumphed, but a million men came forward to defend the flag and save the Republic. Those men came from the farms, the workshops and the school-houses, and they swore by the Eternal that this Republic should live, or they would sleep in Southern graves. Every student of history knows, or ought to know, that no great social or political reform has ever yet been won by those who seek to profit from wrong and injustice.

When Lincoln assumed the duties of the presidency on the 4th of March, 1861, he faced responsibilities greater than those that fell on the shoulders of Washington; but he was equal to the emergency. There has never yet been a great crisis in the history of this country, when some man was not found equal to the occasion.

For four long years, Lincoln appealed to the plain people, whom he loved so well, to "rally round the flag," and he did not appeal in vain. The boys in blue were "his boys," and he watched over them with a father's solicitude. His sympathies went out to them, and to their wives and little ones, because he himself was one of them.

Early in the war a young soldier was sentenced to be shot for sleeping at his post as sentinel. His friends appealed to the President, and as usual a pardon was granted. One year later, the body of that self-same soldier boy was found among the dead on the battlefield of Fredericksburg, with a photograph of Lincoln nearest to his heart, on which he had written: "God bless President Lincoln."

On the 21st of November, 1864, Abraham Lincoln wrote with his own hand to Mrs. Bixby of Boston, the following touching letter:

“Dear Madam:

I have been shown in the files of the War Department a statement of the Adjutant General of Massachusetts that you are the mother of five sons who have died gloriously on the field of battle. I feel how weak and fruitless must be any word of mine which should attempt to beguile you from the grief of a loss so overwhelming. But I cannot refrain from tendering to you the consolation that may be found in the thanks of the republic they died to save. I pray that our Heavenly Father may assuage the anguish of your bereavement, and leave you only the cherished memory of the loved and lost, and the solemn pride that must be yours to have laid so costly a sacrifice upon the altar of freedom.”

Lincoln's Proclamation of Emancipation was a master stroke of statesmanship. That document alone would immortalize his name. If politics is the science of government, and statesmanship the art of government, then Lincoln was a politician and statesman of the highest type, as well as a patriot and lover of liberty.

The Civil War lasted for four long years. Hundreds of thousands of lives were lost and billions of treasure spent to preserve the union and abolish slavery. All through that terrible conflict Lincoln was the guiding spirit, the master mind, and the first to recognize the military genius of Grant and Sherman and Sheridan.

The ninth day of April, 1865, witnessed the surrender of Lee at Appomattox, and, five days later, Abraham Lincoln was struck down by the hand of an assassin. What a cruel ending to so illustrious a career! But his fame is secure, and future generations will cherish his memory and eulogize his great achievements.

A man's greatness must be treasured by his services to humanity. One master mind is worth a million hands. Lincoln

was the "choice and master spirit of the age" and a glorious type of American Democracy.

We owe Illinois an eternal debt of gratitude for giving Lincoln to the nation and to mankind. It is fitting and proper that his ashes should repose in the capital of that great State, where for ages to come, pilgrims will visit his grave and decorate with flowers the noble monument erected to his memory by a grateful people.

Dr. Samuel Johnson, the famous English litterateur once said that "patriotism was the last refuge of a scoundrel." That may be a good epigram, but, on general principles, it is not true and it never was. I believe that true patriotism is one of the sublime virtues, implanted by the Almighty in the heart of man. It was patriotism that immortalized Sparta and made Rome mistress of the world. It was patriotism that enabled William Tell to defeat 20,000 Austrians and set Switzerland free. It was patriotism that compelled the colonists to rally round the standard of George Washington, thereby winning American independence. It was patriotism that animated the heroism of Tone and Emmet to sacrifice their lives upon the altar of their country. It was patriotism that enabled Andrew Jackson to achieve a glorious triumph for American valor at New Orleans; and, last but not least, it was patriotism that fired Lincoln's imagination, inspired his majestic eloquence, and made him the idol of the common people.

The value of patriotism to a people is far more precious than silver and gold—far more important than wealth and territory. Extinguish patriotism in the American heart to-morrow and the power and glory of our common country would soon vanish into thin air. In these times, which seem to be out of joint, it is most essential that we should keep the fires of American patriotism burning brightly in our hearts, so "that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

I look to our public and parochial schools, throughout this broad land, to instill the true spirit of patriotism into the hearts and minds of the rising generation and also to infuse into their minds a sense of truth and justice, coupled with high ideals.

Character-building is the highest function of education. If our schools fail in that one particular, our whole system of education may become a curse instead of a blessing. Character was the secret of Lincoln's marvelous success. We may admire men of genius, but they must possess character before they can command our entire respect and confidence.

We have no idea how many men are spoiled by what is called the higher education. Some one has said that, if Shakespeare had gone to Oxford, he might have lived a quibbling lawyer, or a hypocritical parson. Had Lincoln gone to college, his education there might have ruined his natural genius and narrowed his broad, human sympathies.

By hard work and indomitable perseverance Lincoln rose from the lowest station in life to the highest position in the gift of a free people. His career is an inspiration to every poor boy who is struggling to rise above his surroundings, and proves, if proof were needed, that "America spells opportunity."

Genius has been defined as the capacity for taking infinite pains, and that kind of genius Lincoln possessed to an eminent degree. His intellect and character were developed not so much from books, as from what Schiller calls the "every day education." Lincoln was a born leader of men. He understood the human heart in all its moods and tenses. He was the personification of the hopes and aspirations of the common people, who believed in him and followed his leadership.

We find to-day, in the land of Lincoln, that the spirit of commercialism is eating like a cancer into the vitals of the American people, and the spirit of plutocracy is freezing up the genial current of the soul. Lofty ideals and pure patriotism are the safeguards of our free institutions, but commercialism has no lofty ideals and plutocracy knows no patriotism.

For the past quarter of a century, we have had a carnival of bribery and corruption in public office and a surfeit of immorality and irreligion in fashionable society. What better can we expect when God and the Bible are banished from the classroom? Our motto should be, "God and Country." Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's and unto God the things that are God's. I verily believe that the Constitution of these

United States would not be worth the parchment on which it was written, unless it had the hearts and consciences of the common people behind it.

Lincoln was a God-fearing and a God-loving man. Strictly speaking, he was not a member of any particular denomination, yet he was intensely religious. We find that the religious strain runs through all his speeches and writings.

He was absolutely honest in his dealings with men. He was generous, kind, patient and forgiving. He was one of the noblest types of moral and intellectual manhood that this country has ever produced.

“His life was gentle, and the elements
So mixed in him, that nature might stand up
And say to all the world, this was a man!”

When I was yet a boy, three thousand miles from these shores, with what delight and enthusiasm I used to read the life and speeches of Abraham Lincoln! His Gettysburg address, which is acknowledged a classic, was my favorite declamation. That speech has placed Lincoln among the few really great orators of the English-speaking race. It contains only 263 words and 194 of those are words of one syllable.

Abraham Lincoln was, undoubtedly, one of the greatest men of history; he was also a magnificent type of the genius, the heroism and the originality of the American people. He knew no race, no creed, no color, no class, but common humanity with all its faults and virtues, hopes and memories. He possessed sterling patriotism, keen sensibility, vivid imagination, genial humor, tender pathos, noble enthusiasm and lofty ideals. His mind was well stored with general knowledge, and thoroughly saturated with the political wisdom of Burke and Jefferson. His eloquence was like the song of Orpheus. The classic purity and poetic imagery of his oratory will bear favorable comparison with that of Webster. He was in many respects the Pericles of America, but he was, above and beyond all, the very soul of honor. There was no line long enough, or broad enough to shut out his sympathies from suffering humanity, or to prevent him from espousing the cause of human liberty in every land beneath the stars.

A Curious Indian Relic

FASCINATING alike to the archæologist, the historian, and to the mere patriotic American who views with sentimental regret the approaching extinction of the Red Man, the latest additions to the George G. Heye collection in the University of Pennsylvania Museum give glimpses heretofore impossible into the poetry, the mysticism, the elaborate ritual, and implicit faith of the superstitious beliefs of this dying race.

The War Bundle, or Pack, was more prized, more indispensable, than the shield, spear, or tomahawk. Without it defeat was held to be certain, all valor unavailing, all weapons useless. With it fanatical courage ran high, the warrior felt that the aiding presence of the dread Manitous, the gods of battle, would strengthen him and weaken his enemy. The only fear was that the other side might have possessed themselves of even more potent magic.

The owner of such a Bundle possessed the proud privilege of organizing and leading a war party whenever just or unjust provocation, or the thirst for military glory, or the mere desire for more horses called for hostile action against some rival tribe. When, after proper songs and ceremonies, the partisans set forth, the leader bore upon his back the Bundle upon which the success of the raid was thought to depend. It may be imagined that no pains were spared to care for it properly. Every night, or whenever the party stopped to rest, it was hung upon a tree or a lance thrust into the earth, so that it might not touch the ground, but it was never opened until the enemy was actually sighted. Once they came in view, even if very close, the warriors, singing the song appropriate to the occasion, opened the Bundle, stripped themselves, put on the magic head bands, plumes, arm bands, and other protective amulets it contained,



SACRED PACK OF THE OSAGE INDIANS - MUCH PRIZED ADDITION TO THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION
This Sacred Bundle Contains Many Human Scalps, Eagle Legs, Pipes, Buffalo Bladders, etc. It is Considered the "Holy of Holies."

applied the charmed war paint, and chewed and rubbed upon their bodies the mysterious herbs; then, while the remains of the Bundle were being wrapped up, and amid the shrilling of the war whistles, they joined in a short dance. At last they were ready for the foe, who might have been firing upon them all the while. After the encounter the amulets were returned to the Bundle, and the wounded treated with the herbs it contained. If their arms met with disaster, it was thought that some rule must have been violated by some member of the party, incurring the wrath of the Manitou, or that the magic of the enemy must have been more powerful than their own.

Very impressive are many of these ceremonies, with their solemn "opening songs," reminding one of passages in grand opera, their splendid costumes, clean and bright, their ritual dances, each with its own symbolism, skilfully stepped to the measured throb of the drum, the swish of the gourds, and the pulsating purr of the notched stick rattle, accentuating the rhythm of the wild chant of the painted singers, while through and above all sound the shrill notes of the war whistles. The deep-voiced speeches and prayers give a religious tone to the procedure, but a touch of humor is seen when selected members of the two rival factions of the tribe, the Oshkush and the Kishko compete in the eating contest connected with the feast, and, amid laughter and jeers, try to bolt scalding hot meat, fresh from the steaming kettles.

At last, the feasting finished, and after the legend of the Bundle has been gravely repeated, the host, rising, closes the ceremony. "My friends," he says, simply, "you have finished the food we offered to the great Manitou. You are now at liberty to leave us." "Hao!" they answer, and rise to go.

Perhaps the finest example of the old native art preserved in the war bundles of the collection is the Sac and Fox arm band, its fine quillwork, colored with native dyes, making it a rare and valuable specimen. The broad portion, intended to encircle the arm, is entirely covered with porcupine quill work, so arranged as to produce five bird-like figures in brown, on a yellow ground, intended to represent the "Thunders." At one end is a perfect example of the rare netted technique in quill work, while at the

other are long streamers made of strips of skin, so wrapped with bands of colored quills that when the strips lie parallel the bands form several human figures. The potency of the amulet lay not only in the representations of the Thunders, but in an eagle feather, a bit of buffalo tail, and the little packets of magic herbs, all attached to the streamers.

Another rarity, perhaps unique, is an archaic belt completely covered with the uncommon bird-quill decoration in red, white, and black, all native colors. To the back of the belt is tied a bird skin, decorated with porcupine quills, and hung with magic herbs—the powerful part of the amulet.

Two snake-skin sashes, profusely decorated with porcupine quills, are prominent among the fine specimens in the Iowa war bundles, but there are many other good things, including scalp-trimmed amulets and buffalo hair ropes. One becomes inured to handling scalps, of which so many are seen in the war bundles of these Indians, but it was somewhat of a shock to discover that some shrivelled objects, found in one of the bundles, wrapped up in a piece of cotton sheeting, were parts of a dried human face, the mouth and nose especially well-preserved. This ghastly relic was taken from a slain enemy as a war trophy, and was then offered to the presiding genius of the bundle. Fine old war-clubs may be seen attached to the outer covers of several Iowa and Winnebago bundles, which, besides their practical utility, oftentimes symbolize the crushing force of the lightning, and endow the owner with some of the Thunders' awesome power.

Grim, smoke-stained and forbidding, the very look of an Osage war bundle is nearly enough to deter the investigator's sacrilegious hand from exploring its inner mysteries, especially when he remembers that no Indian but a regular priest of the rite would dare open it—an impression not lessened by the human scalp and the dried eagle's foot tied to the blackened thongs which hold the outer cover in place. This cover is always a sack made from the coarser hair of the buffalo, twisted into yarn, and carefully woven, a splendid example of purely aboriginal fabric. Loosening the thongs and drawing away the sack, we find another, of buckskin similarly tied, and within this again a rolled mat of rushes, handsomely decorated with

woven-in designs, bound at the sides with red-dyed eagle quills, and held together with a long lariat, generally of braided buckskin, but sometimes of fibre, carefully and smoothly wound about the mat and fastened by tucking in the ends.

Unwinding the rope and unrolling the mat, we at last reach the contents and find a long buckskin sack containing tobacco, evidently for offerings, a number of buffalo heart-sacks or pericardia, and finally a grewsome-looking object, which is with difficulty extracted from its tight buckskin cover. On examination it proves to be the dried remains of a hawk, heavily smeared with red or blue paint, with the lower part of its body literally covered with small fragments cut from human scalps. This is all the Osage bundle usually contains, but the example on exhibition is exceptional, for within it were found, besides the usual set, a curious "war pipe," with disk-shaped bowl of red stone, and an archaic woven sash, possibly of buffalo hair, dyed red and yellow.

In battle a selected warrior bore the hawk, which is really more of a fetish than an amulet, slung on a cord about his neck, and its magic influence was supposed to protect the entire war party and to give them good fortune. Besides this the fetish had the power of granting wishes to the brave warriors who had borne it on the warpath—one wish for every brave deed. Various and complicated were the songs and rituals belonging to these bundles, so much so that some form of record, at least for the songs was necessary.

The First Annual Message of Abraham Lincoln

IT is fifty years ago this winter that Mr. Lincoln sent to Congress his first annual message—not his first message, for that had been addressed to the special session of Congress held in the previous July. A portion of the first annual message is reproduced here, as an important contribution to the study of Lincoln's character. It shows how courageously he put the best face possible on the war situation and found satisfaction in the patriotic support of the loyal states, while sorrowfully but justly excoriating the disloyal citizens of the United States, especially those endeavoring to embroil this country with foreign nations. It is noteworthy to observe, as an indication of Mr. Lincoln's breadth of thought, that he finds time for a discussion, brief but statesmanlike and far-seeing, of the condensation of statute laws, the establishment of a bureau of agriculture, and the relations of capital and labor.

This first annual message was in part as follows:

WASHINGTON, DECEMBER 3, 1861.

Fellow-Citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives:

In the midst of unprecedented political troubles we have cause of great gratitude to God for unusual good health and most abundant harvests.

You will not be surprised to learn that in the peculiar exigencies of the times our intercourse with foreign nations has been attended with profound solicitude, chiefly turning upon our own domestic affairs.

A disloyal portion of the American people have during the whole year been engaged in an attempt to divide and destroy the Union. A nation which endures factious domestic division

is exposed to disrespect abroad, and one party, if not both, is sure sooner or later to invoke foreign intervention.

Nations thus tempted to interfere are not always able to resist the counsels of seeming expediency and ungenerous ambition, although measures adopted under such influences seldom fail to be unfortunate and injurious to those adopting them.

The disloyal citizens of the United States who have offered the ruin of our country in return for the aid and comfort which they have invoked abroad have received less patronage and encouragement than they probably expected. If it were just to suppose, as the insurgents have seemed to assume, that foreign nations in this case, discarding all moral, social, and treaty obligations, would act solely and selfishly for the most speedy restoration of commerce, including especially the acquisition of cotton, those nations appear as yet not to have seen their way to their object more directly or clearly through the destruction than through the preservation of the Union. If we could dare to believe that foreign nations are actuated by no higher principle than this, I am quite sure a sound argument could be made to show them that they can reach their aim more readily and easily by aiding to crush this rebellion than by giving encouragement to it.

It seems to me very important that the statute laws should be made as plain and intelligible as possible, and be reduced to as small in compass as may consist with the fulness and precision of the will of the Legislature and the perspicuity of its language. This well done would, I think, greatly facilitate the labors of those whose duty it is to assist in the administration of the laws, and would be a lasting benefit to the people, by placing before them in a more accessible and intelligible form the laws which so deeply concern their interests and their duties.

The demands upon the Pension Office will be largely increased by the insurrection. Numerous applications for pensions, based upon the casualties of the existing war, have already been made. There is reason to believe that many who are now upon the pension rolls and in receipt of the bounty of the government are in the ranks of the insurgent army or giving them aid and comfort. The secretary of the interior has di-

rected a suspension of the payment of the pensions of such persons upon proof of their disloyalty. I recommend that Congress authorize that officer to cause the names of such persons to be stricken from the pension rolls.

Agriculture, confessedly the largest interest of the nation, has not a department nor a bureau, but a clerkship only, assigned to it in the government. While it is fortunate that this great interest is so independent in its nature as to not have demanded and extorted more from the government, I respectfully ask Congress to consider whether something more cannot be given voluntarily with general advantage.

Annual reports exhibiting the condition of our agriculture, commerce, and manufactures would present a fund of information of great practical value to the country. While I make no suggestion as to details, I venture the opinion that an agricultural statistical bureau might profitably be organized.

The war continues. In considering the policy to be adopted for suppressing the insurrection I have been anxious and careful that the inevitable conflict for this purpose shall not degenerate into a violent and remorseless revolutionary struggle. I have therefore in every case thought it proper to keep the integrity of the Union prominent as the primary object of the contest on our part, leaving all questions which are not of vital military importance to the more deliberate action of the Legislature.

The inaugural address at the beginning of the Administration and the message to Congress at the late special session were both mainly devoted to the domestic controversy out of which the insurrection and consequent war have sprung. Nothing now occurs to add or subtract to or from the principles or general purposes stated and expressed in those documents.

The last ray of hope for preserving the Union peaceably expired at the assault upon Fort Sumter, and a general review of what has occurred since may not be unprofitable. What was painfully uncertain then is much better defined and more distinct now, and the progress of events is plainly in the right direction. The insurgents confidently claimed a strong support from north of Mason and Dixon's line, and the friends of the

Union were not free from apprehension on the point. This, however, was soon settled definitely, and on the right side, South of the line noble little Delaware led off right from the first. Maryland was made to *seem* against the Union. Our soldiers were assaulted, bridges were burned, and railroads torn up within her limits, and we were many days at one time without the ability to bring a single regiment over her soil to the capital. Now her bridges and railroads are repaired and open to the government; she already gives seven regiments to the cause of the Union, and none to the enemy; and her people, at a regular election, have sustained the Union by a larger majority and a larger aggregate vote than they ever before gave to any candidate or any question. Kentucky, too, for some time in doubt, is now decidedly and, I think, unchangeably ranged on the side of the Union. Missouri is comparatively quiet, and, I believe, cannot again be overrun by the insurrectionists. These three States of Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri, neither of which would promise a single soldier at first, have now an aggregate of not less than 40,000 in the field for the Union, while of their citizens certainly not more than a third of that number, and they of doubtful whereabouts and doubtful existence, are in arms against us. After a somewhat bloody struggle of months, winter closes on the Union people of western Virginia, leaving them masters of their own country.

An insurgent force of about 1,500, for months dominating the narrow peninsular region constituting the counties of Accomac and Northampton, and known as Eastern Shore of Virginia, together with some contiguous parts of Maryland, have laid down their arms, and the people there have renewed their allegiance to and accepted the protection of the old flag. This leaves no armed insurrectionist north of the Potomac or east of the Chesapeake.

Also we have obtained a footing at each of the isolated points on the southern coast of Hatteras, Port Royal, Tybee Island (near Savannah), and Ship Island; and we likewise have some general accounts of popular movements in behalf of the Union in North Carolina and Tennessee.

These things demonstrate that the cause of the Union is advancing steadily and certainly southward.

It continues to develop that the insurrection is largely, if not exclusively, a war upon the first principle of popular government—the rights of the people. Conclusive evidence of this is found in the most grave and maturely considered public documents, as well as in the general tone of the insurgents. In those documents we find the abridgment of the existing right of suffrage and the denial to the people of all right to participate in the selection of public officers except the legislative boldly advocated, with labored arguments to prove that large control of the people in government is the source of all political evil. Monarchy itself is sometimes hinted at as a possible refuge from the power of the people.

In my present position I could scarcely be justified were I to omit raising a warning voice against this approach of returning despotism.

It is not needed nor fitting here that a general argument should be made in favor of popular institutions, but there is one point, with its connections, not so hackneyed as most others, to which I ask a brief attention. It is the effort to place *capital* on an equal footing with, if not above, *labor* in the structure of government. It is assumed that labor is available only in connection with capital; that nobody labors unless somebody else, owning capital, somehow by the use of it induces him to labor. This assumed, it is next considered whether it is best that capital shall *hire* laborers, and thus induce them to work by their own consent, or *buy* them and drive them to it without their consent. Having proceeded so far, it is naturally concluded that all laborers are either *hired* laborers or what we call slaves. And further, it is assumed that whoever is once a hired laborer is fixed in that condition for life.

Now there is no such relation between capital and labor as assumed, nor is there any such thing as a free man being fixed for life in the condition of a hired laborer. Both these assumptions are false, and all inferences from them are groundless.

Labor is prior to and independent of capital. Capital is only the fruit of labor, and could never have existed if labor had

not first existed. Labor is the superior of capital, and deserves much the higher consideration. Capital has its rights, which are as worthy of protection as any other rights. Nor is it denied that there is, and probably always will be, a relation between labor and capital producing mutual benefits. The error is in assuming that the whole labor of community exists within that relation. A few men own capital, and that few avoid labor themselves, and with their capital hire or buy another few to labor for them. A large majority belong to neither class—neither work for others nor have others working for them. In most of the Southern States a majority of the whole people of all colors are neither slaves nor masters, while in the Northern a large majority are neither hirers nor hired. Men, with their families—wives, sons, and daughters—work for themselves on their farms, in their houses, and in their shops, taking the whole product to themselves, and asking no favors of capital on the one hand nor of hired laborers or slaves on the other. It is not forgotten that a considerable number of persons mingle their own labor with capital: that is, they labor with their own hands and also buy or hire others to labor for them; but this is only a mixed and not a distinct class. No principle stated is disturbed by the existence of this mixed class.

Again, as has already been said, there is not of necessity any such thing as the free hired laborer being fixed to that condition for life. Many independent men everywhere in these States a few years back in their lives were hired laborers. The prudent, penniless beginner in the world labors for wages awhile, saves a surplus with which to buy tools or land for himself, then labors on his own account another while, and at length hires another new beginner to help him. This is the just and generous and prosperous system which opens the way to all, gives hope to all, and consequent energy and progress and improvement of condition to all. No men living are more worthy to be trusted than those who toil up from poverty, none less inclined to take or touch aught which they have not honestly earned. Let them beware of surrendering a political power which they already possess, and which if surrendered will surely be used to close

the door of advancement against such as they and to fix new disabilities and burdens upon them till all of liberty shall be lost.

From the first taking of our national census to the last are seventy years, and we find our population at the end of the period eight times as great as it was at the beginning. The increase of those other things which men deem desirable has been even greater. We thus have at one view what the popular principle, applied to government through the machinery of the States and the Union, has produced in a given time, and also what it firmly maintained it promises for the future. There are already among us those who, if the Union be preserved, will live to see it contain 250,000,000. The struggle *of* to-day is not altogether *for* to-day; it is for a vast future also. With a reliance on Providence all the more firm and earnest, let us proceed in the great task which events have devolved upon us.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

Continental Agents in America

BY ALICE GODDARD WALDO, A. B.

V. FINANCIAL AND GENERAL ORGANIZATION.

THE financial transactions of the agents, like those of Congress, were **extremely complicated**. Like their superior officer, Robert Morris, they sometimes lent their private means to the public service;⁴¹ and, like him, they were concerned in several different branches of the public business, so that it was often convenient—perhaps indeed imperative—to use one fund to supply the deficiencies of another, borrowing from Peter to pay Paul. In their capacity as prize agents, they were supposed to account from time to time with Congress through the Marine Committee;⁴² but, owing to the complexity of their affairs, these accounts were not rendered with any regularity.⁴³ In the distribution of prize money to the officers and crews of the Continental navy, there was often much delay, due largely to the difficulty of obtaining sufficient sums of ready cash; and Congress was on at least one occasion obliged to order the payment of only half of the amount estimated to be due.⁴⁴ The Continental share of the prize money was ordered to be applied by the Marine Committee to the marine service;⁴⁵ and the agents received a commission which varied from two and one-half to five per cent.⁴⁶

When the prize agents had developed into general Continental

41. *Sketch to Francis Lewis*, dated 19, 1776, quoted in *Continental Congress*, 516.

42. *Journal*, Oct. 26, 1776.

43. *Navy Board to Parliament*, June 25, 1778. *Parliamentary Documents*, 180.

44. *Journal*, Oct. 4, 1776.

45. *Ibid.*, Oct. 16, 1776.

46. *Finality of Congress's Declaration*, 247.

agents, they were ordered to account also with the Secret Committee.⁴⁷ They made constant use of drafts on the different committees, on Morris, and on the Continental Loan Office in the various colonies;⁴⁸ these drafts were usually not honored at sight, but by special direction of Congress.⁴⁹ Congress also ordered special remittances to the agents, as on one occasion \$40,000 to Bradford by draft on the Continental Loan Office in Boston, and a warrant for \$5,000 on the deputy pay-master-general in Virginia in favor of John Tazewell, "the same being in part of the money heretofore granted to the marine committee."⁵⁰ When this committee closed the accounts of Washington's old prize agents, they were directed to send their remittances to the Continental Paymaster at Boston, to Thomas Cushing, to John Bradford or to John Langdon.⁵¹ Navy commanders were instructed by the committee to call upon any of the Continental agents for limited sums of money.⁵²

It is evident, then, that the agents formed part of a rude banking system, which grew up naturally, both to avoid the delay and danger incident to the transportation of money, and also to supply media of exchange which, it was hoped, would not depreciate as rapidly as the Continental currency. Morris, indeed, made a deliberate and definite attempt to use the agents to strengthen the credit of the Continental Loan Office, when, in the winter of 1776-1777, he persuaded gentlemen traveling to Boston to carry their funds in the shape of interest-bearing certificates on the Loan Office, and wrote to Bradford and the other New England agents to see to it that they were not disappointed of their money on their arrival.⁵³ As far as possible, the agents upheld the cred-

47. Journals, June 6, 1777.

48. Journals, Oct. 16, 1777; Jan. 27, 1778; April 6, 1778; May 28, 1777; July 12, 1777; Nov. 18, 1777; Jan. 14, 1778, and many others.

49. Ibid, Oct. 16, 1777; April 6, 1778, and others.

50. Ibid, July 5, 1777. See also May 6, 1777, Oct. 7, 1777, Feb. 28, 1778, and others.

51. Marine Committee to Prize Agents, Oct. 18, 1776, Force, Series 5, II, 1145.

52. Hopkins to Capts. Whipple and Biddle, June 16, 1776, Force, Series 4, VI, 931.

53. Morris to Bradford, Dec. 24, 1776, New England Historical & Genealogical Register, XXXV, 83; Morris to Continental Agents, Dec. 30, 1776, Force, Series 5, III, 1485.

it of the Congress; but in the very nature of things, many of their obligations must have remained unfulfilled.⁵⁴

It was not always easy to decide upon whom a draft should be drawn for a certain purpose. The colonies were at all times anxious to shift the burden of their expenses to the shoulders of the Continental Congress, and the agents sometimes received instructions to that effect. A question of this kind, for instance, came up in Maryland; and Purviance, who had been purchasing pork for the troops, was informed that the governor thought that this expense should by all means be charged to the Continent.⁵⁵ It is small wonder that it took years of toil, and the hand of a financial genius, to classify and settle the obligations incurred in the Revolution in a manner even remotely approaching accuracy and justice.

The general relationship between the agents and the various colonies presents some points of considerable interest. Broadly speaking, it may be said that the Continental agents were among the very first civil officers representing Federal authority and residing in the States; and as such, their position is unique. What then was the attitude of the States toward these men, acting within their territories under the sanction and direction of an external body—a body, moreover, exercising functions which had never been formally delegated to it? Surely conflict and interference must necessarily follow.

At first glance, this would seem not to have been the case. We find the agents acting in constant and harmonious concert with the local and colonial authorities; we find the colonial governments acceding to requests and recommendations made upon the suggestion of the agents.⁵⁶ To all appearances, the Continental representatives find smooth sailing in the execution of their duties. The causes for this somewhat deceptive condition of affairs,

⁵⁴ *Continental Congress in Money Payments*, Jan. 31, 1776. *Parliamentary Papers*, 1776.

⁵⁵ *Id.*, *Continental Congress in Money Payments*, April 25, 1777. *Id.*, *ibid.*

⁵⁶ In September, 1776, for instance, the Maryland Council of Safety, acting on the request of the Society of Friends, granted the request for a loan of money to the Continental Congress, and the Maryland Council of Safety, in a letter of the 11th of the same month, granted the request for a loan of money to the Continental Congress. *Continental Congress in Money Payments*, Sept. 11, 1776. *Id.*, *ibid.* *Continental Congress in Money Payments*, Sept. 11, 1776. *Id.*, *ibid.* *Continental Congress in Money Payments*, Sept. 11, 1776. *Id.*, *ibid.*

however, are not far to seek. In the first place, the work of the agents, while carried on under Congressional direction, was largely local in its character, and the interests of Congress and the colonies were often identical. Where they were not, there was considerable friction, as we shall presently see. In the second place, the most active of the agents were also high in the service of the colonial and local governments, and in their dual character must have avoided much confusion and conflict. Cornelius Harnett, for instance, President of the North Carolina Council, did not interfere with Cornelius Harnett, Continental agent at Wilmington; and amicable relations undoubtedly existed between Samuel Purviance, agent at Baltimore, and Samuel Purviance, Chairman of the Baltimore Committee. Nixon and Nesbitt were prominent members of the Philadelphia Committee of Safety; and in the summer of 1776, Nathaniel Shaw was appointed agent for the colony of Connecticut, "for the purpose of Naval supplies, and for taking of such sick seamen as may be sent on shore to his care."⁵⁷ This union of Continental and colonial business in the hands of one man was not universal, and was due rather to the fitness and ability of the men concerned than to any deliberate intention; but in the cases where it existed, it explains the surprising lack of friction and jealousy.

There were times, however, when the colonies interfered with the agents, although always preserving the semblance of respect to Congress. The New York Provincial Convention, for instance, instructed Van Zandt and his colleague to send to General Schuyler the cordage which had been purchased for the Continental frigates, promising to "justify them to the Congress."⁵⁸ On application of the Massachusetts General Court and of Governor Cooke of Rhode Island, Leonard Jarvis, deputy agent at Dartmouth, delivered to the militia of those colonies part of the arms in his care; he was excused by Congress on account of the emergency which existed, but was informed that he was, in the future, to deliver no stores except by Congressional order.⁵⁹ A more striking case of interference is that in which

57. Records of Connecticut Council of Safety, July 10, 1776, Force, Series 5, I, 243-4; Trumbull to Shaw, July 15, 1776, *Ibid.*, 360.

58. New York Provincial Convention, Sept. 19, 1776, *Ibid.*, II, 705.

59. *Journal*, Jan. 23, 1777.

Rhode Island restrained her agent from obeying his instructions from Congress and sending to Philadelphia the cannon which had been brought from Nassau to Newport by Commodore Hopkins. These cannon were the undoubted property of the Continent, and as such should have been entirely at the disposal of the Continental agent; yet they remained in Newport while a long controversy took place between the Rhode Island Assembly, Tillinghast, Hopkins, the Philadelphia Committee of Safety and the Congress. When Congress tried to solve the problem by removing the New London cannon instead of those at Newport, Governor Trumbull and Shaw took a hand; and it was not until after a long delay that the matter was finally settled by taking a few cannon from Newport and the rest from New London—the victory in the dispute really resting with Rhode Island. In this quarrel the position of the two agents was passive and quiet; they simply did nothing in the matter, and let the colonies and the Congress fight it out between themselves.⁵

Even in Maryland, where affairs ran so smoothly, Purviance himself got into serious trouble in the matter of the proposed seizure of Governor Eden, because he acted too promptly in anticipation of orders from Congress, without waiting for the action of the Maryland Council.⁶

The conclusion of the whole matter appears to be precisely what one would expect: relations between the colonies and the agents were normally smooth, because the colonial authorities had little cause to criticize the proceedings of the agents, or to interfere with them; but when they did have occasion to criticize and interfere, they did so without hesitation, and with entire success.

This interference was made more easy by the fact that there was no very definite organization of the agency system. The duties of the agents, as we have seen, increased and developed very rapidly, and became far more complicated and important than their creators had expected. One result of this unplanned growth was that the agents served many masters. Theoretically, they were under the direction of Congress, and subject to its

⁵ See Appendix B.
⁶ See Appendix C.

orders alone, transmitted to them through the Marine and Secret Committees; practically, they received and obeyed many commands from Washington, Hopkins and colonial legislatures. Theoretically, they were supposed to transact no business beyond the prosecution and sale of prizes, without orders from the proper authority; practically, they were obliged to do many things on their own initiative. Congress, however, did succeed to an amazing extent in keeping in its own hands the direction of these small concerns, and the minute details which became the subjects of orders and resolutions make us marvel that the larger business of the Continent ever got attended to at all. The orders issued by Washington and Hopkins generally recognized the position of the Congress, and were sent out either, "pursuant to the directions of Congress," or, pending the action of "the proper authority."⁶² Some business was carried on under general orders of Congress, by which Washington was given discretionary power with respect to the disposal of certain specified supplies.⁶³ In his dealings with the agents, Washington had a somewhat freer hand than Hopkins; Congress, apparently without much justice, soon lost faith in its commodore, while, as we have observed, the commander-in-chief received, on the whole, a fairly loyal support, thanks to the strong good sense of Robert Morris.

The relations of the agents with each other depended upon their geographical location and the business in which they were engaged. There was nothing resembling an organized hierarchy, save that Jarvis, deputy agent at Dartmouth, was naturally subject to Bradford, who appointed him.⁶⁴ The agents in different ports were often instructed to apply to each other for assistance in their undertakings,⁶⁵ and they seemed to have worked together to a considerable extent. It is probable that there was more personal acquaintance among them than one would expect in that age of long, weary horse-back journeys over wretched roads. Harnett spent the summer of 1774 in the North.⁶⁶ Langdon, in 1775,

62. J. Ward to Bradford, July 27, 1776, Force, Series 5, I, 625; Bradford to Washington, Aug. 12, 1776, *Ibid.* 927.

63. Journals, April 19, 1776; May 25, 1776.

64. Journals, Jan. 23, 1777.

65. Marine Committee to Bradford and Langdon, Sept. 21, 1776, Force, Series 5, II, 428 and 429.

66. *Connor, Harnett*, 82.

served in the Continental Congress at Philadelphia; Shaw visited Boston and probably Philadelphia in the autumn of that year.⁵⁷ Purviance undoubtedly traveled more than once to the Quaker city. As merchants, moreover, many of them must have had business dealings with each other before the war, and Purviance and Clarkson were certainly known by name to Bradford in 1774, when they shipped provisions from Baltimore and Charleston for the relief of Boston.⁵⁸ The agents considered each other as friends working for the same cause, and were friendly and helpful to each other. Some jealousies arose, of course;⁵⁹ but the normal condition was one of harmony and co-operation. The Continental agents were, in short, a group of men with some sense of esprit de corps, working under a common superior for a common object. From the nature of their appointment and service, they may probably be reckoned among the most loyal supporters of the Continental Congress.

VI. IMPORTANCE OF THE CONTINENTAL AGENTS.

How great a service the Continental agents, as a body, rendered to the cause of the Revolution, it is difficult to determine, for their activities were of an exceedingly comprehensive character. As we have seen, they served many masters, who were concerned with as many different branches of the public business. Take matter, like man; and in so far as the work of the Committee of Secret Correspondence, the Marine Committee and the Secret Committee, was essential to the success of the Revolution, so far were their servants important to the cause. The common activity of the three committees was the acquisition and disposal of military supplies; and it is along this line that we must look for real results in the service of their agents. As part of the rude banking system of the Continent, they were of some importance; very large sums of ready money came into

⁵⁷ Cf. *Diary of Moses Willson*, 1766-1777, quoted in *Quaker New Line*, 1906, 1908.

⁵⁸ *Minutes, Proceedings, & Journal of the Committee of Correspondence*, Aug. 24, 1774; *Purviance's Narrative*, 1780, 8; *Journal of Goodwin and Clarkson*, Jan. 16, 1774; *Atlantic Historical Co.*, 1917, 14, 160; *ibid.*, for H. A. Goodwin, New York, 1924, 1.

⁵⁹ Cf. *Minutes*, *op. cit.* (above), 1906, 1908, for mentioning the animosity of Clarke first to Purviance, then to Purviance's agent in the west district. Cf. *Minutes of Secret Com.*, 1776, 1777, *Marine Series*, 2, 191, 127-8.

their hands through the sale of prizes, and they were thus enabled to give a certain support to the failing public credit. This support, however, was totally inadequate for the emergency, and, in spite of it, all the forms of Continental currency depreciated at breakneck speed. As Federal officials in the States, the agents were interesting and unique; but they were the forerunners of no later officials, and nothing in their relationship with the local governments furnished any precedents for later action. In the service of the army and the navy, however—in the making possible the capture or importation of supplies—in the actual work of distribution—in this field the work of the Continental agents had definite and valuable results.

The most important fruit of the negotiations with France in the early years of the war was the secret assistance of Beaumarchais. His assumption of the name of Hortalez savors somewhat of the romances of Dumas; but the arms and ammunition which he sent to the West Indies were no figment of a sentimental imagination. In all this business the agents played an essential part. They provided and equipped the vessels which carried despatches between the Congress and the Commissioners; they did the same for those which went to the West Indies; and when the stores arrived, they assisted in their distribution. It was such business as this which made the creation and maintenance of the navy important. As an instrument of war, it was not very efficacious, in spite of a few brilliant engagements; as an instrument of commerce it was in constant and successful use. The man-of-war which sailed for Martinique or St. Eustatius, under the direction of the Secret Committee, with a cargo of rice and indigo, and returned laden with blankets and great-coats for the freezing soldiers, and powder and shot for their empty muskets, performed a more real though less spectacular service than the "Bonhomme Richard" in her memorable victory over the "Serapis;" while the agents who, directly or indirectly, made possible both adventures, must, in the last analysis, share in the honor of both.

Most important of all, however, because most direct and immediate in its results, was the great prize business of the New England agents. The value of the military stores which passed

through their hands to Washington's army must be determined, not by their quantity, which was undoubtedly great, but by the fact that they could have been obtained from no other source. There was no reserve supply on the Continent; importation was at best slow and hazardous; the great bulk of the arms and ammunition used in the campaign of 1776 must have come from British prizes, and been handled by the Continental agents. It is a fact much too well-known to need repetition, that Washington's army was never, at any time of the war, sufficiently supplied with arms, ammunition, clothing or food; it is inconceivable that the army could have continued to exist at all, had any one of its sources of supply been cut off. And when it is understood that the Continental agents were, by the nature and accidents of the case, the most considerable purveyors of arms and ammunition, their vital importance to the success of the Revolution follows as an immediate corollary. The Continental Congress was never very efficient in its administration of the war; but by a combination of many strange factors, it was enabled to be sufficient for its successful continuance. In like manner the Continental agents, the instruments of the Congress in many of its wisest undertakings, so aided the navy and eked out the scanty resources of the army, that both were kept alive to prolong the struggle until the nations of Europe came to their aid, the fortunes of war changed, and the independence of the colonies was established.

Cleveland's Birthplace

A POPOULAR MOVEMENT FOR A NATIONAL MEMORIAL.

THE old manse where Grover Cleveland was born seventy-five years ago is about to become a national memorial of him. The citizens of Caldwell, N. J., have organized a committee to raise a local fund of \$5,000 that is to be supplemented by a national fund of \$45,000 for the purchase and improvement of the property, and they have already secured more than half of the required amount, and say the success of the enterprise is assured.

Dr. John H. Finley, president of the College of the City of New York, is chairman of the national committee, which will appeal to the many friends of Grover Cleveland throughout the country.

William H. Van Wart, editor of the Caldwell *Progress*, has been largely instrumental in organizing the local committee, which includes Mayor John Espy, Leon A. Carley, James R. Campbell and Cyrus Crane. The project contemplates the purchase of a plot of ground adjoining the Cleveland property as a site for a library that Andrew Carnegie has promised to give to the town. The adjoining plot was formerly a part of the Cleveland manse estate, but passed out of the control of the First Presbyterian Church several years ago.

The sum required for the purchase of both pieces of property is \$25,000, and this amount will also pay for the necessary alterations and repairs. There will remain an additional \$25,000 to pay the general expenses and care of the memorial estate and as a permanent fund for its maintenance.

The first attempt to mark the birthplace of Grover Cleveland took place in 1907, when Dean Andrew F. West of Princeton University, Dr. John H. Finley of the College of the City of New York and the late Richard Watson Gilder, the poet and former



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GROVER CLEVELAND'S BIRTHPLACE, CALDWELL.

editor of the *Century*, prepared, with the cooperation of other friends of Grover Cleveland, a large bronze tablet which was set into the wall of the room where he was born. The tablet was unveiled on Mr. Cleveland's seventieth birthday. The wall where this tablet is set is bare of pictures. The little room itself has been left bare of ornament. There is nothing to detract from the impression that the tablet is intended to convey.

The manse itself is a small and aged house, with nothing to distinguish it externally from its neighbors, except that it is placed a little further from the street and flanked with two well grown and shapely elm trees that in the summer time obscure the upper portion of the building from the glance of the passer-by. But there is something about the place, possibly in the arrangement of the trees and the air of permanence afforded by their well achieved growth, that tells the sightseer at once that this house and no other is the one that must claim his attention.

The house is dignified, simple and unpretentious and it has the repose but not the dilapidation of a well assured and serviceable age. A short hallway opens into the parlor or living room, where the windows are not so large as they would be nowadays and where the ceiling is low. Through the windows can be seen the width of Bloomfield avenue, which in spite of its trolley cars is in many ways like a street in Hadley or Salem or some other old New England town.

Behind the parlor is the room with the tablet, a room so small that two steps in any direction will bring one's hand in touching distance with the wall. On the left of this room is the dining room, which opens upon a small veranda, screened with vines. Between these rooms another that is almost an extension of the hallway serves as a library and on the second floor are all the present bedrooms in the house. There is no veranda other than the small one in front of the dining room.

Between the manse and the First Presbyterian Church of which it is the rectory there lies a quarter of a mile. In practically all the history of this old house it has been the home of ministers. Nelson C. Chester, present pastor of the Caldwell Presbyterian Church, has written an account of the manse. In 1872 it sheltered the Rev. Baker Johnson, who was associate

pastor of the Presbyterian Church, with the father of Grover Cleveland.

The house was a fine one in its time and cost nearly \$1,500, which in the days when people crossed the continent in wagon trains, if they crossed at all, was a great deal of money to be spent in house building. There were few houses in Caldwell in 1832 which presented a finer appearance than the Cleveland homestead, and there have been no homes built there since that have made a better return for the money invested in them.

In the eighty years of its history the birthplace of Grover Cleveland has been unoccupied for three years only, which is a good tribute for the church of which it has been the parsonage. Nobody has stayed in the house so long as Grover Cleveland's father, but two of its occupants have exceptionally long records of service. Dr. Sprague lived there for nineteen years and many people still remember him with affection. Dr. Berry lived in the house for a quarter of a century, in which he became known to and loved by two or three generations.

Grover Cleveland was not the only person of distinction who was born in the old house. Three ministers and a well known man of business were also born there. At least two other children of the Cleveland family were born there, Richard Cecil, an elder brother of the President, and Margaret Louisa Folley, his younger sister. An elder sister who was 4 years old when the Clevelands came to the manse was baptized at the Caldwell Presbyterian Church.

Perhaps the liveliest period in the history of the manse took place during the pastorate of Mr. Berry. There was no railroad at that time to break the silence of the night and no flat wheeled trolley cars to awaken the town of Caldwell, but a number of young people in the manse and the adjacent homesteads kept the town from realizing these wants too deeply.

In a letter to Mr. Berry written in 1884 Grover Cleveland expressed his high regard for the town and homestead where he was born.

"I can sincerely say the spot is dear to me," he wrote, "as the place of his birth should be dear to every man. The name brings to mind scenes in the family circle when the incidents of Cald-

well life were recalled and dwelt upon with pleasure and gratitude. And when I remember that there my sainted parents had their home and there my godly father wrought and struggled in his Heavenly Father's mission the place to me seems hallowed and sacred.

"The Caldwell church, built up and prospered by the labors of such pious and devoted men as have been its pastors, has much in its centennial year to chasten and consecrate its history. In the days to come may it always remain true and steadfast in the work committed to its charge, truthfully teaching the pure doctrine of the Gospel and avoiding all malice and uncharitableness."

When the generation with which President Cleveland's parents were associated passed away the personal element of interest passed with it. Mr. Cleveland never visited Caldwell in his later years, and if he had done so he would have found little to remind him of the town his father knew. But the town has been loyal to his memory, and on the last anniversary of his birthday the Caldwell *Progress* proposed that a fund be raised to purchase the Presbyterian parsonage and to restore and preserve it "in honor of the only President given to the United States by the State of New Jersey."

The Death of a Famous Spy

THIS is a story of Pryce Lewis; not the whole story nor a great part of it, for that could scarcely be. It was Pryce Lewis who served this country as a spy in the civil war and who came as near death in the line of his duty as a man can well come and yet escape. It was Pryce Lewis too who followed many intricate matters through to the end in peril of his life, and to whom life was spared until he was 83 years old, and then he jumped from the dome of the Pulitzer Building to the stones of Park Row in New York City.

The story of Pryce Lewis begins in England, said *The Sun*. He was born there in 1828. He came to this country in his early manhood and at the outbreak of the civil war was a Pinkerton detective. Inasmuch as there was no properly constituted secret service which could undertake the great task of getting information for the Northern armies the Pinkertons were called upon to furnish men to serve as spies. At that time the Federal armies had not had time to develop the department of information which did such brilliant service later and on the rolls of which appear the names of men who made the utmost sacrifices for the Union.

The Pinkertons picked Pryce Lewis to go south. The headquarters of the army to which he was attached was at Cincinnati. The young Englishman already had a record for shrewdness and daring, and this so recommended him to his chief that he was given perilous duty from the start.

He had an accent and a drawl. He had also an excellent knowledge of the Crimean War, which he obtained as an agent in England for a history of the campaigns in the Crimea. It was suggested that he impersonate an English army officer who wished to see action with the Confederates. Lewis jumped at the idea.

It was what he wanted, an opportunity to use his wits and take a chance.

So he called himself Lord Tracy, hired a carriage and pair of horses, induced another Pinkerton man to go along as coachman and set out from Cincinnati. There was nothing lacking to create the illusion of high station. Lewis was a man who had seen much of life. He could assume the manners of politeness. And Pinkerton fitted him out with all the items necessary to carry off the play. He had fine clothes. He had a British silk hat and a monocle. He had a gold cigar case, which was engraved with an impressive crest.

Thus clad and with all the appearance of station he started South from Cincinnati, one of the first—perhaps indeed the very first—properly authenticated spy of the civil war. He had not far to go before he fell in with Confederate levies, for Cincinnati was not far from the border.

It was an easy task for the Englishman to convince the first Confederate officer he met that he was kindly disposed. The accent, the silk hat, the gold cigar case, the coachman, the familiarity with a great war and the assumption of regard for the officer's rank got a pass for Lord Tracy without a question. He wanted to go as far South as Charlestown, in what is now West Virginia, and the permission was granted.

As he approached the city he heard that Gen. Wise was scrutinizing all comers. No one not known to be a friend was allowed to stay within the lines. Strangers were sent North and those suspected of hostility were placed under guard. This did not daunt Lewis. He drove straight to the hotel, where the General had his headquarters, and had his coachman demand the best quarters for the English nobleman. Then he forced himself on the General and in the course of a hot interview demanded a pass further South. Gen. Wise refused. Lewis was indignant. A veteran of the Crimea and a student of military affairs—was he to be turned aside in this fashion?

But the General was not to be bulldozed. Tracey said he would appeal through his own Government.

"Do what you please," said Wise. "But you can't go any

further until you get permission from headquarters. You can't expect anything from me."

This gave Lewis what he wanted. In a short while he knew as much about the Confederate position as the Confederates did themselves. Then it was time to go back North. The messenger might return from the British representative in Richmond and then he would be dishonored. So under pretence of going to see about the pass he started away.

He found a Federal detachment at Ironton on the Ohio River and got quick transportation to Cincinnati. Gen. McClellan turned him over to Gen. Cox. Lewis told what he had learned about Wise's position. Cox refused at first to believe that Wise was as weak as the spy declared. At last Lewis carried his point and Cox attacked the Confederates. The result was that Charlestown was cut off from Confederate help and West Virginia fell into Federal hands. It was one of the moves that saved the border States to the North.

Lewis went to Washington with Pinkerton, who, as Major Allen, formed the United States secret service. Lewis was one of his trusted men. He undertook to hunt down Confederate spies in the Northern cities. But he did not stay in the North. Major Allen needed some one to go South to find out why Timothy Webster had not been heard from for weeks. Webster, employed by the Confederates as a despatch runner, sent his mail bags to Major Allen, who steamed open the letters, copied their contents and then sent them to their destination. The service was valuable and when it was interrupted it had to be started up again. Lewis was the man picked to go.

He used to say that the mission was equivalent to a death sentence. There were many men in Richmond who knew him. Some he had run down in New York and driven South again. Others remembered Lord Tracy. But he went. He found Webster in bed sick with rheumatism. He went to work to devise a new mail system, but before he had gone far Mrs. Morton, wife of the Governor of Florida, whom he had caught in Washington, denounced him. He was arrested and condemned to be hanged. After a hard fight the British Government succeeded in saving him from the gallows. The next nineteen months he spent in

prison, and before release came his hair had turned white, though he was but twenty-nine years old.

For a time after the war Lewis had an easy berth as a bailiff in Federal prisons. But he left because he could not, as he said, stand the graft. He worked for the Pinkertons for years. He ran down insurance frauds here and in Mexico. He worked on both sides at various times of the A. T. Stewart will case. Four years ago he was a process server for Alexander Simpson, a Jersey City lawyer. But Simpson had to let him go on account of his age. He had little money. An effort was made to secure a pension for him, but the claim was delayed owing to the fact that, while one of the most valuable factors in the Federal service, he had been a civilian. Disheartened by his misfortunes, discouraged by his inability to make a living – he jumped from the dome of the *New York World* building on December 6, 1911.

History of the Mormon Church

By BRIGHAM H. ROBERTS, Assistant Historian of the Church

CHAPTER LXI

THE "MORMON" EXODUS FROM THE EAST—VOYAGE OF THE BROOKLYN

THERE was an exodus of Latter-day Saints from the United State from the East, as well as from the West. Elder Orson Pratt of the Council of Apostles was presiding in the Eastern States when word of the hastened departure of the Saints from Illinois, as early in the spring as "grass would grow or water run," arrived. He promptly issued a message on the 8th of November, 1845, to the Saints of the Eastern and Middle states, calling upon them to join in the exodus enforced upon the Church in the west, by the ensuing spring. "We do not want one Saint to be left in the United States after that time," said the message. "Let every branch," he continued, "in the east, west, north and south be determined to flee out of Babylon, either by land or sea, as soon as then." "If all want to go," said he, "charter half, or a dozen vessels and fill each with passengers, and the fare among so many will be but a trifle." However, those who could get teams during the winter were advised to go by land. President Pratt announced in his message that Elder Samuel Brannan was appointed to take charge of the company that would go by sea. And all who might go with him were admonished "to give strict heed to his instruction and counsel."

Elder Pratt deplored the fact that some for want of means would not be able to join in the exodus either by sea or land:

"We love the saints, both in the east and the west," he wrote, "and it grieves our heart that circumstances should force any of you to tarry in the states after next spring. If it were in our power, our hearts would leap for joy at the prospect of taking you all with us: And thus would the fulness of the gospel be fully brought out from among the Gentiles."¹

The remainder of this noble Epistle is devoted to admonition to righteousness,² a most affectionate leave-taking of the saints in the eastern states, and a prayer for their perseverance in the faith, and in life.

On the 12th of the same month a conference was convened in New York, over which Elder Pratt presided, and the departure of the saints from the United State was elaborated upon. The Saints in conference by resolution said: "We hail with joy the proclamation of our brethren from the City of Joseph (i. e., Nauvoo)³ to make preparations for our immediate departure, and give thanks and praise to our heavenly Father that the day of our deliverance is near at hand;" also that "the church in this city (New York) move, one and all, west of the Rocky Mountains between this and next season, either by land or water;" also that "we prepare ourselves to enter into our chambers, and shut our doors about us for a little season, until the indignation be overpast!"

Elder Samuel Brannan laid before the conference his instructions from the authorities of the Church, directing him to go by water to California; and he called upon those who desired to go with him to give in their names.⁴

By the 29th of December Brannan was able to announce

1. Elder Pratt elaborates the idea of the closing statement of the above paragraph in two articles in the *Millennial Star*, Vol. VI, No. 12, December, 1845.

2. The Epistle will be found *in extenso* in *Times and Seasons*, Vol. VI. p. 1042, *et seq.* Elder Pratt's apostrophe to Virtue at the close of his admonition to the Saints is worthy of perpetuation; "O Virtue! how amiable thou art! strength and beauty and excellence and dignity and honor and immortality are thine offspring! Gentle peace, pure affection, unbounded love, and omnipotent power shall render triumphant in thy habitations for ever more!"

3. See ante chapter LIX.

4. Minutes of this conference are published in *Mill. Star*, Vol. VII, p. 35-6. In addition to considering the question of removal of the eastern saints to the west, the conference denounced the course of William Smith, an apostle—the late president Smith's brother—while among them, and approved the action of the church authorities at Nauvoo in excommunicating him.

through the *New York Messenger*⁵ that he had chartered the ship *Brooklyn*, of 450 tons, at \$1,200 per month, the lessee to pay the port charges. The time announced for sailing was the 24th of January, 1846;⁶ the fare was fixed at \$50 per adult person, with \$25 additional for provisions; children over five and under fourteen years of age to go for half fare.⁷

There were soon 300 applications for passage on the *Brooklyn*, and finally of that number 238 took passage, classified as follows: 70 men, 68 women, and 100 children. Some two or three not members of the church also went with the company. This company of Saints were chiefly American farmers and mechanics from the eastern and middle states.⁸ They took with them agricultural and mechanical tools and equipment "for eight hundred men," consisting of plows, hoes, forks, shovels, spades, plow-irons, scythes, sickles, nails, glass, blacksmith, carpenter and mill-wright tools; materials for three grain mills, turning lathes, saw-mill irons, one printing press—the one on which the "*Prophet*" had been printed through the years of its publication; also dry goods, twine, brass, copper, iron, tin and crockery ware; two new milk cows, about forty pigs and a number of fowls. They also took with them a large quantity of school books, among which are named spelling books, histories, books on arithmetic, astronomy, grammar, geography, Hebrew grammars, slates, etc. A Mr. J. M. Vancott presented to the emigrants, through Mr. Brannan, 179 volumes of Harpers' Family Library. The ship was provisioned and watered for a voyage of six or seven months, though it was estimated that the jour-

5. The *Messenger* succeeded the *Prophet*, and was edited by Parley P. Pratt. The appearance in Nauvoo of the first number was noticed in the *Nauvoo Neighbor* for July 23rd, 1845.

6. *N. Y. Messenger*, Dec. 20, 1845.

7. This was cheap passage; but there was some prospect at the time of a much cheaper rate. A merchant of New York in the Pacific trade proposed taking 200 "at \$1 per ton," for the room occupied, "and fifty more for nothing," contingent, however, upon his obtaining the government freight consisting of naval stores to be carried out to the Pacific. Not much dependence, however, was placed upon this offer. See *Times and Seasons*, Vol. VI, p. 1094.

8. A partial list of their names is given in *Times and Seasons*, copied from the *N. Y. Messenger*, but some changes were made in that list before the time of sailing. It is, therefore, not complete or accurate. A complete list is given in Bancroft's "History of California," Vol. V, p. 546-7, note; and a biographical notice of each member will be found in that writer's *Pioneer Register and Index*, "History of California," Vol. II-V.

ney to California via Cape Horn and the Sandwich Islands, would not occupy more than five months.

The *Brooklyn* is described by a writer in the *Times and Seasons* as "nearly new"⁹ a first class ship, in the best of order for sea, and, with all the rest, a very fast sailor.¹⁰ Captain Richardson, according to a statement in the *New York Messenger*, had the "reputation of being one of the most skillful seamen that has ever sailed from this [New York] port, and bears an excellent moral character." Captain and crew were declared to be "all temperance men."¹¹

The day of sailing was changed several times, but finally, on the 4th of February, 1846, the *Brooklyn* cleared New York harbor and headed southward on her long voyage. Of course it was a mere coincidence that the date the *Brooklyn* left New York harbor was also the very day on which the exodus from Nauvoo began.¹² Except for severe storms—one encountered in the Atlantic and the other in the Pacific—the latter in the latitude of Valparaiso¹³—the voyage was a pleasant one. The vessel touched at the Island of Juan Fernandez, famous as the solitary residence of Alexander Selkirk, 1704-09, where after landing on the 4th of May, they spent five days; also at Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands, June 20th, where they remained ten days; 1846, having made the journey in five months and twenty seven days.

Life and death were with them in their journey; there were two births and the children were named "Atlantic" and "Pacific" respectively; of deaths there were ten; and one, Sister Laura Goodwin, thrown from the stairway in the second storm, causing the premature birth of a child, followed by her own death, was buried on the Island of Juan Fernandez.

She, too, followed them. From the outset at New York an

⁹ *Times and Seasons*, Vol. VI, p. 1011.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 1012. The statement regarding her fleet condition "On account of the state of the ship, and the state of the crew, she was not fitted out for the voyage."

¹¹ *Times and Seasons*, Vol. VI, p. 1012.

¹² *Journal of the General Conference*, Vol. XXV, p. 101.

¹³ *See* *Journal of the General Conference*, Vol. XXV, p. 101. *Times and Seasons*, Vol. VI, p. 1012. *Journal of the General Conference*, Vol. XXV, p. 101. *Journal of the General Conference*, Vol. XXV, p. 101.

elaborate set of rules—twenty-one in all—were made, governing daily conduct and religious observances on Sundays. But, alas for human frailty! rules, however excellent, never yet perfectly controlled human conduct.¹³ So it proved in the experience of this *Brooklyn* company of Saints. Four leading members were excommunicated for improper views and conduct, “for wicked and licentious conduct,” according to Brannan’s report of the trial,¹⁴ which was had before the vessel reached San Francisco Bay. Three more were excommunicated for the same cause soon after the ship’s arrival at San Francisco.¹⁵

It is humiliating to have to record such an incident in connection with those essaying to be Saints; but such is human experience; good intentions, strict regulations, knowledge of what is right in conduct, and divine injunction thereto, are all inadequate at times to hold human nature true to the law of righteousness. It is a witness, however, this trial and the excommunication of the delinquents following, to the high ideals of this Latter-day Saint community. Iniquity, unhappily, appeared among them, but they had no fellowship with it, they would not condone or tolerate it. And thus far they gave evidence to the world that their religion pledged them to the maintenance of righteousness in the membership of the Church.

On arriving at San Francisco, then called “Yerba Buena,”¹⁶ the *Brooklyn* company found the American flag waving over the fort, the guns of which had saluted their entrance into the bay, and to which the guns of the *Brooklyn* responded, “and all hearts felt more cheerful and secure,” writes one of the passengers. On the announcement of the U. S. naval officer, who boarded the *Brooklyn* as she came to anchor, that the emigrants “were in the United States of America,” three hearty cheers

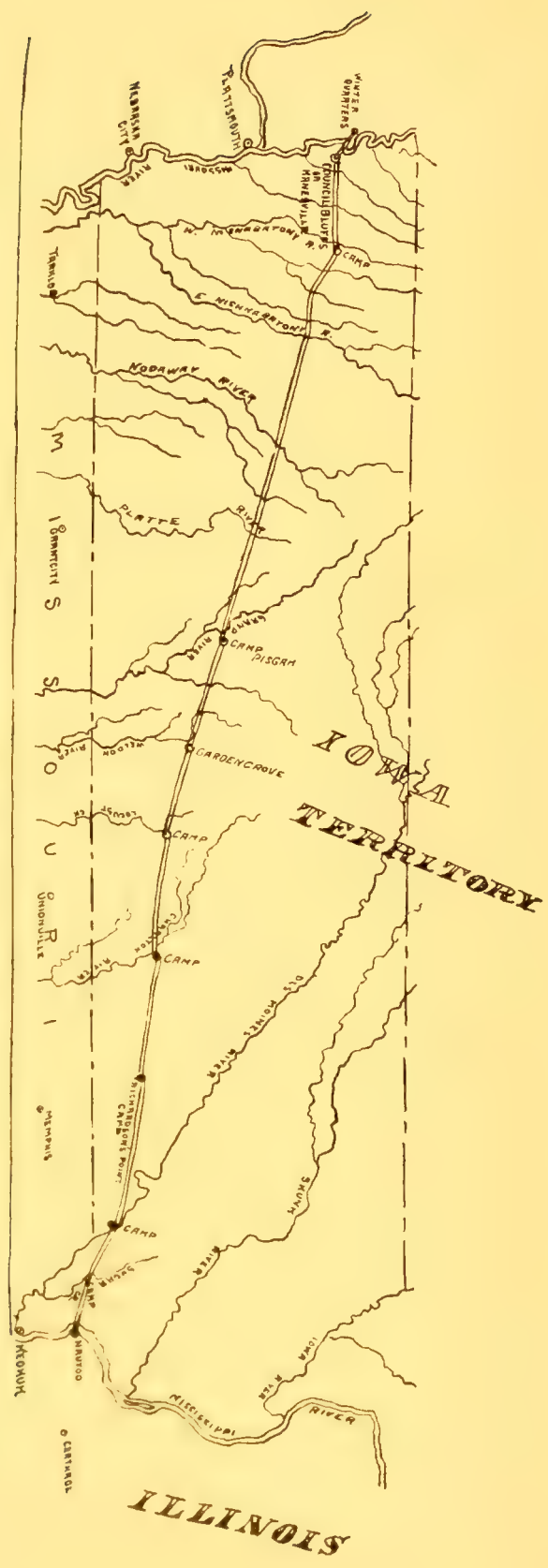
^{13.} Said rules are published *in extenso* in *Times and Seasons*, Vol. VI, pp. 1127-8.

^{14.} *Mill. Star*, Vol. IX, p. 307.

^{15.} Bancroft’s “History of California,” Vol. V, pp. 549, 551; Also *Mill. Star* Vol. IX, pp. 306, 307; Brannan’s letter, where the names of the transgressors are given.

^{16.} Spanish, meaning “good herb.”

Route of the Mormon Camp of Israel from Nauvoo to Council Bluffs—1841.



were given in reply.¹⁷ The officer was Captain Montgomery of the *U. S.* war sloop "*Portsmouth*;" he was then in command of Yerba Buena and the surrounding country. Three weeks previous to the arrival of the Saints, the United States flag had been raised and the country taken possession of in the name of the government which the flag represented.

On landing, the ship's company pitched some tents, which were soon filled; sixteen families were quartered in the old Spanish barracks, "their apartments being divided by quilts or other accommodating partitions." The cooking had to be done out of doors, and orders were given that all must stay within certain limits; for while "the war with Mexico was virtually ended, the vindictive enemy lurked ever near, ready to wreak vengeance upon the unwary."¹⁸ With the landing of the *Brooklyn's* company, and their quartering in tents and in the old Spanish barracks of the fort, made San Francisco, "for a time, very largely a Mormon town."¹⁹

During the voyage a contract was drawn up and signed, instituting something in the nature of a limited communism "for the convenience and protection" of the company in the new settlement to be founded. The contract bound signing members to give the proceeds of their labor for the next three years into a common fund from which all were to draw their living. The plan, however, like so many of a similar character, before and since that day, was not successful. In a few months quite a number withdrew, and finally the whole effort at community life was abandoned.

On landing, complaints were made against Braman by a few of the company, alleging bad treatment during the passage; and this caused Captain Montgomery to institute a court of investi-

¹⁷ So write Mrs. Crocheron, before noticed. Bancroft Hist. Cal. V, p. 550, repeats the alleged saying of Elder Braman on seeing the American flag waving over the Fort—"There is that damned flag again!" but gives no authority for the alleged remark, and for himself discredits the exclamation, by adding—"but it has been the fashion greatly to exaggerate their disappointment"—i. e., on finding the United States in possession of San Francisco. The *Brooklyn's* company had learned at Honolulu, from Commodore Stockton, just then departing for Monterey, of the prospect of the United States occupying California; and there is no evidence that the Saints were displeased with that prospect. See note 2 end of chapter.

¹⁸ The Crocheron narrative, *Western Galaxy*, March, 1888.

¹⁹ Bancroft's History of California, Vol. V, p. 551.

gation, before which the larger part of the company "were cited to appear for private inquiry." The trial resulted, however, in a victory for Brannan, against whom nothing of a serious nature seems to have been proved.²¹

The "*Brooklyn*" company of saints at "Yerba Buena" seem to have won a reputation as "honest and industrious citizens;" for orderly and moral conduct "both on land and sea;"²² and this notwithstanding the delinquencies of the few already noted in these pages. They sought employment wherever it was to be had; but a party of twenty were detailed to start a settlement and put in crops, preparatory to removing the "*Brooklyn Colony*" to it in the spring. A site was chosen on the north bank of the Stanislaus, about a mile and a half from a larger river, the San Joaquin, which empties into San Francisco Bay. The settlement was called "New Hope."²³ A log house and a saw-mill were built, and eighty acres of land fenced and seeded; but beyond this nothing was accomplished. William Stout had charge of the enterprise at New Hope; and some aver that misunderstandings with him were the occasion of breaking up the settlement. It is most likely, however, that the uncertainty of the main body of the Church coming through to the Pacific coast was a large factor in the discouragement of the New Hope Colony.²⁴ Brannan, according to the account of William Glover,

21. Brannan himself gives an account of this incident in a letter to "The Saints in England," *Mill. Star*, Vol. IX, pp. 306-7. He felicitates himself on his acquittal in the exclamation, "but the truth was mighty and prevailed!" The "History of California" by Tuthill, p. 214-5, refers to this incident as "the first jury trial of California," and says that it was won by Brannan. In Ryan's *Judges and Criminals*, 59-60, is a burlesque account of the examination, and implies that the trouble was over funds. The *Monterey California* refers to the incident as a split in the Mormon ranks, which if it should result in scattering them, will be good for the country. In this last publication the Mormons are spoken of as "a plain, laborious, frugal people, not meriting the opprobrium heaped upon them." Bancroft's Hist. Cal. Vol. V, 552 and note.

22. Bancroft Hist. Cal. Vol. V, p. 551, where he says: "All bear witness to the orderly and moral conduct of the saints, both on land and sea. They were honest and industrious citizens, even if clannish and peculiar."

23. In California Annals it is called Stanislaus City. See Bancroft's Cal., Vol. V, p. 553 and note.

24. In the "History of San Joaquin County," (pp. 100-1) it is said that Stout claimed the farm that had been fenced, and advised others to enter lands individually, each for himself. This created trouble. Brannan was summoned to New Hope, and decided that the house and farm must be reserved for the Twelve apostles, whom Brannan at the time expected to arrive on the Pacific coast that season. Stout was dissatisfied with the decision and left the place, as did others.

In January, 1847, Brannan began the publication of the *Yerba Buena California Star*, using the press on which the *Prophet* had been printed in New York. It continued through the year 1847 and the next. It was published as a general newspaper rather than an organ of the Mormon Church, with occasional supplements or "extras" devoted to the special interests of that organization.²⁶

²⁵ Glover's "Mormons in California" is in *May*, and was written from memory in 1884, at the request of Franklin D. Richards, then Church Historian. See Bancroft, *Hist. Cal.*, Vol. V, p. 550-3 and notes.

2. It has been claimed that this was the pioneer newspaper of the "Golden State." This is an error, as it was preceded by the *Monterey Californian*, the first number of which was issued from the press on the 15th of August, 1846; and was removed to San Francisco in May, 1847. The most that may be claimed for Brannan's *Star* is that it was the first newspaper published in Yerba Buena, or San Brannan's *Star* is that it was the first newspaper published in Yerba Buena, or San According to Brannan it was to be "the government organ." Writing to the brethren in England, under date of Jan. 14, 1847, he says, "We shall commence publishing a paper next week, which will be the government organ by the sanction of Col. Fremont, who is now our Governor" (*Mill Star*, Vol. IX, p. 307).

lest they strengthen that enemy by the addition to him of their fighting force. But those who conferred with Brannan upon the subject at Washington were not actuated by any considerations of patriotism. Greed of gain through speculation was the motive that prompted what they did. They pretended to be aware of intentions on the part of the administration at Washington to prevent the departure of the "Mormons" from the United States for the above given reasons; but if the "Mormon" leaders would agree to transfer to a certain "A. G. Benson and Co., and to their heirs and assigns" the even numbers of all land units and town lots they might acquire in the country where they settled, then the all-powerful "A. G. Benson and Co.," would agree to prevent and secure them from all such interferences. It is evident that a strong coterie of Washington politicians were connected with this scheme, or conspiracy, for it deserves the latter title. No less a personage than Amos Kendall, Postmaster General in two former presidential administrations, the second of Jackson's and Van Buren's, 1835-1840, drew up the agreement with his own hand, which was signed by Brannan and witnessed by Elder W. I. Appleby, and sent to Brigham Young for final approval.

In his letter to Brigham Young announcing his action, bearing date of Jan. 26th, 1846, Brannan said:

"I haste to lay before your honorable body [the Twelve] the result of my movements since I wrote you last, which was from this city, stating some of my discoveries, in relation to the contemplated movements of the general government in opposition to our removal.

"I had an interview with Amos Kendall, in company with Mr. Benson, which resulted in a compromise, the conditions of which you will learn by reading the contract between them and us, which I shall forward by this mail. I shall also leave a copy of the same with Elder Appleby, who was present when it was signed. Kendall is now our friend, and will use his influence in our behalf, in connection with twenty-five of the most prominent demagogues in the country. *You will be permitted to pass out of the State unmolested.*²⁷ Their counsel is to go well armed, but keep them well secreted from the rabble.

²⁷ In a letter to Hedlock, President of the British mission, Brannan also wrote, under date of February 1st: "I have made arrangements with the government (U. S. S.) that we are to pass out of this country to California, by sea and by land, unmolested." (Mill. Star, Vol. VII, p. 77.)

"I shall select the most suitable spot on the Bay of San Francisco for the location of a commercial city. When I sail, which will be next Saturday, at one o'clock, I shall hoist a flag with '*Oregon*' on it."

In a postscript the writer of the above adds: "'Tis no gammon, but will be carried through, if you say amen. It was drawn up by Kendall's own hand; but no person must be known in it but Mr. Benson."

In a former letter to President Young, Brannan had represented that even the President of the United States, James K. Polk, was "a silent partner," in this disgraceful effort to prey upon the fears of an exiled people. Belief in the connection of the President of the United States with the affair, however, is generally discredited by Mormon writers.²⁸ Besides, the very questionable character of Elder Brannan, makes it possible to suspect him of misrepresentation and even of complicity in the schemes of the political sharpers at Washington.²⁹ That the use of the President's name was necessary to the success of the conspiracy is obvious to reason. It was his proclamation that could prevent the departure of the Mormons from the United States by asserting the likelihood of intention on their part to take sides with Great Britain or Mexico in the international controversies then pending; and thus find grounds on which to disarm them and order their dispersion. But as a "silent partner," to this infamous scheme he could withhold such a proclamation.

The whole plan, however, was rendered abortive by the action of Brigham Young and his associates. Brannan's letter reached President Young at his camp on Sugar Creek, Iowa, in February, 1846. On the 17th a council of the Twelve was called and Brannan's letter laid before them for consideration. The following excerpt from President Young's private journal shows the final disposition of the matter:

"The council considered the subject, and concluded that as

²⁸ See Tullidge's *Life of Brigham Young*, 1877, ch. iii. Whitney's *History of Utah*, Vol. I, p. 251. Brannan's first Letter is recorded in *Hist. B. Y. Mo.*, pp. 12, 13.

²⁹ See note 3 end of chapter, on the character of Brannan.

our trust was in God, and that, as we looked to Him for protection, we would not sign any such unjust and oppressive agreement. This was a plan of political demagogues to rob the Latter-day Saints of millions, and compel them to submit to it by threats of Federal bayonets."

The council did not even deign to reply to "Mr. Benson and Co." or take further notice of the incident; it was closed, so far as the Twelve were concerned, and it is not traceable further.

Of this *Brooklyn* company of Saints nearly one hundred adults with some forty children found their way in different parties, chiefly in 1848-50, to the Salt Lake valley, and to the main body of the church; the rest remained in California, and most of them, among whom was the leader, Brannan, left the Church, though a few afterwards joined later Mormon colonies established at San Bernardino and in Arizona.²⁹

In a later chapter, when other parts of our history shall have been developed, I shall have occasion to refer again to these Latter-day Saints on the Pacific coast, and point out how, at what they regarded as the call of duty, they turned away from the immediate prospect—nay, the absolute certainty of great wealth, to share the toils and privations of their brethren, constituting the main body of the Church, in the semi-desert valley of Great Salt Lake.

NOTE 1: OF THE SEA WORTHINESS OF THE SHIP BROOKLYN: Sister Augusta Joyce Crocheron, who accompanied her parents on the voyage, and in later years was numbered among Utah's poets, and a pleasing writer of early California incidents and experiences, gives a very different account of the *Brooklyn* from the one quoted in the text from the *Times and Seasons*. She describes the vessel as "old and almost worn out; she was one of the old time build, and was made more for work than beauty or speed. She had done her duty well and had borne her burdens without complaint. But she was old and showed unmistakable signs of weakness and decay. * * * Her roster was well officered, and she was well manned, but the hull was rickety, and she was chartered because she could be had cheap." (Com-

29. Bancroft's Hist., Cal. Vol. V, p. 554, and same author's Hist. of Utah, p. 503.



munication to the *Western Galaxy*, Tullidge, March, 1888). It should be remembered *per contra* of this, however, that Elder Brannan entrusted himself and family to the *Brooklyn*; that according to Mrs. Crocheron's own account she successfully weathered two severe tempests, one of which, from her own narrative, was the worst the *Brooklyn's* experienced Captain had ever seen, since he was "master of a ship." In the second storm, met off Cape Horn, a seaman was washed overboard, though subsequently rescued, and besides the ship made the long voyage, and brought her passengers to the destined port in safety, and in good time, less than six months from New York to San Francisco.

NOTE 2: THE ENTRANCE OF THE SHIP BROOKLYN INTO SAN FRANCISCO BAY—JOY OF THE COLONY ON BEHOLDING THE FLAG OF THEIR COUNTRY: The entrance of the ship *Brooklyn* into San Francisco Bay, and in what spirit the "Mormon" colony greeted the announcement that they had arrived in a United States harbor is well described by Mrs. Crocheron in the *Western Galaxy*: "On the 31st day of July, A. D., 1846, we passed the 'Golden Gate.' The day opened not with the glorious sunshine to us, for a fog hovered over the harbor of Yerba Buena, and a mist like a winter's robe hung all around, hiding from our eager eyes the few objects that were made weird and enigmatical in the nearness of the firm and solid ground, where we expected that soon willing labor would begin, homes be erected, fields cultivated, and peace and safety spread over us their wings of protection. * * * As we gazed through the misty walls we perceived dimly some familiar shapes looming up, sloops, whalers, ships of war, and waving from their masts as well as from the barracks, the well known and glorious flag of our country.

"A boom—and its echo filled the air: it was a salute from the cannon of the fort, ordered by the U. S. Commander. The *Brooklyn* responded, and all hearts felt more cheerful and secure. Look! in the dim distance a dark body gliding on the water towards us, while the familiar strokes of the oars brought it swiftly and steadily to our ship's side. It was a sturdy row boat, that seemed a familiar friend. In a few moments uniformed men trod the deck; we knew they were friends—Americans, not Mexicans. In our sweet native tongue the officer in command, with head uncovered, courteously and confidently said in a loud tone: "Ladies and Gentlemen, I have the honor to inform you that you are in the United States of America." Three hearty cheers were given in reply from faint and weary

lips, but rising from hearts strong, brave, hopeful and loyal still.

"They crowded upon the deck, women and children, questioning husbands and fathers, and studied the picture before them—they would never see it just the same again—as the foggy curtains furled towards the azure ceiling. How it imprinted itself upon their minds! A long, sandy beach strewn with hides and skeletons of slaughtered cattle, a few scrubby oaks, farther back low sand hills rising behind each other as a background to a few old shanties that leaned away from the wind, an old adobe barracks, a few donkeys plodding dejectedly along beneath towering bundles of wood, a few loungers stretched lazily upon the beach as though nothing could astonish them; and between that picture and the emigrants still loomed up here and there, at the first sight more distinctly, the black vessels—whaling ships and sloops of war, that was all—and that was Yerba Buena, now San Francisco, the landing place for the pilgrims of faith." (*Western Galaxy*, Tullidge, Vol. I, March, 1888).

NOTE 3: SAMUEL BRANNAN, LEADER OF THE BROOKLYN COLONY FROM NEW YORK TO CALIFORNIA: It is clear from the regular text of our history that Elder Samuel Brannan was an unsatisfactory character. He was a native of the State of Maine, born at Saco, 1819; but moved to Ohio, in 1833, where he learned the printer's trade, and traveled as a journey-man printer. It was during this period of his career that he came in contact with "Mormonism" and accepted it. Afterwards he was sent to New York to assist in publishing the "*Prophet*" and to preach the gospel. Here his appointment to charter a vessel and conduct a company of saints to the Pacific coast reached him. "He was a man," says Brancroft, "of more ability and zeal than high principle; still, few better could have been selected to lead his people around Cape Horn to the land of Promise" (Hist. Cal., Vol. V, p. 545). The first statement in the quotation finds strong support in both the course Brannon pursued and the principles he announced. According to Elder Parley P. Pratt Brannan in the eastern branches of the church was associated with Wm. Smith, brother of the Prophet, and one of the Twelve, Geo. J. Adams *et al*, "in corrupting the saints by introducing among them all manner of false doctrine and immoral practices, by which many of them had stumbled and had been seduced from virtue and truth. While many others seeing their iniquity, had turned away from the church and joined various dissenting parties" (Pratt's Autobiog. pp. 374-5).

"Acting under instructions from Brigham Young, Elder Pratt

directed Smith and Adams to return to Nauvoo to answer to the Church authorities for their conduct. Brannan and others he reproved and admonished to repentance, which apparently was effective, but a notice appearing in the *Nauvoo Neighbor* papers of Brannan being disfellowshipped, Elder Pratt urged him to repair to Nauvoo, acknowledge and frankly repent of his faults and seek restoration to his standing. Brannan accordingly went to Nauvoo, but apparently before his arrival there, upon the representations of William Smith, the order disfellowshipping him was reversed (*Times and Seasons*, Vol. VI, p. 879). He returned to the east in full fellowship and was entrusted with the leadership of the *Brooklyn Colony* as detailed in the text of the foregoing chapter.

"Elder Pratt in after years lamented the leniency shown to Brannan in New York. According to the Apostle's statement Brannan was "a corrupt and wicked man," and disgraced himself and the cause in his wider and more responsible career in California. And had there been less leniency shown him in New York "it would have saved the Church much loss," says Pratt, "and, perhaps, saved some souls which were corrupted in California and led astray and plundered by him" (Pratt's Autobiography, p. 357).

"In nothing does the frailty of his moral fibre appear than in the letter to Brigham Young accompanying his contract with "A. G. Benson and Co.," mentioned in the text. "I am aware" said he, "it is a covenant with death, but we know that God is able to break it, and will do it. The children of Israel, in their escape from Egypt had to make covenant for their safety, and leave it for God to break it." Mr. Brannan had read his Bible to little purpose when he so judged of God. "Lord, who shall abide in thy tabernacle? * * * He that sweareth to his own hurt, and changeth not." Even though God's people enter into covenant to their hurt, yet are they expected to keep covenant. Such the stern lesson of Israel's covenant with the Gibeonites: though obtained by subterfuge, yet when Saul attempted to break that covenant, God sent the punishment of famine upon Israel (c. f. Judges IX and II Samuel XXI), showing most emphatically that God keepeth covenant, and demands that his people also keep covenant even though it be to their disadvantage.

"Brannan participated in the early scenes of California's pioneer life—the discovery of gold; the wild speculations in San Francisco real estate; became the organizer of mining, milling and railway companies; purchased a great distillery, and became a large landed proprietor both in California and in So-

nora, Mexico; and for a time was known as the richest man in California. Bancroft declares that "he probably did more for San Francisco and for other places than was effected by the combined efforts of scores of better men; and, indeed, in many respects, he was not a bad man." (*Pioneer Register and Index*, Bancroft's Hist. Cal., Vol. II, p. 728). In the midst of these activities, however, he acquired habits of intemperance; "and he became as well known for his dissolute habits and drunken freaks as he had been for his wealth and ability," (Ibid). Domestic troubles led to divorce from his wife who had accompanied him to California in the *Brooklyn*; he afterwards remarried to a Mexican woman. Under unlucky speculations his vast fortune melted away, and for a number of years before his death he was "a sorry wreck, physically and financially" (Bancroft). He died in Sonora, Mexico, on the 6th of May, 1889. "He had some redeeming qualities," said the editorial of the Mormon Church organ commenting on his death, "and it is to be hoped that these will out-weigh the faults which were manifest in his adventurous and eventful life." (*Deseret News-Weekly*, May 18th, 1889).

CHAPTER LXII

THE CAMP OF ISRAEL'S MARCH FROM NAUVOO TO COUNCIL BLUFFS

It is time now that we return to the companies who led the exodus from Nauvoo. We have seen that the exodus began early in February, the first families crossing the river on the 4th. They were immediately followed by a large number of other families, because the river, meantime, had frozen over and they could cross on the ice. Their first encampment after leaving the west bank of the Mississippi was on Sugar Creek, about nine miles from Nauvoo. The cold attended by severe snow storms, became intense and remained so for some days,¹ and while this facilitated the exodus by enabling many to cross the river on the ice, it caused great suffering in the camps. Then, too, many left

I. The thermometer, according to notes in Orson Pratt's Journal ranged as follows:

February 26th, at 6 p. m., 10 degrees above zero.
 February 27th, at 6 a. m., 5 degrees above zero.
 February 27th, at 6 p. m., 21 degrees above zero.
 February 28th, at midnight, 21 degrees above zero.
 February 28th, at 6 a. m., 20 degrees above zero.
 February 28th, at noon, 41 degrees above zero.
 February 28, at 6 p. m., 26 degrees above zero.

the city ill prepared for life in the wilderness in mid-winter. In many cases their food supplies both for themselves and teams were exhausted in a few days, and they became a burden upon those who had proceeded with better judgment. Some confusion existed also as the camps had not yet received that efficient organization which characterized them later.

Many of the saints acted as if they feared the Twelve and other leading Elders would depart into the wilderness without the body of the Church. Then again, so anxious were certain over-zealous ones to be with the very head of the movement, that they crowded themselves forward and upon these leaders in such state of unpreparedness that they hampered the movement rather than aided it. Eight hundred men reported themselves at the Sugar Creek encampment, during the last two weeks of February, without more than a fortnight's provisions for themselves and teams. The head camp had not made more than one hundred and fifty miles west of Nauvoo, when President Young and the rest of the Apostles who had started with a year's provisions for themselves and families had fed it all out to their less provident brethren.² It was evident from the very start that resources for subsistence for this modern Israel in exodus must be created as they traveled. And their leaders were equal to the occasion. There was no complaining, so far as our annals show, because improvident and over zealous persons crowded themselves into these first camps.³ With commendable patience the great leader and dominant spirit of this movement, Brigham Young, took largely upon himself the cares and trials of his people. When he reproved them it was never for their being there and in destitute circumstances. Now and always Brigham Young stood by the poor. He it was who in the beginning

2. History of Brigham Young, *Mss.* under dates from 15th of February, when the leader crossed the Mississippi, with his family, to the camp on Sugar Creek, to March 1st. Also History of the Church, Geo. Q. Cannon, in *Juvenile Instructor*, Vol. XVI, p. 293. This History by Cannon is written, as would be supposed from the title of the periodical in which it serially appeared, for young people, and, moreover, for young people of the church; but as it was written by one who participated in the events and scenes he describes, and by a man of unusual keen observation and brilliant aptitude in statement, it is a valuable source of information on many events in Mormon History, especially on the journey from Nauvoo to the settlement in Salt Lake valley.

3. The nearest approach to it that I have found is in a speech of President Young's to the Camp at Garden Grove, about midway between Nauvoo and Council Bluffs, (see note I end of chapter).

of the exodus from Missouri, 1838, proposed that the brethren then enter into a covenant to stand by and assist each other, to the utmost of their abilities in removing from that state; that they would "never desert the poor, who are worthy, till they shall be out of the reach of the exterminating order of General Clark, acting for and in the name of the state."⁴ And at the last general conference of the Church held at Nauvoo, it was Brigham Young who proposed the covenant—"That we take all the saints with us, to the extent of our ability;" and explained that "our ability" meant their "influence and their property;" and he it was who prophesied that the Great God would shower down means upon this people to carry out their covenant to the very letter.⁵ It was not in character for him, then, any more than it was in the natural inclination of the man, to complain of the presence of the poor in the first Camps of Israel.

The Camps were passing through a new and for the most part a sparsely settled country. Money and labor and house-hold furnishings among those people were scarce. The Saints here and there had a little money among them, they were going where it would not be of much value; they had household furnishings, indispensable as they thought upon leaving Nauvoo, but which the simplicity of their camp life taught them they could do without. These, money and household goods, were readily exchanged for food supplies and cattle to strengthen their teams. They were rich in labor power, and the country on both sides of their line of travel was scoured for work that could be done by contract, and not too much delay their westerly movement. Contracts were obtained for husking corn, for splitting rails and fencing fields, for grading stretches of roads, constructing bridges over troublesome streams, for removing fallen dirt from coal beds, digging wells, building houses, clearing farms, and what ever else offered itself, that was honorable employment, by which they might exchange labor for means of subsistence, or increase the efficiency of their teams, by increasing the number of their animals.

4. This History, ante, ch. XXXII.

5. Ibid, ante, ch. LIX.

Their journey through southern Iowa was a fortunate circumstance for the settlers in those parts. It gave an impetus to the development of their farms and towns. These exiles from their city "Beautiful" and their homes⁶ asked for no gratuities. Their basis of barter with Iowa and Missouri settlers was an even exchange of equal values, and their own pressing necessities often led them to give the settlers the best of the bargain in the exchange.

Then, too, they could convert their labor-power into values on their own account. Land was plentiful and nearly every where fertile. Much of it as yet was public land, unsurveyed and not yet in market. This could be settled upon, planted by those upon it in the spring and the crops left to be harvested by the companies which would come later in the season. Plant that others may harvest! Sow that others may reap! This the lesson of every civilization that is worth while; the sacrifice of present comfort for future ease; the practice of present self-denial for future gain; by that process the world's capital was amassed; and what is akin to this, but beyond it in excellence, is the impulse or principle which leads to labor, to apparent bootless toil and self-sacrifice, that others may gain by it—that sows that others may reap. This the spirit of this New Dispensation of the Gospel received by and exemplified in the lives of this modern Israel in its march towards and into a wilderness that as yet had no definite, objective point marked off in it as the future home of these exiles.

To get, if possible, some assurance of protection or word of encouragement from the governor of the then Territory of Iowa, for this plan of settling temporarily on the public lands, President Young suggested, and the council of Apostles approved, the drafting of a petition to the governor of Iowa, James Clark, stating the reasons for the passage of the Camps of Latter-day Saints through the Territory, and the probability of several thousand more following them; also the harshness of the conditions of their banishment from their homes. As conclusion to all this, they said:

6. The character of these homes, their solidity and comfort, may be judged somewhat by engravings of some of them that appear in recent chapters of this History.

"We, the presiding authorities of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, as a committee in behalf of several thousand suffering exiles, humbly ask your Excellency to shield and protect us in our constitutional rights, while we are passing through the Territory over which you have jurisdiction. And should any of the exiles be under the necessity of stopping in this Territory for a time, either in settled or unsettled parts, for the purpose of raising crops, by renting farms or upon public lands, or to make the necessary preparations for their exile, in any lawful way, we humbly petition your Excellency to use an influence and power in our behalf, and thus preserve thousands of American citizens, together with their wives and children, from intense sufferings, starvation and death. And your petitioners will ever pray."

The petition was approved by the Council of the Camp on the 28th of February. No reply was received to this communication. Iowa was on the eve of admission into the Union, and possibly the Governor of the Territory believed the passing of the Saints through the south borders thereof, would be a problem which the incoming state officers should be left to solve.⁸

It was the first of March when the encampment on Sugar Creek was broken up. Doubtless the exiles were glad to leave a place where they had endured so much suffering from cold and exposure. In this women and children had been the chief sufferers. "Fancy," says one who has done much to perpetuate in graphic narrative the pictures of this exodus—"Fancy may find abundant subject for graphic story of the devotion, the suffering, the matchless heroism of the sisters, in the telling incident that nine children were born to them the first night they camped on Sugar Creek, February 5th, 1846."⁹

On this theme, Eliza R. Snow, herself a woman of education and refinement, a poetess withal, and a woman of both high character and ability, says of these births in camp:

"We had been preceded [from Nauvoo] by thousands, and I was informed that on the first night of the encampment nine

7. Hist. of Brigham Young's Mss., p.

8. Iowa was admitted into the Union 28th December, 1846. The enabling act had been passed the year before.

9. "The woman of Mormondom," Edward Tullidge, 1877, p. 304.

children were born into the world, and from that time, as we journeyed onward, mothers gave birth to offspring under almost every variety of circumstances imaginable, except those to which they had been accustomed; some in tents, others in wagons—in rainstorms and in snow storms. I heard of one birth which occurred under the rude shelter of a hut, the sides of which were formed of blankets fastened to poles stuck in the ground, with a bark roof through which the rain was dripping. Kind sisters stood holding dishes to catch the water as it fell, thus protecting the new comer and its mother from a shower-bath as the little innocent first entered on the stage of human life; and through faith in the Great Ruler of events, no harm resulted to either.

“Let it be remembered that the mothers of these wilderness-born babies were not savages, accustomed to roam the forest and brave the storm and tempest—those who had never known the comforts and delicacies of civilization and refinement. They were not those who, in the wilds of nature, nursed their offspring amid reeds and rushes, or in the recesses of rocky caverns; most of them were born and educated in the Eastern States—had there embraced the gospel as taught by Jesus and his apostles, and, for the sake of their religion, had gathered with the Saints, and under trying circumstances had assisted, by their faith, patience and energies, in making Nauvoo what its name indicates, ‘the beautiful’. There they had lovely homes, decorated with flowers and enriched with choice fruit trees, just beginning to yield plentifully.

“To these homes, without lease or sale, they had just bade a final adieu, and with what little of their substance could be packed into one, two, and in some instances, three wagons, had started out, desert-ward, for—where? To this question the only response at that time was, God knows.”¹⁰

Reflecting upon the sufferings endured at Sugar Creek as the encampment was breaking up, Brigham Young had recorded in his *Journal*, these words:

“We could have remained sheltered in our homes had it not been for the threats and hostile demonstrations of our enemies, who, notwithstanding their solemn agreements, had thrown every obstacle in our way, not respecting either life, or liberty, or property; so much so that our only means of avoiding a rupture was by starting in mid-winter.”¹¹

10. Quoted by Tullidge, “Women of Mormondom,” ch. XXXII.

11. History Brigham Young, *Mss.*, p. 40.

Referring to the misrepresentations of the Saints and their motives, which alone made possible this enforced expatriation, he said:

“Our homes, gardens, orchards, farms, streets, bridges, mills, public halls, magnificent temple, and other public improvements we leave as a monumnet of our patriotism, industry, economy, uprightness of purpose, and integrity of heart; and as a living testimony of the falsehood and wickedness of those who charge us with disloyalty to the Constitution of our country, idleness and dishonesty.”¹²

It was high noon when the encampment on Sugar Creek was ready to move. Then five hundred wagons were put in motion moving painfully and slowly northwesterly along the banks of Sugar Creek. After making five miles through the snow they camped again. “After scraping away the snow we pitched our tents and, building large fires, we soon found ourselves as comfortable as circumstances would permit; . . . and after bowing before our Great Creator and offering up praise and thanksgiving to Him and imploring His protection, we resigned ourselves to the slumbers of the night.”¹³ At midnight the weather had softened a little; the thermometer stood at 28 degrees Fh. The above described incidents were repeated many times, only often made more disagreeable by fierce, blinding storms and by alternating thaws and frosts, which rendered roads all but impassable by deep mud or frost-baked roughness. The second day’s march brought the Camp to the east bank of the Des Moines river, four miles below the little village of Farmington.

With this advanced Camp of the great exodus there had come a brass band, led by Captain Pitt. After encampment was made and the toils of the day were over, the snow would be scraped away, a huge fire or several of them kindled within the wagoned enclosure, and there to the inspiring music of Pitt’s band, song and dance often beguiled the exiles into forgetfulness of their trials and discomforts. Then was realized the picture drawn by the Hebrew Prophet—“The virgin shall rejoice in the dance, both young men and old together; for I will turn their mourning into joy; and will comfort them, and make them rejoice from

12. Ibid.

13. Orson Pratt’s Journal entry Mch. 1st, 1846.

their sorrow." The men of Iowa, it is said, looked on with amazement, when witnessing such scenes and were told that these were the exiled "Mormons" from Nauvoo, "bound they knew not whither, 'except where God should lead them by the hand of his servant.'"¹⁴

A number of the citizens of Farmington visited the camp, and, witnessing these festivities—I see not how they can be called otherwise, incongruous as they may seem to the circumstances of the exiles—invited the band to come to their village and give a concert. And the band accepted. With which the people of Farmington were highly pleased. And that was a circumstance oft repeated by the band in the settlements along the route from Farmington to Council Bluffs, where they arrived about mid-June, and always with the same good effect. In this respect this modern, exiled Israel differed somewhat from the ancient, captived Israel. The latter "wept" when they remembered Zion, and "hanged their harps upon the willows in the midst thereof." And when their captors required of them a song and mirth, saying "Sing us one of the songs of Zion," the captives made answer—"How shall we sing the Lord's song in a strange land?"¹⁵ and wept. But not so this modern, exiled Israel; they sang and played and everywhere found favor, softened hearts, and changed the sentiments even of their enemies.¹⁶ It is conceded that the difference between the circumstances of the ancient and modern peoples, here partially and momentarily thrown into contrast, was very great, and I am not pressing the contrast too literally; but truly it is remarkable, I submit, and scores heavily on the side of the "Saints" that they could thus forget all their sorrows and their wrongs and minister to the pleasure of those who, at best, had but small sympathy with them. And while they had much cause for the practice of aloofness from all except those of their own faith, it is to their credit that they were not soured, or hard-

14. Tullidge—Life of Brigham Young, p. 33, also Bancroft's Utah, p. 220. "Beyond Sugar Creek, after prayer they held a dance, and as the men of Iowa looked on they wondered how these homeless outcasts from Christian civilization could thus praise and make merry in view of their abandoning themselves to the mercy of savages and wild beats."

15. Psalms, 137.

16. Hist. Brigham Young Mss. *passim*; and Tullidge's Life of Brigham Young, p. 33-36, Bancroft's Utah, p. 220.

ened into social indifference towards their fellowmen, above all their fellow countrymen. The fact held in it a prophecy that the then impending and enforced expatriation would be but a temporary condition; that the Saints would remain Americans in the sense of being loyal to the institutions and government of the United States, as the dominant power pledged to the maintenance of human freedom and civic righteousness in this western hemisphere—America! to these Latter-day Saints a larger land of promise for both Israel and also for Gentile nations.¹⁷

And as the exiles were patient and cheerful in their actual sufferings, so, too, were they moderate, as a rule, in their reports of their trials. Chief among those reports worthy of all respect is one made by the late President John Taylor who participated in the scenes he describes. What he says of these matters was in a communication addressed to the Saints in England.¹⁸ In this article, while he dwells at some length upon the sufferings of his people from the fury of the pitiless storm—the drifting snow, the pelting hail and the icy chill of tempests, Elder Taylor does not forget to vindicate God, whose part it was to stand very near to His people in such trying times. In concluding his remarks on the exposure of the Saints to cold and storms, he says:

“We sustained no injury therefrom; our health and our lives were preserved—we outlived the trying scene—we felt contented and happy—the songs of Zion resounded from wagon to wagon—from tent to tent; the sound reverberated through the woods, and its echo was returned from the distant hills; peace, harmony, and contentment reigned in the habitations of the Saints.”

So, too, in speaking of the privations of camp life:

“It is true that in our sojourning we do not possess all the luxuries and delicacies of old established countries and cities, but we have an abundance of the staple commodities, such as flour, meal, beef, mutton, pork, milk, butter and in some in-

17. Book of Mormon II, Nephi, X; also “Mormon Views of America, in “Defense of the Faith and the Saints,” Vol. I, pp. 401-441.

18. Mill. Star, Vol. VIII, Nos. 7 and 8.

stances cheese, sugar, coffee, tea, etc., etc. We feel contented and happy in the wilderness. The God of Israel is with us—union and peace prevail; and as we journey, as did Abraham of old, with our flocks and herds to a distant land, we feel that like him, we are doing the will of our Heavenly Father and relying upon His word and promises; and having His blessing, we feel that we are children of the same promise and hope, and that the great Jehovah is our God.”

Such remarks as these lighten the rather sombre picture that is sometimes drawn by writers who relate the story of the expulsion from Nauvoo, and the subsequent journey in the wilderness; and who in their anxiety to give a vivid picture of the sufferings of the Saints, forget to vindicate the goodness of God who was with His people in those trying times, and who, by opening the way before them to obtain food and lands to dwell upon, and giving them strength as their day, made their afflictions light.

Accepting the theory that where the Douglas sits there is the head of the table, which translated here means that where Brigham Young is there is the “Camp of Israel,” as this moving caravan of exiles was called, we trace the chief encampments as follows—“chief” because of the length of time they constituted the headquarters of the movement.

After Sugar Creek, *Richardson Point*, fifty-five miles west of Nauvoo, near a branch of Chequest Creek, and reached by Brigham Young on the 7th of March, became headquarters, and the Camp remained at this place until the 19th of the same month, as heavy rains made the roads and swollen streams impassable.¹⁹ The next encampment was on the *Chariton River*, where the leader established his headquarters on the 22nd of March,²⁰ and remained until the 1st of April. Thence to an encampment on *Locust River*, reached by Brigham Young on the 6th of April. *Garden Grove*, so named by the Saints, was made headquarters of the Camp on the 25th of April,²¹ about one hundred and fifty miles from Nauvoo. *Mount Pisa*, so named by Parley P.

19. History of Brigham Young *Mss.*, p. 82. This “History” is kept in Journal form.

20. History of Brigham Young, *Mss.* 110.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 150.

Pratt,²² became headquarters on the 18th of May;²³ and on the 14th of June, *Council Bluffs*, on the Missouri, was reached and became headquarters. The first encampment here was made in the river bottom, but at the suggestion of the leader the camp was moved back on to the bluffs overlooking the river both because they could there obtain spring water, and be a little further removed from the Omaha Indians, living in the bottoms.²⁴

The arrival of the Camp at Council Bluffs marks the first stage in the larger journey to the Great Basin of the Rocky Mountains. Its march across the territory of Iowa is a splendid illustration of what may be accomplished by men under organization, supplemented and aided by the religious sentiment to inspire mutual patience and charity. It is safe to say that nothing in the history of our country, and perhaps not in the history of the world, quite parallels this journey from Nauvoo to Council Bluffs,²⁵ except the subsequent march of the same people from the Missouri river to the shores of the Great Salt Lake, the Dead Sea of the intermountain west. It must be remembered that the ranks of the first camps were constantly swelled by

22. Elder Pratt was scouting ahead of his company sent in advance to seek a new location when he came upon the spot to which he gave the name above mentioned. Following is his own account of the incident: "Riding about three or four miles through beautiful prairies, I came suddenly to some round and sloping hills, grassy and crowned with beautiful groves of timber; while alternate open groves and forests seemed blended in all the beauty and harmony of an English park. While beneath and beyond, on the West, rolled a main branch of Grand River, with its rich bottoms of alternate forest and prairie. As I approached this lovely scenery several deer and wolves, being startled at the sight of me, abandoned the place and bounded away till lost from my sight amid the groves. Being pleased and excited at the varied beauty before me, I cried out, 'this is *Mount Pisgah*.' I returned to my camp, with the report of having found the long sought river, and we soon moved on and encamped under the shade of these beautiful groves." Pratt's *Autobiography*, p. 381.

23. Hist. of Brigham Young, *Mss.*, p. 176.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 197.

25. H. H. Bancroft in his *History of Utah* very boldly declares this to be his view. He says: "There is no parallel in the world's history to this migration from Nauvoo. The exodus from Egypt was from a heathen land, a land of idolaters, to a fertile region designated by the Lord for his chosen people, the land of Canaan. The Pilgrim Fathers in flying to America came from a bigoted and despotic people—a people making few pretensions to civil or religious liberty. It was from these same people who had fled from old-world persecutions that they might enjoy liberty of conscience in the wilds of America, from their descendants and associates, that other of their descendants, who claimed the right to differ from them in opinion and practice, were now fleeing. True, the Mormons in various ways had rendered themselves abominable to their neighbors: so had the Puritan Fathers to their neighbors. Before this the Mormons had been driven to the outskirts of civilization, where they had built themselves a city; this they must abandon and throw themselves upon the mercy of savages." (*Hist. of Utah*, pp. 217-18).

fresh bands from Nauvoo, until by the fall of the year there were brought together, chiefly on the banks of the Missouri, but with some yet *en route*, "15,000 saints, 3,000 wagons, 30,000 head of cattle, a great number of mules and horses, and immense flocks of sheep."²⁶

It has already been remarked that the organization of the Camps was not perfected in the early stages of the journey, and this resulted in some disorder and disappointments. But the defects, in the main, were amended at the encampment on the Chariton, on the 27th of March;²⁷ and thereafter more system and better order prevailed.

The first steps in organization, when it was decided that the Saints must leave Nauvoo, was to select twenty-five men called captains of hundreds; authorized in turn to select one hundred families, and see to it that they were prepared for their journey across the Rocky Mountains. The Captain of hundreds were also instructed to select captains of fifties, and of tens, with clerks, guards, etc., and making such division of camp work as gave best promise of success. But so many in the first companies came only for the purpose of assisting in getting the exodus started, removing the public or Church property, then returning to Nauvoo for their own families, that it resulted in some confusion. This, together with the divisions getting separated by storms, bad roads, and the necessity of leaving the camps to find employment, made keeping intact the plan of organization, as originally projected, at least for the first few weeks, impossible. At this 27th of March meeting, however, the Camp's affairs were set in order. Brigham Young was unanimously elected President over the whole "Camp of Israel." Three men were elected Captains of hundreds²⁸ (i. e. of families); six, captains of fifties; these captains of fifties took the place of the former captains of

26. Taylor's "Address to the Saints in Great Britain," Mill. Star, Vol. VIII, p. 114.

27. The meeting at which the organization was made more thorough was really held about six or eight miles west of the Chariton headquarters, at the camp of P. P. Pratt on the Shoal Creek, where two council meetings were held upon the subject of camp organization. Hist. Brigham Young, *Mss.*, pp. 45-48.

28. Ezra T. Benson, John Smith, Samuel Bent were elected Captains of hundreds. Albert P. Rockwood, Stephen Markham, John Harvey, Howard Egan, Chas. C. Rich and John Crisman were chosen captains of fifties.

fifties,²⁹ who were promoted to Presidents over their divisions (except in the case of the first hundred which was left open for further consideration).³⁰

Willard Richards was sustained as the Historian of the Church and of the Camp. William Clayton was appointed Clerk for the whole Camp; and a clerk for each fifty was also appointed. There was a Commissary General for the whole Camp appointed—Henry Sherwood; also for each fifty there was appointed a contracting commissary and a distributing commissary. The subdivision of the fifties into tens with their captains, guards, herdsmen, etc., was evidently left to be worked out by the officers of the respective fifties.

This organization greatly facilitated the movements of the camp, and evidently pleased the President; for some time after it was effected he remarked to some of the brethren whom he met in council, that “they were taking a course that would result in salvation, not only to that Camp, but to the Saints who were still behind. He said he did not think there ever had been a body of people since the days of Enoch who had done so little grumbling under such unpleasant circumstances. He was satisfied that the Lord was pleased with the majority of the Camp of Israel. *But there had been some things done which were wrong.*”³¹

When the Camp moved it was customary to send out an advance company called “pioneers,” who blazed the trail to be followed by the wagons. Some times they detailed a squad from their company to build a bridge or clear a way through the underbrush of the timber tracts they crossed; while still others would be detailed to find a suitable encampment. Trading or foraging expeditions, under the direction of the contracting commissaries, were sent out to scour the country for corn and cattle, in exchange for cash and household goods, table furnishings, feathers, silverware, etc.; other parties were sent out to

(Continued on p. 187)

29. These former captains were Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Parley P. Pratt, Peter Haws, John Taylor, and Bishop George Miller.

30. I cannot find from our annals if the matter was ever taken up again.

31. History of the Church—Cannon—*Juvenile Instructor*, Vol. XVII, p. 315. Also Hist. of Brigham Young *Ms.*, p. 112, 141-2.



Fig. 1. The West of England

the camp organization on the 27th of March, leading spirits were better controlled.³⁶

Some thefts occurred in the camps which brought forth the sternest reproofs from President Young. He even intimated that persistence in thieving might lead to capital punishment. Answering the suggestion that such a course might lead to violence upon himself by the thieves, he replied with spirit: "*I would rather die by the hand of the meanest of all men, false brethren, than to live among thieves.*"³⁷

A few men in camp had in their possession counterfeit money which they were base enough to pass off upon the Iowa settlers in exchange for corn and stock. On the occasion of a quarrel among these parties over the division of profits arising from their traffic, the affair reached the ears of President Young who at once went to their encampment. He reproved them for dealing in base coin and told the leader in the matter that "*unless he repented and forsook such dishonesty, the hand of the Lord would be against him, and all those who partook of such corruption.*"³⁸ It is noted that the words of President Young were fulfilled. The chief actor in the business, "and his whole family," remarks Geo. Q. Cannon, "became apostates and very disreputable people, and the hand of the Lord was visibly against him. The man also to whom he gave the bogus money to pass eventually lost his standing in the Church and went down."³⁹

After entering the Pattawattomie country a piece of bogus money was passed upon an Indian. Making the discovery the Indian and his friends took an ox from the next passing company and killed it. When the matter was reported to President Young he declared, "*the Indian had done just right.*"⁴⁰

James M. Hemmick for some wrong sustained, fancied or real, challenged Wilber J. Earl to fight a duel—"Let James M. Hemmick be discharged from the service of this camp forthwith, by order of the council—[signed] Willard Richards, Clerk." Such was the prompt action of the council in that matter.

36. Parley P. Pratt in his Autobiography refers to these matters at some length, pp. 379-80.

37. Hist. Brigham Young Ms., pp. 31, 32.

38. History of Brigham Young Ms., p. 171

39. History of the Church, *Juvenile Instructor*, Vol. XVII, p. 393.

40. History of Brigham Young Ms., p. 204.

annually—and that the tithes be received and disbursed to the poor and the sick among them.

At Mount Pisga the scenes of Garden Grove were reinacted. A farm of “several thousand acres,” was inclosed and planted, and the place became a permanent settlement,³⁴ of which William Huntington was made President with Ezra T. Benson and Charles C. Rich as his counselors.

This work accomplished President Young’s camp moved forward until it reached the Missouri, as already stated, on the 14th of June. The season was now late for planting, yet preparations for enclosing lands and plowing and planting were begun, while Bishop Miller with a number of men detailed to assist him began the construction of a ferry boat with which to cross the Missouri, and continue the westward march. Thus the “Camp of Israel” had become a veritable marching, industrial column; founding settlements as it marched; planting for others to harvest, and leaving behind them within easy reach bases of supplies that insured their own safety in case of emergency.

That irregularities should appear in the course of this western march is to be expected. The leader praised the Camp of Israel for uniformly good conduct, and assured them that God was pleased with the majority of the camp; “*but there had been some things done which were not right,*” he was compelled to add. Among these things was a disposition on the part of a few—very few, however—to insubordination; a manifest desire to disregard camp regulations and draw off to themselves. Under his journal entry for March 21st, President Young says: . . .

“I remarked today that Bishop Miller seeks to go ahead and separate himself from his brethren, but he cannot prosper in so doing, he will yet run against a snag and call upon me and the Camp for help.”³⁵ We shall see in a subsequent chapter how the prediction was fulfilled. This disposition was severely reproved from time to time by the leader, and after the reconstruction of

Continued on p. 185

34. Parley P. Pratt’s Aut., p. 381. Also History of Brigham Young Ms., p. 176, *et seq.*

35. Hist. Brigham Young Ms., p. 110.

make labor contracts, and thus all was orderly activity and intense life.

The Camp arriving at Garden Grove on the 25th of April, the time had come to put into effect the plan determined upon some time before, *viz*, to fence and put in a crop of large acreage, leaving it for other camps to harvest as they came up to it later. The camp divisions within reach were called together, and a division of the labor force made. Three hundred and fifty-nine laboring men promptly reported for duty, exclusive of commissaries and herdsmen. From these 100 were selected to split rails; 10 were appointed to build fences; 48 to build houses; 12 to dig wells; 10 to build bridges; and the remainder were directed to clear land, to plow and plant. There was no place for idlers there; indeed idleness persisted in was made cause for disfellowship from the camp. "The camp was like a hive of bees," says George Q. Cannon, "every one was busy. And withal the people felt well and happy."³²

The appearance of permanency was given to this encampment by the appointment of Elder Samuel Bent to preside over the settlement, with Aaron Johnson and David Flumer as his counselors. It was voted also that each man who remained there should have his land assigned to him in proportion to his family. Thus notwithstanding the settlement was founded by community effort, and was possible only through this co-operation, yet individual ownership of property was contemplated and provided for. Only in one respect was it modified. "I advised," said President Young, "that if a man would not till his land, it should be taken from him."³³ These views he had of land ownership, as we shall see, governed him throughout his colony-planting career—"No man shall hold more land than he can cultivate." The Presidency of Garden Grove was instructed to carry out the above suggestions; to see that the crops were cared for and secured; that the people be taught the law of tithing—the payment of one-tenth of their increase to the Church

32. "History of the Church"—Cannon—*Juvenile Instructor*, Vol. XVII, p. 325. Seven hundred and fifteen acres were broken up and planted at this encampment. (Hist. Brigham Young Ms., p. 160).

33. Hist. Brigham Young Ms., p. 110. The same penalty was suggested if he would not gather his crop. "Let Father Bent"—the President of the settlement—"Let Father Bent put them [the crops] into his own store-house." *Ibid*.

On the Chariton a boy shot an otter but on picking it up he found it was in a trap. He skinned the otter and brought the skin into Camp. Soon afterwards a Mr. Davis, a trapper on the Chariton, came into Camp and declared that he had lost six out of eight traps he had set on the river, and intimated that they had been stolen. Next morning President Young had a thorough search made of the Camp for the traps, but none could be found. Col. Markham was instructed to take the otter skin and the boy to Mr. Davis—"I instructed Brother Markham to say to the man, that if one of his traps were found within one thousand miles of that place it should be sent back to him with the man that took it."⁴¹ Speaking of the search made in the Camp for the traps, President Young said: "Previous to this I had said that if any man in this Camp was found stealing he ought to forfeit all his property."⁴²

In addition to these manifestations of individual dishonesty there were those who would hunt and fish on the Lord's Day; some that were neglectful of prayer,⁴³ and given to boisterous conduct, much to the annoyance of the President of the Camp according to his mention of these things in his journal history, and his expression of the annoyance such conduct gave him. But while these things must be noted in a history of the great march, they represent but the aberrations in the community conduct, such as must be respected in any assembly of such numbers, and under such circumstances; and while regrettable as blemishes in the community life, and to be censured, they do not destroy the glory of achievement in this exodus, nor blot out the fact that this caravan of exiles was a righteous, god-fearing, religious people. Despite the individual delinquences noted they were honest, industrious, self-sacrificing, and won the esteem, and trust and applause of the settlers in the country through which they passed, and of the savage tribes among

41. History Brigham Young *Ms.*, pp. 120-1. When Markham went for the boy he could not be found, but that officer returned the skin with President Young's message, and Mr. Davis expressed himself satisfied with the action of the officer of the Camp (*Ibid*, 124).

42. P. 124.

43. It was the law of the camp that there should be daily prayer in every family; "Every family must call on the Lord night and morning at every tent or wagon," said President Young at the outset; "*and we shall have no confidence in the man that does not.*" (Hist. of Brigham Young *Ms.*, 21).

whom they had now pitched their tents on the banks of the Missouri.

NOTE 1: THE WESTERN MOVEMENT HINDERED BY DETERMINATION OF THE PEOPLE TO BE WITH THE APOSTLES. The near approach to complaining on the part of the leader of the Camps, referred to in note 3 of the text, was more in the nature of an explanation than of a complaint as to how the zeal and unpreparedness of some of the Saints were hindering the progress of the general movement. President Young said: "When the removal westward was in contemplation at Nauvoo, had the brethren submitted to our [the Twelve Apostles] counsel, and brought their teams and means and authorized me to do with them as the Spirit and wisdom of the Lord directed, then we could have fitted out a company of men, who were not encumbered with large families, and sent them over the mountains to put in crops and build houses, and the residue could have gathered, beginning with the Priesthood, and the gathering continued from year to year, building and planting at the same time. Were matters to be so conducted, none would be found crying for bread, or destitute of clothing; but all would be provided for as designed by the Almighty. But instead of taking this course the Saints have crowded on us all the while, and have completely tied our hands by importuning and saying, 'Do not leave us behind. Wherever you go we want to go, and be with you;' and thus our hands and feet have been bound, which has caused our delay to the present time; and now hundreds at Nauvoo are continually praying and importuning with the Lord that they may overtake us, and be with us. And just so it is with the Saints here. They are afraid to let us go on and leave them behind; forgetting that they have covenanted to help the poor away at the sacrifice of all their property." (*History of Brigham Young Ms.*, p. 162, also *Cannon Juvenile Instructor*, Vol. XVII, p. 326).

“A. Lincoln, March 7, 1832,” and Later

BY J. H. ROCKWELL

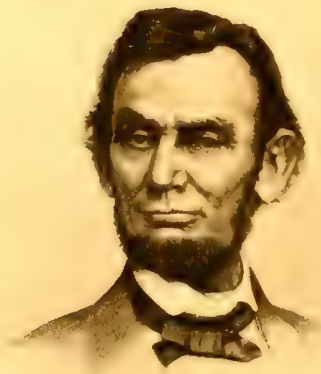
AS time passes and the distance widens between the present and the closing years of the Great Emancipator's life, few incidents, touching that life, are so insignificant as to be devoid of public interest. For this reason we submit the following narrative, vouching for nothing except that the men who made the discovery named are well known and thoroughly reliable persons. The log with the inscription can answer for itself.

A man by the name of Morgan—William Morgan—living at Osbornville, Illinois, a little town fifteen miles southwest of Decatur—the city, by the way, in which was held the state convention that presented Mr. Lincoln's name to the Chicago convention as Illinois' “favorite son,” recently brought to the custodian of the State Historical Library a section of red-elm log, measuring about twenty inches in length and bearing on one side of it the inscription:

“A. LINCOLN, MARCH 7, 1832.”

The log was discovered less than a year ago, in a pile of drift in the Sangamon river, and that the name and date carved upon it were carved by Lincoln there seems to be little doubt among those personally familiar with the history of Mr. Lincoln's early life and habits. It is recalled by these men that Lincoln was quite as much given, in those earlier days, to the inscription of his name, here and there, as he was in later years to sitting for his picture; not because of vanity—for he was anything but vain—but solely because it was a source of simple pleasure to him.

Mr. Morgan gives his story of the finding of the log in such
(190)



A. Lincoln

a concise way that we have followed his own words in the transcription of it.

"Richard Cochran and I were together when the log was found. We were prying out some large pieces of wood from a drift that had formed in the Sangamon river at a bend just north of Osbernaville, when part of a tree about twelve feet long was released and rose to the surface. I didn't notice anything in particular until Cochran exclaimed, 'My God, Morgan, look at that!' We both stared at it, as we saw the name. The part bearing the inscription included the fork of the tree, so we sawed off the upper portion where the two limbs branched, and then cut the log in two several inches below the inscription.

"The point where we found the log was less than a mile, I should say, from the old Hanks farm, just over the line in Macon county, where Lincoln lived for a time. The part of the log that remained was perhaps four or five feet long. The part having the inscription I took home, intending some time to take it to Springfield and place it where it could be kept for a while for people to see."

Morgan, who has lived near Osbernaville—where he was born in 1839—all his life, has no doubt as to the genuineness of the inscription. He thinks the tree lay on the ground at the time the inscription was cut, and that Lincoln, who was engaged in making rails on the Hanks farm, probably sat on it while resting or eating his lunch, and on the day named, March 7, 1832, whiled away a few moments, as he rested from his rail-splitting, in cutting this inscription.

The style of the signature, "A. Lincoln," was the form Lincoln invariably used, and is an indication, at least, of its genuineness. The letters are evenly carved, evidently with a sharp knife, as, after all these years, they are still an eighth of an inch deep. Lincoln's name forms the first line, while the date is in a line just below it.

Robert Warnock, one of the oldest residents of Christian county—the county in which Osbernaville is situated—believes fully in the genuineness of the inscription. He knew Lincoln when he—Warnock—was a lad of nine. Lincoln went to Macon county, and to the Hanks farm which was not far from where

there was something about the poorly-clad young man that foretold, to an observing mind, a successful future for him in public life.

"He was often in Springfield, while living in New Salem, and it was during one of these visits that I first saw him. My father and I took dinner at the same table with him in the common dining-room of the Rutledge Tavern. Later in the day I heard my father say to N. W. Edwards, his partner in a store at Huron—and long afterwards Mr. Lincoln's brother-in-law—'That young man Lincoln will some day be governor of Illinois.' I was then a boy of ten, but I remember thinking that my father must be insane to say such a thing. I had seen two governors, Ninian Edwards, of Belleville, and Joseph Duncan, of Jacksonville, and they were very different looking men from Mr. Lincoln. They were well dressed, drove about in their own carriages and were attended by servants. Mr. Lincoln made no such showing as this. My father's prophecy seemed ridiculous; but time proved his foresight to be much better than his son's."

But Lincoln's ambition was neither selfish nor mean. When he came to Springfield to enter upon the study of law, he made his home with Joshua Speed, a merchant and warm personal friend. One day in a conversation of a somewhat serious nature, he said: "Speed, when I am dead I want my friends to remember that I always plucked a thorn and planted a rose." His life certainly attested this in its fullest sense; but he was not a god, and, while he abhorred notoriety in its grosser forms, he did not disdain praise nor decline the friendship of the great. Although his tastes were simple, they were catholic, but catholic without being coarse.

After his debates with Douglas, and after he had been named for the presidency, he was still reluctant to be made conspicuous—so much so, indeed, that when Mr. Scripps of the Chicago Tribune came to him asking material for a campaign biography, he hesitated to aid him; first, because he disliked anything that savored of display; also, we may fairly take it, because he felt that there was very little in his life out of which such a biography could be constructed. In going over the matter with Mr. Scripps he said: "There is no romance—nothing heroic—in my

early life; the story can be condensed into one line, and that line you will find in Gray's *Elegy*:

'The short and simple annals of the poor.' "

But his later life was not lacking in heroism at least, and, as one recalls the somber and tragic circumstances of those later years, the words of the old Hebrew prophet seem to apply to him with singular fitness:

"He is despised and rejected of men; a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief; and we hid as it were our faces from him. . . . But he was wounded for our transgressions, he was bruised for our iniquities; and the chastisement of our peace was upon him."

"Surely he hath borne our griefs and carried our sorrows. . . . We turned every one to his own way; and there was laid upon him the iniquity of us all. . . . He was oppressed and he was afflicted, yet he opened not his mouth; . . . Who shall declare his generation; for he was cut off out of the land of the living; for the transgression of the people was he stricken."

* * * * *

We are venturing to add two or three incidents Dr. Joyce was kind enough to relate, that have been commonly misunderstood and misstated. He was present at the marriage of Mr. Lincoln, "and to me, as a boy of sixteen," he said, "it seemed an exceedingly pretty wedding. My sister was Mary Todd's bridesmaid; they were inseparable friends from the beginning of their acquaintance. It was this same sister—Julia—and Miss Todd, who wrote the second letter signed 'Rebecca of the Lost Townships,' which so enraged Mr. Shields that he challenged Lincoln to fight the ridiculous duel of which so much has been said. Mr. Lincoln had written the first 'Rebecca' letter, poking fun at the Democrats. But Mary and Julia's letter was too personal, ridiculing Shields' vanity and setting everybody laughing at him.

"This was more than the little Irishman could endure composedly. Lincoln assumed the whole responsibility, and the challenge followed—Lincoln not being able to resist having his fun with Shields, even to the extent of a duel. The upshot of it

Osbernvile now is, in 1831, and was twenty-three years old when he carved his name in the trunk of the old red-elm tree now in the State Historical Library at Springfield.

* * * * *

Lincoln came to Springfield in 1837, five years after his labor on the Hanks farm alluded to above, and entered upon the study of law and the marvelous career that was to end in martyrdom. There are still a number of men living in Springfield who knew him even at this early period, and who knew him intimately in later years. Among this number are John W. Bunn, Dr. William Jayne and Senator Shelby M. Cullom. It is quite true, of course, that Mr. Lincoln was unassuming and of an extremely amiable disposition, but it is an utterly mistaken notion that he lacked dignity or was wanting in ambition.

In a recent interview with Mr. Bunn, touching this matter, he said: "Those who profess to have been familiar with Mr. Lincoln and speak of calling him 'Abe,' are presuming on ignorance. The people of Springfield knew him only as 'Mr. Lincoln.' He was a young law student when he came here in the spring of '37. He had already been a member of the legislature for two terms, and, as the leader of the 'Long Nine,' had done more than any other man to bring about the removal of the state capital from Vandalia to Springfield. Naturally, perhaps, many have wished to make it appear that they were intimate with Mr. Lincoln, but, unfortunately for their stories, when they speak of calling him 'Abe' they simply disprove their claim. They may have called him 'Abe' in Indiana, and out in New Salem where he spent his boyhood and youth, but not here in Springfield."

That he was ambitious to become a man of distinction in public life there can be no manner of doubt. In 1832 he was splitting rails in the Sangamon bottoms and dreaming dreams. Five years later, after having been elected twice to the legislature, he is everywhere regarded as a man of far more than ordinary promise. Dr. Jayne, who, by the way, was made Territorial Governor of Dakota by Mr. Lincoln during his first administration, met him for the first time in 1836. "At that time," said Dr. Jayne, in a little chat some time ago, "he was still living at New Salem, where he was surveyor and postmaster; even then

all was that Miss Todd soon became reconciled to Mr. Lincoln—they were believed to have been engaged—for Mr. Lincoln seemed to worship the very ground Mary Todd walked on. There had been a 'misunderstanding' of some sort, undoubtedly; he was sensitive and morbid, and she was sensitive and high-strung; so there was a mysterious 'estrangement,' as a result of which Mr. Lincoln had to give up everything and go away for his health. He visited the Speeds in Springfield, and then, it was understood, spent a short time in Louisville.

"Well, after Lincoln had so gallantly risked his life to shield Miss Todd, she relented, and they were married in the fall of 1842. It was about the first time the Episcopal marriage service was used here, and old Judge Browne, hearing the groom promise to endow his wife with all his 'worldly goods,' exclaimed, as soon as the ceremony was over, 'Grace to Goshen, Lincoln, the statute fixes all that.' "

It may be inferred from all this, that whatever of romance was lacking in Lincoln's early life, his later life supplied. When asked touching the truthfulness of the story that a previous wedding date had been arranged, when the guests were present and Lincoln failed to appear, Dr. Jayne said the story was wholly false—that there was not a particle of truth in it and that it was not told until after Mr. Lincoln's death and Mrs. Lincoln's hopeless illness. "True, Judge Herndon gives it currency in his 'Life of Lincoln,' " continued the doctor, "but there must have been some mistake about it. The judge and I were friends. He claimed that Mrs. Lincoln told him the story herself, but he and she were never very friendly—how the story got started, is one of those things that no one can explain. Those nearest to Mr. and Mrs. Lincoln never heard of such a thing; it is simply one of the many fictions that have grown up around the life of this man of sorrows."

When questioned concerning the home life of the Lincolns, with which, as a lifelong friend, he was intimately acquainted, Dr. Jayne declared that "the Lincoln home was a most happy one; the husband was kind and considerate, the wife bright, impulsive, cultured, industrious and lovable—a good wife and a fond moth-

er. Any amount of fiction has been interwoven by historians and others in tracing and relating little incidents that are said to have occurred in the Lincoln home. Not a few of his neighbors, thinking Lincoln no better than themselves, if as good, were extremely jealous of his fame, and, as a natural consequence, vented their mean and envious spite on him and his family by circulating the most outrageous lies about them."

Was Lincoln an educated man—a trained lawyer? That he was both an educated man and a trained lawyer, there can be no doubt. He was not, of course, a college-bred man, but that fact does not alter the circumstance of his greatness as a man and as a lawyer. He was a thorough student from the beginning, quick-witted and resourceful, far-seeing and courageous, and when he came to Springfield in 1837, he had to contend with the brightest and ablest lawyers of the state—Logan, Trumbull, Douglas, Baker and Hardin; but that he contended successfully, both the history of his career and the testimony of those who knew him well, furnishes the most ample assurance.

It may be interesting to know that the house in which Lincoln lived at the time of his election to the presidency, and for many years before, is still occupied and cared for by the family of Albert S. Edwards, a son of Ninian W. Edwards, one of the "Long Nine," the husband of Mrs. Lincoln's sister in whose home Miss Mary Todd lived at the time of her marriage. The house is open to the public; the furniture in a number of its rooms remains as when the Lincolns left it when they quitted Springfield to take up their residence in Washington.

Historic Views and Reviews

DESIGN FOR PERRY MEMORIAL

THE design for the Perry memorial at Put-in-Bay, Ohio, which was submitted by J. H. Friedlander of New York, with whom is associated A. B. Seymour, Jr., also of New York, has been selected by the Perry Memorial Commission. The memorial is to be dedicated in connection with the celebration of the centennial of Commodore Perry's victory on Lake Erie, extending from July 4 to October 5, 1913. The award carried with it a contract to erect the memorial at a cost of \$600,000. The design selected is that of a Doric column 45 feet in diameter at its base, 35 feet in diameter at its top and 320 feet high, with a spectators' gallery and a light at the top.



RELICS FROM THE MAINE

Several small relics of little intrinsic value, but of considerable historic worth, have been recovered recently from the wreckage of the battleship Maine, now lying in Havana Harbor, and the Navy Department is endeavoring to return them to the owners who survived the explosion or to the heirs of those who were killed. The relics include a watch chain, two pipes, a medal, and a stencil, all of which have been identified by some mark. The watch chain was the property of John R. Bell, and one of the pipes belonged to James Wallen, both of whom were killed by the explosion. Charles Bergman was the owner of the medal and stencil, and Harry McCann owned the other pipe. Both of these men were saved, but are no longer in the naval service.

BURR ON HAMILTON

An interesting document in Aaron Burr's handwriting, relating to his political enemy, Alexander Hamilton, was recently sold at Anderson's. The document is dated Philadelphia, August, 1797, and although unsigned, was unquestionably written by Burr. It reads:

"We certify that, in consequence of information which we received in December, 1792, of a concern in speculation between A. H., then Sec. of the T., and one J. Reynolds, we had an explanation on the subject with the said A. H., who, by that explanation, supported by written documents, satisfies us that the above charge was ill-founded, as we declared to him at the time; that the impression, under which we left him, of our being so satisfied, was reciprocal and is still the same."

Burr evidently refers to the charge made against Hamilton that he had used his official position for private speculative purposes, and that in so doing he was aided by Reynolds. This statement was published by James T. Callender in 1796. Hamilton promptly denied its truth, Callender repeated the charge, whereupon Hamilton published in Philadelphia in 1797 a book entitled "Observations on Certain Documents," in which, while reiterating his denial of the charge of speculation, he frankly admitted his relations with Reynolds. The publication caused a sensation and Hamilton's friends suppressed the work.



BEFORE THE PONY EXPRESS

Before the establishment of the pony express, there were no less than three transcontinental mail routes, although the bulk of the mail between the East and Far West was sent by way of Panama. It was the endless demand for faster mails that led to the establishment of the Pony Express by the Central Overland California and Pike's Peak Express Company. The time schedule between the terminals—St. Joseph, Mo., and San Francisco—allowed eight days for the trip one way. The first stations on the route were about twenty-five miles apart, but in the course

of time there were about 190. There were eighty express riders, each of them being expected to cover about seventy-five miles a day at top speed. The fastest trip ever made was the one made for the delivery of President Lincoln's inaugural address, the 950 miles being covered in seven days and seventeen hours. The service was frequently interrupted by Indian attacks and was finally discontinued on completion of the first line of the Pacific Telegraph Company.



RARE AMERICANA SOLD

Rare works about America were sold at Sotheby's in London. Among them was a large and fine copy, unbound, of "The Two Charters granted by King Charles II, to the Proprietors of Carolina, with the First and Last Fundamental Constitutions of that Colony." This was printed in London, without date, by Richard Parker.

Another work, printed in 1670, is entitled "The People's Ancient and Just Liberties Asserted, in the Tryal of William Penn and William Mead at the Sessions held at the Old Baily, against the most Arbitrary procedure," &c. An extract from it reads:

They haled the Prisoners into the Baledock, and from thence sent them to New-Gate for non-payment of their fines; and so were their Jury.

William Mead, wealthy linendraper and member of the "Company of Merchant Taylors" of London, was Captain of a train band before joining the Quakers early in 1670. On Aug. 14 of that year he was present at a crowded meeting in Gracechurch Street, at which William Penn was the preacher. Both were apprehended and committed to Newgate. Their memorable trial, when they boldly defended the right of free worship, began at the Old Bailey on Sept. 1.

They were accused of disturbing the peace by unlawfully assembling together by agreement, and they pleaded not guilty. The jury, in spite of intimidation, pronounced on Sept. 5 that Penn was not guilty of breaking the law, and that Mead was not

guilty at all. Jury and prisoners, however, were committed to Newgate. William Penn's father, Admiral William Penn, is said to have paid fines to obtain their release. "The People's Ancient and Just Liberties Asserted" was published by Penn and Mead.

Mead afterward lived at Highgate and entertained George Fox there in 1677. He held a leading position among the Quakers, and several times waited upon the King, with George Whitehead and others. He wrote, in conjunction with Whitehead and others, several vindications of "the people called Quakers." He died at his estate Gorsehays, Essex, on Feb. 21, 1701, aged 86.

Rare, too, is the "Relation of a Discovery lately made on the coast of Florida by William Hilton, Commander and Commissioner, with Capt. Anthony Long and Peter Fabian in the ship Adventure, which set sayl from Spikes Bay, Aug. 10, 1663, and was set forth by several gentlemen and Merchants of the island of Barbadoes." This work was printed in 1664. It gives an "account of the sayle, Manners of the Natives * * * with Proposals made by the Commissioners of the Lords Proprietors."



EXPLAINS HISTORICAL FINDS

At a recent meeting of the New York City branch of the Vasar Aid Society, Reginald Phelam Bolton, member of the New York Historical Society, the American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society and the City History Club, gave a graphic and interesting account of the recent historical discoveries in Washington Heights, on the old Dyckman estate, made by excavative and archaological work done by Dr. Edward Hall and himself. He told of the discovery of relics of the revolutionary days, colonial days and the time of the aborigines. He said traces of barricades built of old colonial and Dutch bricks at about 181st street were found. More than thirty-five different kinds of English and French military relics and tombs of Indians also were discovered.

HOW STATE NAMES ORIGINATED

Some curious information has been collected by the antiquaries concerning the origin of the names of certain of our States. Of Massachusetts, for instance, it is said that when John Smith explored the coast of New England in 1614 he found the shores of this State inhabited by a tribe of Indians called the Massachusetts. The word means "near the great hills," being composed of "massa," great, "wadchuash," hills, and "et," near. Thus the name in the Indian tongue was "Massa-Wadchuash-et," to which the first explorers added an "s" to make it plural, and shortened the name to its present form.

The origin of Rhode Island has been a puzzle to historians. Some writers tell us the name is a corruption of the Dutch words *Roode Eylandt*, signifying Red Island, given to it by the Dutch discoverers because its shores presented a red appearance. But they do not present a red appearance.

Others, with more probability, have traced the name to Road Island, meaning the island near the roadstead. Competent authorities have doubted the correctness of this explanation, because there is no piece of water near by which sailors would naturally call a roadstead. We should not know where to find a good "riding," in the sailor's sense of the term, without running into Narragansett Bay. The favorite derivation at present is more simple. One of the leading settlers of Newport was a man named Rhodes, and the island was probably named after him, perhaps in jest, perhaps in compliment. The original order fixing the island of Newport, dated 1644, decreed that the name should be "The Isle of Rhodes, or Rhode Island." The same appellation was afterward applied to the State, of which Newport was a part.



KING CHARLES HAD HIS WAY

Connecticut, a name so baffling to foreigners, is Indian, and means "land on a long tidal river." The Indian form of it is *Quin-neh-tukquet*. In some of the early records it is spelled *Quinetuckquet*. The most curious thing about the name of

Pennsylvania is that it was not derived from the founder of the State, William Penn. It is William Penn himself who records the fact:

“This day (January 5, 1681) my country was confirmed to me by the name of Pennsylvania, a name which the King (Charles II.) would give it in honor of my father.” Penn wished to call the region New Wales, but the King persisted in naming it after Admiral Penn, then a man of far greater renown than his son, the Quaker, whose effigy surmounts the City Hall in Philadelphia.

It is the opinion of many authorities that the Indian word Kentuckee did not signify “dark and bloody battleground,” as many have supposed. They incline to the belief that the word means “at the head of a river,” and that it was used to designate the place where the Indians gathered previous to migration southward. This spot was near the source of the Kentucky River. The best conjecture as to the origin of the name Tennessee is that it comes from Tanasse, the name of an Indian chief whose tribe was settled upon one of the branches of the Tennessee River. This, however, is disputed. In the names of our States several languages are represented, the English, the French, the Indian, the Spanish and the Latin.



UNPUBLISHED POE LETTER

A letter by Edgar Allan Poe, and presumed to be unpublished, is in an autograph collection which was owned by H. Victor Newcomb, financier and railroad man, who died of heart disease at Atlantic City, N. J., on November 2, 1911. Mr. Newcomb was President of the United States National Bank in this city, of which Gen. Ulysses S. Grant was one of the Directors. The collection has just passed into possession of P. F. Madigan of 501 Fifth Avenue.

Poe's letter is dated Feb. 3, 1842, and is addressed to F. W. Thomas, Washington, D. C., whom he addresses as “My Dear Friend.” The following pathetic allusion to Poe's wife occurs in the letter:

My dear little wife has been dangerously ill. About a fortnight ago, in singing, she ruptured a blood vessel, and it was only on yesterday that the physicians gave me any hope of her recovery. You may imagine the agony I have suffered, for you know how devotedly I love her. But to-day the prospect brightens, and I trust that this bitter cup of misery will not be my portion. I seize the first moment of hope and relief to reply to your kind words.

Another interesting thing is Poe's reference to his famous prediction, published in May, 1841, of the plot of "Barnaby Rudge" from the introductory chapters. This prediction is said to have caused Charles Dickens to ask Poe if he was the devil. In the letter Poe says to Thomas:

Did you read my review of "Barnaby Rudge" in the February No.? You see that I was right throughout in my prediction about the plot. Was it not you who said you believed I would find myself mistaken?

There are also in the Newcomb collection two Poe manuscripts, one a transcript of Mrs. Lewis's poem "The Forsaken," which Poe highly praises in his article on "The Literati," published in *The Southern Literary Messenger*, and the other is a part of the original manuscript of his tragedy, "Politian," the other part of which, it is said, is in possession of J. Pierpont Morgan. These two manuscripts were given by Poe to Mrs. Lewis, who in turn presented them to Daniel Ross, an amateur autograph collector.



HIGH PRICES FOR STAMPS

Many record prices were paid for rare stamps at the sale of the Klemann collection held in New York city in January. A \$5 black and green proprietary stamp of the 1871 issue, on green paper, and lightly pen-canceled, brought \$340. Only one other copy on green paper is known, although fifty copies were issued, according to the official records. Another example, on violet paper, also lightly pen-canceled, sold for \$137.50. A horizontal

pair on violet paper, the only pair known, brought \$263. A \$1 black and green, violet paper, unused copy, sold for \$92.

A 1-cent black and green proprietary, violet paper, with inverted medallion, brought \$25.25; a 2-cent black and green, green paper, inverted medallion, \$45.25, and a 3-cent black and green violet paper, inverted medallion, \$101.

For a postmaster stamp of St. Louis, 5-cent, black on greenish paper, issued in 1845, Die 3, used copy, \$100 was paid. A 90-cent dull carmine of the special printing of 1880, an unused, perfectly centred copy, brought \$63. An imperforate block of four of the 30-cent orange brown of 1883, unused, went for \$57. An unused, well centred 2-cent carmine, issue of 1890, brought \$38. A used dull brown 6-cent issue of 1895, watermarked U. S. I. R., sold for \$72.50. A \$5 yellow, green, and black Department of State stamp, unused, sold for \$123, and a \$10 specimen, unused, for \$62.50.

The highest prices for Carriers' stamps were: \$153 for a used 1-cent, Hopedale, Mass.; black on pink glazed paper, and \$155 for a 1-cent Hopedale, black on yellow. The latter is a newly discovered type. Only three copies are known.

A 3-cent Playing Card Stamp, lightly canceled, and with large margins on all sides, brought \$53.75; \$1.90 Foreign Exchange, \$35.50; \$2 Probate of Will, \$43; 5-cent Proprietary uncanceled copy, \$50; 15-cent black and brown. Internal Revenue issue, inverted medallion, \$226, (only four copies known) \$1 black and green, lightly canceled, perfectly centred, inverted medallion, \$136, and a \$2.50 black and claret, lightly canceled, inverted medallion, \$407, (only three copies known).

The sale netted about \$7,300.



LINCOLN'S ORDER TO ADVANCE

At the limit of his patience over the inactivity of the Union troops, and especially exasperated by the monotonous report, "All is quiet on the Potomac," President Lincoln on January 26, 1862, issued his "General War Order Number One." This provided for a general advance both by land and sea on the fol-

lowing Washington's Birthday. The text of the order was as follows:

"That the 22d day of February, 1862, be the day for a general movement of the land and naval forces of the United States against the insurgent forces; that especially the army at and about Fortress Monroe, the Army of the Potomac, the Army of Western Virginia, the army near Munfordville, Ky., the army and flotilla at Cairo, and a naval force in the Gulf of Mexico be ready to move on that day.

"That all other forces, both land and naval, with their respective commanders, obey existing orders for the time, and be ready to obey additional orders when duly given.

"That the heads of Departments, and especially the Secretaries of War and of the Navy, with all their subordinates, and the General-in-Chief, with all other commanders and subordinates of land and naval forces, will severally be held to their strict and full responsibilities for prompt execution of this order."



RETIRING CIVIL WAR MEN

Congressman William A. Ashbrook of Ohio has introduced in the House a bill to retire with the rank of Major General the last of the civil war veterans now on the active list of the army, with the exception of Major Daniel W. Arnold, who, although a veteran, did not come into the army as an officer until 1901, thirty-six years after the close of the war, when he was appointed a Captain from civil life. The officers who will be retired by the bill, if it passes, have all been in continuous service since the war, and Mr. Ashbrook points out that the bill will not establish a precedent that might prejudice the promotion or prospects of any officer in the army, since "these men will have no successors, and it cannot be considered as establishing a precedent, for its conditions will never again exist in this country."

The three men named in the bill, each of whom has been in active service for nearly fifty years, are Brig. Gen. Daniel H. Brush, commanding the Department of California; Col. John L. Clem, who is famous as "the drummer boy of Chattanooga" and who is now Chief Quartermaster of the Western Division in Chicago, and Col. James N. Allison, of Governors Island, the

Chief Commissary of the Eastern Division. Major Arnold, like these officers, will be retired in September of this year as a Lieutenant Colonel.



DISTINGUISHED SERVICE RECORDS

Col. Allison's service stretches back to August, 1863, when he enlisted in the Thirty-ninth Kentucky Volunteer Infantry. Col. Allison served through to the end of the war as an enlisted man, and in 1867 was appointed a cadet at West Point, being graduated as a Second Lieutenant of Cavalry in 1871. As such he served through all the Indian campaigns under Gens. Crook, Mackenzie, Reynolds, and Smith, and he was of the command that in 1877 marched from the Union Pacific Railroad to the Yellowstone Valley, occupying the posts on the Big Horn and Yellowstone Rivers that had been established following the Custer massacre in 1876. Later, Col. Allison saw hard service in the Arizona desert, in the then Territory of Washington, and in Arizona he bore a conspicuous part in the operations for the pacification of the Apaches.

Gen. Brush was a classmate of Col. Allison at West Point, and also served in the civil war as an enlisted man, his regiment being the One Hundred and Forty-fifth Illinois Infantry, in which he served as a private to the end of the war. He, too, has had an eventful career, and rounds out his active service as the commanding officer of the Department of California, with headquarters in San Francisco.

Last of the three and the youngest is Col. Clem, the genial Quartermaster General in Chicago. When the civil war started, Clem—they called him "Johnny" then—was an orphan boy in Ohio. He was only 10 years old then, and offered his services as a drummer, but they were declined because of his youth. Two years later he got in, and at Chickamauga his drum was shot to pieces while he was beating it, and that is why they call him "the drummer boy of Chattanooga" to this day. He took part in the battles of Chickamauga, Nashville, Atlanta, and Kennesaw Mountain. In 1871, the year that Brush and Allison were

graduated at West Point, Clem appeared at West Point for examination, having received an appointment from Gen. Grant, who was then President. Gen. John A. Logan and Gen. George H. Thomas had recommended the appointment of the drummer boy, and Grant had acquiesced. But Clem never was graduated; in fact, he failed right off in his examination, and never even got his name on the register of cadets.

Clem went back to Washington, a disappointed young man, and one day he went to see Gen. Grant to thank him for the chance that had been given to him.

"Hard luck," said Gen. Grant to Clem. "But you are not the first to fail on the mathematical examinations they turn out up there. What are you going to do now?"

Clem said he was going to study and try to get in by the civilian route.

"Why, I know a better way than that," Gen. Grant answered, "and we'll get round those West Point professors. I appoint you a Second Lieutenant now, and am going to send you to Fort Monroe to study. If you have any trouble let me know."

And that is how John L. Clem became an officer of the United States Army, and he has been a good one from that day to this.



FIRST AMERICAN RAILWAY

The Quincy Railroad, or, as it was known in the beginning, the "Experiment Railroad," which was constructed to carry granite blocks for the Bunker Hill Monument, at Boston, was the first railway in America. The first cars on this primitive line were drawn by horses.

A line known as the Vlazie Railroad was put in operation out of Bangor, Me., in 1836, the Quincy road antedating this several years. The Bangor road began with two locomotives of Stephenson's make in England. On their arrival in this country, they had no cabs for the driver or fireman, but rude affairs were soon attached. Wood was used for fuel.

The first cars also were made in England, a carriage much like a big stage coach being placed on a rude platform and

trucks. The capacity of each car was eight passengers. In the beginning the one train on the line made about twelve miles in forty minutes, and the people of the country round about marveled at the speed it made. The rails on these pioneer railways were made of strap iron, spiked down to scantlings.

The Boston & Lowell, Boston & Providence, and Boston & Worcester Railroads were all opened for traffic in 1835.



OLDEST CIVIL WAR VETERAN

In a little basement room, down an alleyway, off Holloway road, Islington, lives Mr. Edward Munroe, centenarian sailor, who, born in Nova Scotia on September 3, 1809, believes he is the oldest veteran of the American civil war.

Mr. Munroe is wonderfully well preserved, and although riches have passed him by and he lives now on the little pension granted by the United States government, he is as cheerful as a care-free boy. He delights to talk of the battles of the civil war and speaks proudly of the admirals under whom he served, but he cherishes above all the memory of Admiral Farragut, and a faded photograph of the great sailor is his dearest possession.

Mr. Munroe, who spent seventy years on the sea, in the navy and in the merchant marine, like all sailors who hark back to the day of the clipper, has fought pirates, and when he lay in the hospital in Rio Janeiro, he says, an old pirate entrusted him with the secret of golden loot hidden by a master pirate. That secret is still locked in old Mr. Munroe's breast and the map showing the location of this treasure is always under lock and key.

The veteran wears his Grand Army badge proudly, and is really anxious to know if he is the oldest survivor of the great struggle between North and South.



THE FIRST NAVAL FLAG

The United States Navy, as it appears to-day, was but dimly foreshadowed in the floating batteries which in September, 1775, were launched on the Charles River, Mass., and in October

opened fire upon Boston. They were two in number, says the "Bluejacket," scow shaped, and were made of strong timbers pierced near the water line for oars, and along the sides, higher up, for musketry and light.

A heavy gun was placed at each end and upon the top were four swivels, their ensign being the pine tree flag, which appears to have been the favorite flag in the New England Colonies. Colonel Reed, writing to Colonels Glover and Moylan, October 20, 1775, and speaking of the six schooners first commissioned by General Washington, says:

"Please fix upon some particular color for a flag and a signal by which our vessels may know each other. What do you think of a flag with a white ground and a tree in the middle, the motto, 'An Appeal to Heaven?' This is the flag of our floating batteries."

Colonels Glover and Moylan replied the next day, saying that Broughton and Selman had sailed that morning, having nothing but their old colors (probably the old English union ensign), and they had appointed as the signal by which they could be known to their friends the ensign at the maintop.

The suggestion of Colonel Reed seems, however, to have been adopted, for the Franklin, sailing in January, 1776, carried the pine tree flag and Commander Samuel Tucker wrote to John Holmes, March 6, 1818:

"The first cruise I made was in January, 1776, in the schooner Franklin of seventy tons, equipped by order of General Washington, and I had to purchase the small arms to encounter the enemy with money from my own pocket or go without, and my wife made the banner I fought under, the field of which was white and the union green, made therein in the figure of a pine tree, made of cloth of her own purchasing at her own expense."

The London "Chronicle," in January, 1776, describing the flag of a captured privateer, says: "There is in the admiralty office the flag of a provincial privateer. The field is white bunting. On the middle is a green pine tree and upon the opposite side is the motto, 'An Appeal to Heaven.'"

April, 1776, the Massachusetts Council passed a series of res-

olutions for the regulation of the sea service, among which was the following:

“Resolved, that the uniform of the officers be green and white, and that they furnish themselves accordingly and that the colors be a white flag with a green pine tree and the inscription be ‘An Appeal to Heaven.’ ”



IN MEMORY OF GENERAL CORBIN

A bronze tablet in memory of Lieut.-Gen. Henry C. Corbin, U. S. A., who died on September 8, 1909, was unveiled on January 16, in Corbin Hall on Governors Island, the building which Gen. Corbin gave to the Eastern Division of the army, of which he was once commander. The memorial is the gift to the army of fifty of the General's friends, among them J. P. Morgan, Andrew Carnegie, Whitelaw Reid, August Belmont, John Hays Hammond, Jacob Schiff, ex-Gov. Myron T. Herrick, of Ohio, Jacob G. Schmidlapp of Cincinnati, and the late Cornelius N. Bliss, Stephen B. Elkins, D. O. Mills and Thomas Walsh.

The tablet bears a seated three-quarter figure of the general, which was moulded by Evelyn Beatrice Longman of New York, to whom a committee of the subscribers directly gave the contract, and it is inscribed with this legend, for which Col. Heistand is responsible:

Of all things officers of the army should keep on good terms with themselves, enter all the obligations of life advisedly and discreetly, cultivating the habits of the simple life, holding aloof from all avarice and selfishness.

Major-General Frederick D. Grant, commander of the Eastern Division, accepted the memorial in behalf of the army. Mr. Schmidlapp presented the tablet. Ex-Gov. Herrick of Ohio, in an address recalled the fact that President McKinley said to Senator Root at the close of the Spanish-American war:

“If this war had been a failure I would have blamed Henry Corbin for it. As it was a success his should be the greatest credit of all in bringing about that situation.”

ANCIENT BALL INVITATIONS

The Berkshire Courier states that Miss Grace Whiting has in her possession several curiosities in shape of ancient ball invitations. Some of these are printed on the back of playing cards, and these old time cards, in vogue over 100 years ago, appear to be hand-made after a somewhat crude pattern as contrasted with the cards of to-day. The cardboard used is a rough unglazed surface. One of the cards reads as follows:

BALL.

Miss Whiting is requested to attend a Ball at Captain Pynchon's BALL ROOM on Friday evening next, at 6 o'clock.
Gt. Barrington, Dec. 24, 1810.

Another invitation was written over 104 years ago in a very legible hand on the back of the jack of hearts. Another was written on the back of the six spot of diamonds. One invitation written on the three spot of clubs over 103 years old reads:

A BALL.

The company of Miss Harriet Whiting is requested at D. & I. Leavenworth's Hall on Thursday, the 24th inst., at 5 o'clock P. M.

Gt. Barrington, Nov. 21, 1908.

Apparently a few years later more elaborate attempts in the way of invitations were sent out, as the following, over 100 years old, was printed in the centre of an elaborate black bordering, embracing garlands of roses and grapes intertwined leading to a covered tureen dish at the top of the oval, from the handles of which extended draperies in form of bunting caught up at the corners of the card with rosettes.

A narrow black circle surrounded the print, ornamented at the base with a cup resembling two crossed palm leaves. This elaborate ornamental invitation was printed on the back of a $2\frac{1}{2}$ by $3\frac{1}{2}$ playing card, the six spot of diamonds, and reads:

Miss H. Whiting is requested to attend a BALL at the Assembly-rooms in G. Barrington, on Tuesday evening, the 28th inst., Dancing to commence at 7 o'clock.

T. Arnold,
G. H. Ives,

R. L. Potter,
G. Pynchon,
Managers.

May 23, 1811.

A final card in this collection of ball invitations is printed on a card of about the same size as the others, but not upon a playing card. Its corners are rounded and it no doubt was intended in its day for quite a swell invitation card. The invitation is printed in the centre of what might be regarded in later days as a wide wreath of mourning with a somewhat lacy edged effect.



NEW MEXICO A STATE

President Taft on January 6, signed a proclamation admitting New Mexico as the forty-seventh state of the Union. Four members of the Cabinet, the two Congressmen-elect and a dozen prominent citizens from New Mexico, several White House employes and three photographers witnessed the ceremony, which took place in the President's private office. The proclamation was signed in duplicate, one to be preserved in the records of the government, the other to go to the New Mexico Historical Society.



WHEN LONGFELLOW WANTED WORK

Two letters of Henry W. Longfellow were sold recently by George H. Richmond. The earlier of the letters is dated Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Maine, August 18, 1834, and is addressed to George P. Morris, editor of *The New York Mirror*. It was evidently written before the offer, through George Ticknor, of the Smith Professorship of Modern Languages at Harvard was received and accepted by Longfellow. In part, the letter reads:

I mentioned to you casually that I contemplated removing to your city. * * * It is proposed to me to take a situation in the New York University—a professorship of modern languages. This professorship, if created, will be without a salary. * * * I shall be obliged to look for my support, in part at least, to sources disconnected with the university, and I wished to inquire of you whether it would be possible and desirable for me to make some arrangements by which I could assist you in the discharge of your duties connected with *The Mirror*.

The other letter is dated Portland, Jan. 1, 1837, and is addressed to Prof. Cleaveland of Bowdoin College, Brunswick. Longfellow entered Bowdoin in 1821, being only fourteen years of age. In his class were Nathaniel Hawthorne, J. S. C. Abbott, and others, who afterward became well known to the public. Longfellow was graduated in 1825, second in his class, and six months after his graduation, when only nineteen years of age, he was appointed Professor of Modern Languages and Literature in his Alma Mater, a chair of which he was the first occupant. He remained there until 1835. In the letter he says:

To tell the truth, I have hardly courage to visit Brunswick yet. There are too many associations with the happy past connected with it. It would remind me too vividly of what has been—but is no more. A visit there at this moment would be too painful.

Speaking of his life at Cambridge, he adds: “Thus far they seem disposed to make everything pleasant for me there.” Longfellow was then a guest in the “Craigie Mansion,” an old-fashioned, square house with a broad piazza looking out upon its garden, and its front window commanding a view of the Charles River. The house was owned by a widow named Craigie. On her death, some seven years later, Longfellow bought the property and continued to live there with his family until his death, at the age of seventy-five, on March 24, 1882.

His reference in the letter to the past, “What has been—but is no more,” no doubt included the death, at Rotterdam, in 1836, of his wife, whom he had married in 1831, while he was a professor at Bowdoin.

"PETTICOAT LANE"

The name "Petticoat Lane," familiar to all students of New York City history, was not a nickname, the "lane" was not a rambling lane, nor had the Dutch housewives anything to do with naming it. On the map of the original grants of village lots it is called the oblique road to the ditch (Broad Street,) and led from the fort in a straight line to the lower end of the sheep pasture. The market place was to the north and east of the fort.

"When names were given to streets in 1656 this road was called the Marckveldt Steegie, Steegie (German, Steig) being a sloping street. The English gave English names to the streets, and this was called Petticoat Lane after the same street in London. It is so named on the map of 1695. In it stood the first synagogue in the city.

"The old Petticoat Lane in London, now Middlesex Street, corresponds to our present Hester Street. After the Mill Street synagogue was erected and the Jewish inhabitants moved to the vicinity of the present Hanover Square, the character of the street changed and the old name, Anglicized, was restored."



DEMAND FOR AMERICAN DOCUMENTS

American documents and letters of interest were in recent sale at Sotheby's in London. A manuscript on seventy-five pages folio, dealing with the transactions between Great Britain and France relative to Hudson's Bay, 1687, brought \$875. A scheme "to drive the French out of all the continent of America," covering nearly twenty-seven pages folio, signed by Thomas Cole, and dated Sept. 9, 1754, sold for \$60.

A collection of papers, 1720-1745, dealing with Carolina and Georgia, went for \$205, and a series of eight autograph letters, written between 1732 and 1738 by Jonathan Belcher, Governor of Massachusetts, and addressed to Lord Wilmington, brought \$150. Spencer Compton, Earl of Wilmington, was a favorite of George II., and, on the latter's accession to the throne, Compton was commanded to draw up the King's first declaration to

the Council. This, however, he found himself unable to do, owing to his ignorance of the proper forms of expression used on such occasions. Horace Walpole, who had brought the King's message to Compton, wrote the declaration at the latter's request, and took it to the King. Compton was created Baron Wilmington in 1728, and raised to the rank of Earl of Wilmington in 1730. Jonathan Belcher was Governor of Massachusetts from 1730 to 1741. In 1747 he was appointed Governor of New Jersey.

One of the most interesting items in the sale was a two-page quarto letter of William Penn, written in April, 1710, and respecting some Swiss colonies for Pennsylvania. This sold for \$160.



AMHERST MEN IN PATAGONIA

After having passed six months devoted to scientific exploration in the wilds of interior Patagonia, the members of the Amherst College biological expedition are now returning. Letters recently received from Professor F. B. Loomis, who is in charge of the expedition, report that the party has discovered some entirely new biological specimens and gathered much valuable geological data. It has shipped to the college four more or less complete prehistoric skeletons, fifteen skulls and a large number of jaws, which include fine specimens of the Eocene—horse, elephant, rodent, primate, notostylopus and a large variety of other specimens taken from the bone beds discovered by the party. Professor Loomis reports that many of the specimens are entirely new to this country and suggest several new scientific ideas.

The present expedition is the third of a series which has been financed by the Amherst class of 1896, of which Professor Loomis was a member. In 1907 and 1908 he did some noteworthy work in Nebraska, Wyoming and the Dakotas among the fossil beds. At times he was accompanied by Professor Tyler and Professor Lull, of Yale. The present enterprise, however, is the first expedition of its kind sent out either from the United

States or Europe to explore the Chubut territory of the Argentine Republic. In 1896 Professor Ameghino, of La Plata, Argentina, traversed the whole of Patagonia from the Straits of Magellan northward. Since then the only scientific research done in this almost uninhabited region has been that of the Princeton and American Museum expeditions in 1901 and 1902. It covered the country from the straits northward to the Santa Cruz River. The Amherst party has done most of its work in the Gobernacion del Chubut, in the valleys of the Rio Chubut and the Rio Chico.



CHICAGO'S FIRST DOG-CART

In the *American Magazine* is a sketch of Mrs. J. T. Bowen, of Chicago, a woman of wealth and ability, whose contributions toward the betterment of her city are described in an article by Jane Addams. Following is an extract from the article, showing how Chicago used to treat anybody who undertook to establish metropolitan standards there:

"Chicago, in spite of its size and somewhat world-weary aspect, is yet so absurdly young that inhabitants of old Fort Dearborn are still living and children and grandchildren recall spirited recitals of Indian forays repulsed from its first stockade. One of these, Mrs. Joseph T. Bowen, heard many stirring adventures from her grandfather, Edward H. Hadduck, who in the early thirties drove a prairie schooner from Detroit containing \$20,000 in gold, which the United States Government sent to Fort Dearborn. The young Government employee, much impressed with the shipping facilities at the foot of Lake Michigan, returned to Fort Dearborn the following year, and this time the prairie schooner carried his bride and the household equipment of a pioneer.

"Louise Hadduck DeKoven, the subject of this sketch, was their only grandchild. The family lived for many years in a red brick house on the corner of Wabash Avenue and Monroe Street past which 'bunches' of cattle were continually driven on their way to the stockyards.

"Young Chicago was striving in many ways to be 'more fashionable' and Miss DeKoven at the age of fifteen assumed her obligation in this direction by appearing in the first high dog-cart which the city had ever seen. Both she and the liveried man behind her were at times vigorously stoned as a demonstration of democracy, and on one occasion the groom, exasperated by these missiles and holding democratic principles of his own, jumped down from the cart as it was crossing Rush Street Bridge, flinging his despised coat and high hat into the back of it as he hotly announced; 'You can take this livery over town if you want to, but you can't take me.' The undaunted young girl drove on without looking back, sustained by the reflection that the incident only made clearer the necessity for metropolitan standards in Chicago."



ANDREW JACKSON AND "O. K."

Andrew Jackson is generally credited with originating the expression "O. K." as signifying "all correct," says the *New York Times*. Jackson was notoriously deficient in spelling, some of his public documents making this fact brazenly apparent. During his time in the White House he fell into the way of indorsing both public and private papers "O. K.," under the impression that these were the proper initials for "all correct," (oll korrekt.) The public quickly picked it up, first in a temper of jest, but soon came to use it as a convenient and sensible abbreviation. It is, therefore, typically an Americanism.



GENERAL LEE'S COFFIN

Mrs. Salle Corbell Pickett tells this story connected with the burial of Gen. Robert E. Lee: It seems that when he died at Lexington, Va., the North River, a tributary to the James, had overflowed its banks and Lexington was cut off from all communication with the outside world. A warehouse was washed

away and with it all the supplies contained therein, including all the coffins in the city.

"In this extremity," writes Mrs. Pickett in *Lippincott's*, "Prof. Nelson of the University of Virginia was consulting with some of the other professors as to what could be done. In the midst of their dilemma two boys came up to them in a timid way, hesitating to approach the group of dignified strangers, yet feeling the necessity of imparting the information they were bringing. Each feared to be the first to speak and pushed the other on, saying:

" 'You tell.'

" 'No; you tell. You saw it first.'

" 'No; you saw it at the same time.'

" 'Saw what?' asked Prof. Nelson, who was a judge of boys, and perceived that there was something of unusual importance on their minds.

" 'Yes; saw what?' repeated one of his companions.

"Encouraged by the readiness to receive their tidings, one of them replied: 'A coffin.'

" 'We saw it,' affirmed the other.

" 'Yes; we saw it there upon the shore, there by the island.'

" 'On the shore? A coffin? Where?'

" 'Just about three miles from town. We saw it,' said the boy who had first spoken. 'Maybe nobody's in it. We was too scared to do more than see the outside and then we tuck out. 'Taint's never been used. It's bran' spankin' new.'

" 'I wonder if they really saw it or only imagined it,' said one of the gentlemen.

"Prof. Nelson arose and turned to the boys, saying:

" 'Come and show us the way.'

"The boys led on and all followed, uncertain as to what they were to find but trusting that in some way heaven had graciously supplied their great necessity. Along the river bank they walked until their two guides stopped beside a long closed box that had floated down the swollen waters in the great flood and drifted ashore. In the box was a beautiful coffin."

They carried home the box and in that casket all that was earthly of the famous General was laid to rest in the college chapel.

"OLD DAN TUCKER"

Mrs. Martha McCulloch Williams, writing to the *New York Sun*, calls the *Journal of American Folk Lore* to account for having given its readers an "incorrect version" of old Dan Tucker. She says:

The *Journal of American Folk Lore* had better go out of business if it is by way of debasing and emasculating our classics after the manner of its "Old Dan Tucker." Here is a true and proper, if fragmentary, version of the ballad as chanted from my earliest youth, and derived, as is most immortal poesy, from North Carolina. Thence too comes the spurious initial stanza of the folk lore people—it is part of a moving tale, "Aunt Dinah's Tribberlations," and properly runs thus:

Ole Aunt Dinah she got drunk,
Felled in de fire and kicked up a chunk.
Red hot coal popped in her shoe—
Lordy a-mighty! How de water flew?

This is, however, a detail. Ole Dan Tucker was adjustable—you began singing it where you chose and could play both ends against the middle, or sing it backward, or forward, or improvise topical stanzas according to your mind and skill. It was a fine dancing tune, and the black fiddlers often sang it as they fiddled, the prompter meanwhile racking his wits to find new figures yet keep the proper rhythms. In Christmas dancing it often evoked the Wild Irishman, having indeed for that lively evolution but one real rival, a lilting ballad whose refrain ran:

Sheepskin! Sheepskin! Dancin' on a sheepskin!
Four and twenty Irish gals a-dancin' on a sheepskin.

Here is one of many versions, somewhat curtailed. Let me say further the singing was commonly in negro dialect, but not invariably so. That rested with the singers, who, singing for their own joy, neither knew nor cared if they sang in key, especially if they were roystering young blades riding home from a long dance around 5 o'clock in the morning. There were, as of most other dance songs, lawless and high colored versions for such tunes, versions which could not be given unexpurgated before ladies. But the sedatest could take no offence at the authorized ballad, which indeed was often used as a lullaby:

Ole Dan'l Tucker clomb a tree,
 His Lord and Marster for to see.
 De limb hit broke and Dan got a fall—
 Nuver got to see his Lord at all!

Git out o' the way, Ole Dan Tucker!
 Git out o' the way, Ole Dan Tucker!
 Git out o' the way, Ole Dan Tucker!
 You're too late to git your supper.

Miss Tucker she went out one day
 To ride with Dan in a one horse sleigh.
 De sleigh was broke, and de horse was blind—
 Miss Tucker she got left behind.
 Git out o' the way, &c.

As I come down de new cut road
 I spied de peckerwood and de toad,
 And every time de toad would jump
 De peckerwood hopped upon de stump.
 Git out o' de way, &c.

And next upon de gravel road
 I met Br'er Tarypin and Br'er Toad,
 And every time Brer Toad would sing
 Brer Tarrypin cut de pigeon wing.
 Git out o' de way, &c.

Ole Dan and me we did fall out,
 And what d'ye reckon it was about?
 He trod on my corn and I kicked him on the shins;
 That's jest the way this row begins.
 Git out o' the way, &c.

If Ole Dan he had corn to buy
 He'd mo'ne and wipe his weepin' eye;
 But when ole Dan had corn to sell,
 He was as sassy as all hell.
 Git out o' the way, &c.

The sample suffices. The Darby Ram, which is lugged into the printed version, had in our mouths his own Iliad, racy of the soil but still recognizable as derived from its English original. If time and inclination fall together I may send it later.



OLD LETTERS SOLD

Important Revolutionary letters and documents were sold by Richmond recently. A petition of George French of Boston for license to keep an inn, with recommendation signed by thirteen citizens, including Paul Revere, sold for \$25; a letter from Count Pulaski, Dec. 4, 1777, to George Washington, \$38; a let-

ter signed, but not written, by Washington and addressed to George Walton, signer of the Declaration of Independence, \$81, and a document signed twice by Washington, April 27, 1775, \$46.

A letter of "Mad Anthony" Wayne, in camp at Goods Bridge, July 27, 1781, brought \$31; a letter of John Adams, Aug. 17, 1820, saying that Indian corn "is a nourishment of inestimable value—both to men and animals," \$11. A fine war letter of Major Gen. Nathaniel Greene, April 29, 1779, \$23.50; a three-page large folio letter of Patrick Henry, about Creek Indian affairs, dated Jan. 29, 1790, \$36; a long and interesting letter of the Marquis de Lafayette, written in 1811 at La Grange, and in English, speaking of "our American transactions," \$39.

An unsigned letter of Charles Lamb to P. G. Patmore, written in 1831, sold for \$21; two letters of Longfellow, Jan. 1, 1837, and Aug. 18, 1834, respectively, \$18 and \$23.



OUR NATIONAL MOTTO

The motto "In God We Trust," which Colonel Roosevelt, when President, discovered was quite essential to American coins, has a curious history, says W. S. Walsh. Before 1865 it was unknown. In November, 1861, Salmon P. Chase, Secretary of the Treasury, received a letter from a Maryland farmer urging that as a Christian people we should put some recognition of the Deity upon our coins. James Pollock, Director of the Mint, indorsed the suggestion and proposed as a motto either "Our Country—Our God," or "God Our Trust." Chase preferred the latter, and again and again urged its acceptance upon Congress. Thus in 1863 he wrote, "The motto suggested, 'God Our Trust,' is taken from our national hymn, 'The Star-Spangled Banner.' The sentiment is familiar to every citizen of our country; it has thrilled millions of American freemen. The time is propitious; 'tis an hour of national peril, an hour when our strength and salvation must be of God. Let us reverently acknowledge this sovereignty, and let our coinage declare our trust in God."

The appeal was successful. On April 22, 1864, the coinage of a two-cent bronze piece was authorized by Congress. On this coin the motto, "In God We Trust" appeared for the first time in lieu of the long standing "E Pluribus Unum." On March 3, 1865, the Director of the Mint, with the approval of the Treasury, was authorized to place the new motto upon all gold and silver coins susceptible of such addition. And thus was fulfilled the suggestion of Francis Scott Key:

Then conquer we must, when our cause it is just,
And this be our motto, "In God is our trust."

As to the legend the new motto displaced, "E Pluribus Unum," that too has its story. A committee of three, Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, and Thomas Jefferson, appointed to prepare a device for the great seal of the United States, had formally proposed this legend on August 10, 1776. It was then rejected. Six years later, June 20, 1782, it was adopted as part of the successful device submitted by Charles Thomson, Secretary of Congress. In 1796 Congress further ordered that it should appear on certain specified coins.

The legend, however, was not original even with the committee headed by Franklin. For nearly half a century before our union English magazines had carried the motto, "E Pluribus Unum," or "Una," as an avowal that the publication was the work of many hands. In fact, it dates back all the way to Vergil. "Moretum," a poem ascribed to that writer on fairly good authority, describes a species of pottage which forms at once its title and its subject. This was made of various ingredients which the peasant grinds up in a pestle. "Est e pluribus unum" (It is one from many), sings the poet.



DR. EASTMAN ON SIOUX POETRY

The 250 members of the Camp Fire Club who assembled at the Hotel Astor last month to feast with laughter remained to sing a hymn after they had sat still in their seats for more than half an hour and listened to the poetry of a real Sioux Indian's speech. The real Sioux Indian was Dr. Charles A. Eastman,

and the talk that he gave those members of the Camp Fire Club was instinct with the epic wonder of the unspanned heavens and the wide prairies.

Of course it is a new thing to listen to an after dinner speech by a Sioux Indian, particularly a speech that is rendered in perfect English. But the members of the Camp Fire Club found it a surprising thing last night to sit at the feet of an Indian and listen to an exposition of the red man's view of the white man's philosophy as put in practice during three or four hundred years pillage, called benevolent assimilation.

Dr. Eastman sat by the side of Ernest Thompson Seton and facing the "buckskin table" where sat thirty of the really mighty hunters of the club in their moccasins and blue shirts. He was dressed in the regalia of his tribe, full buckskin leggings and jacket and a towering war bonnet of eagle feathers concealed Dr. Eastman's short hair and threw into high light his sharply curved nose and high cheekbones. Under that bonnet all the years of his stay at Dartmouth and the medical school where he got his degree were obscured, and he was indeed the Sioux of the tribe of Spotted Tail and Sitting Bull.



OUR WRONG POINT OF VIEW

"This is a great age we live in," was the more or less trite introduction Dr. Eastman had composed for his speech, but he speedily got away from it. "You people of America—we people of America—look back on the civilizations that are past through the wrong end of a telescope.

"Men of my tribe once camped by the side of a stream," he said, "and they watched a mother beaver and her four beaver cubs at work. The beaver woman had one foot gone; it had been caught in a trap. But she told her cubs what to do and they swam out and picked up the driftwood that came down that stream and they dived and dived with each piece of driftwood. The beaver woman who had only one foot watched and watched and the dam was built.

"Good water was there then. The animals, antelope and buffalo came there to drink and to feed. There was good water, and it was because of the beaver woman with one foot and her

cubs. My tribe used to go there to camp because of the good water. Then came the white men and built a town there and made their electric lights.

"They knew so much more than had the beaver woman that they tore away the dam her cubs had built, and they built another to make their lights and their water power. But a freshet came. The dam went out—that dam which the white man had built—even though the dam of the beaver woman had withstood the freshets of thirty years. The beaver woman's dam was for the animals and for the children of the great God's wilderness, the white man's dam was for gain."

"Children of nature and happiness" was the way Dr. Eastman characterized the Indians that were. Now, he said, after these bitter years of transition and the dropping of old ideals, built of the allegory of nature and blossoming things, the Indian was beginning to find his place in the white man's scheme.



THE "PENSACOLA" DISCARDED

After fifty-three years of continual service in the United States Navy, during which time it saw service in some of Farragut's famous battles on the lower Mississippi during the Civil War and later was flagship of Admiral George Dewey, then captain, in the Mediterranean, the battle-worn frigate Pensacola has been retired from service. It was replaced as receiving ship at Yerba Buena Island by the more modern man-of-war, the cruiser St. Louis, and, according to the ruling of the Navy Department, will be given over to some historical society to be preserved.

It is not the same stanch little vessel which threw open its ports and allowed its muzzle-loading guns to belch forth hot shot at the Confederate fortifications located at Jackson and Phillips and later at the battle of New Orleans in 1862. Instead, it is a battered and patched hulk, with its famous port holes nailed up and its upper decks built into a dormitory for the 200 or more apprentice sailors who have been its crew for years.

The Pensacola, more familiarly known as "The Jackass," has been stationed at Yerba Buena Island as receiving ship of the navy for nearly a score of years.

After being built at Pensacola, Fla., in 1858, the wooden frigate was stationed on the Atlantic coast and was affectionately known at one time as the "Pride of the American Navy." At the outbreak of war between the North and South it was sent to the Gulf, where it participated in all the battles at and around New Orleans and on the lower Mississippi. After the war it remained at New Orleans as receiving ship for several years.

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Errata in February installment of article on Mormonism: Page 187 should be 185 and 185 should be transposed to 187. On page 161 a line was omitted in last line but one of the second paragraph. Insert—"thence to San Francisco where they arrived on the 31st of July."



MAJOR M. A. RENO

AMERICANA

March, 1912

Jonathan Trumbull—The Evolution of an Administrator

BY FORREST MORGAN

FAME has sometimes a curious way of preserving a just balance by false weights. A rightful volume of repute may be made up largely of wrong attributions. The hero is not seldom endeared to the popular fancy by virtue of acts which he never performed, like Charlemagne or Alfred, or as a type of character which he was not, like the Cid, though the ascribed greatness or goodness be in no wise overcharged. The imagination, feeling a strong impress and uncertain of its source, invents a legend or distorts a tradition to account for it.

An odd freak of historic chance has, by quite another class of undue association, given a less known but worthy name its due remembrance. The heritage of a world-famous sobriquet not originally his and perhaps never borne by him—the Jacques Bonhomme of New England and finally of the United States, “Brother Jonathan”—has lodged in the quick of our national memory the old Connecticut governor who was a prime agent in the existence of such a memory, yet would have had little place in it otherwise. Vivid popular associations cling mainly about the picturesque, piquant, or imposing—intrinsic importance being as may happen. Now Jonathan Trumbull’s character or speech had nothing racy or bizarre, his functions no showy elements or dramatic crises; he wrote or uttered no pungencies, generated no anecdotes (save the one which has immortalized him), had no dazzling actions to perform, occupied no supreme post to focus historic attention. It is a striking index of his great quiet force that with all these limitations, his per-

sonal greatness and that of his services were correctly estimated by contemporaries, friend and foe alike. Washington and a host of other burdened magnates leaned upon him for counsel and comfort as well as aid. The garland "Father of his Country" was locally transferred from the classics to his brow before it rested on Washington's. Abroad, it was thought worth while to attempt smirching his repute by venomous imaginary biography, like that of Lincoln at the South. But lack of saliency has blurred his image to later generations. Even his nickname hardly calls up an actual personality: he is a sort of *eponym*. He does not often tempt periodical writers to articles. No popular series of American "heroes" or "makers" has ever included him. The respectable ghost of a fame, he is mainly left, in most worthy companionship, to such "antidotes against the opium of time" as fleshless skeletons in cyclopaedias and short mentions in long histories—plus, however, a formidable biography long out of print, and its historical setting out of date in both matter and style.

Yet a large factor in a large fact always rewards full examination from some point of view—as an individual, a type, or a representative of efficient forces. Trumbull was one of the few men demonstrably indispensable to the success of the Revolutionary War, and whatever worth is attached to that success must be shared by him. That another in his place might have matched his achievement is possible, but only an assumption, and, with our materials for judgment, not a probable assumption. Moreover, his character and sentiments were as vital to his success as were his abilities; and had they been of another cast, he would not have been chosen to his office. How all three combined to afford him the training and the opportunity for his one memorable work, is not merely of biographical but of historical import; it mirrors a bygone age and polity. The causes of his final success in a field strewn with so many wrecks will appear. And I hope to show that the great business administrator was far from lacking the "outline," like Mr. Mantalini's countesses, for a recognizable portrait, or the individual flavor for a living interest.

A strain of superior quality was latent in the Trumbull stock. Both its unrelatable American branches have thrown up noted

families, all of Connecticut birth. From one line sprang a well-known house of unconventional power in our own day: the still living creator of the "Seven Dreamers," and her dead brothers -- the antiquarian, Indian-scholar, and bookman, the missionary divine and editor, and the nature painter. From the other arose, in the 1700's, three closely related families, each assured of recollection through one or more members. The Governor was the earliest; alone of both stocks, his fame lies in action instead of expression. A cousin's son, Benjamin, wrote the first Connecticut history, its descriptive opening still readable as literature. Another cousin's son, John, the author of "McFingal," was the first American-born poet whose lines are still quoted. His own son John was the second American-born artist whose pictures are still classics.

Trumbull was born to an understood claim upon leadership, the aristocracy of his tiny rustic province--the upper citizenry whose means and education, in the days before universal schooling, concentrated general public affairs in their hands. Socially, they had the temper and the relative weight and culture of an aristocracy; politically, their policy had the deliberation, continuity, and foresight of that class; but its harmful elements were neutralized by its having no legal preserve. The community was very nearly the ideal of Mr. Bagehot's "deferential government," a democracy of intelligent freeholders who voluntarily committed state business to the few financially and intellectually able to discharge it. The government personnel was at the will of a vigilant *plebs* whose basis broadened automatically about as fast as fitness increased--the franchise grievance belongs to a later time and a different world. It was a régime of the leading families; but there was no artificial barrier to their rise and fall, and no co-optation to exclude merit without family influence or to shelter demerit with it. In the very heart of Trumbull's lifelong public service, some undiscoverable cause excluded him from the council for three years in succession--plainly not felt in his town, which sent him to the Assembly in all three; nor in his class, for the Assembly made him Speaker in two of the three.

Born in 1710, nearly five years after Franklin and over twenty-one before Washington, he was the second son of a prosper-

ous Lebanon farmer, general storekeeper, ship-owner and sea-trader on a moderate scale. His birthplace was a country village, but then English America's town centres consisted of very little else; and the conditions of his life were not petty despite the petty entourage. His father was a leading citizen, prominent in all civil affairs, and for many years captain of the town train-band—not then an outworn form amid standing armies. As they drilled, a coming struggle of all the northern colonies for English civilization against the encroaching French and their Indian allies was never out of mind. A civilized America against a savage America, an English America against a French America, a Protestant America against a Catholic America,—the ever-felt alignment could not but foster an enlarged political sense and a continental patriotism, to bear fruit later.

Jonathan, prepared for college under a private tutor, went to Harvard at thirteen. He was a studious, quiet, rather bashful boy, devout by temperament and reared in a like atmosphere. He joined a college secret society, formed for moral improvement (a chronological datum in itself); voluntarily and effectively added Hebrew to his curriculum, and looked to a clerical life. His nature, however, was the reverse of morbid; it was cheerful and even sanguine, though without much lightness or humor—there was hardly a joke in his composition. He took everything with a serious intensity—his studies, his principles, his duties, his politics. Apparently he devoted his entire energies to study: a type now reviled not only by pupils, but rather oddly by some professors as well. It is further significant of the change in times and ideals that, instead of being hazed and outlawed, he seems to have been liked and respected. Perhaps it is otherwise significant that, instead of turning out an invertebrate and unsocial pedant, he became a robust and capable man of affairs, a large-minded public man, and an excellent manager of men; the better, certainly, for sharing the religious bent so strong in his environment. Among his classmates was Thomas Hutchinson, as high-minded and sincere a patriot as himself, destined to much the same career and honors (attaining their climax in the same year), but a widely different fate: the one exalted as a patriot leader, in life and by posterity; the

other execrated, mobbed, plundered, driven into permanent exile from his beloved native land, with following generations taught to abhor him as little better than a traitor.

Graduating at seventeen, Trumbull joined the church at home, studied divinity, and was called to the ministry, then an alluring prospect even to a secular ambition. All his life he maintained an interest in theology as his choicest intellectual feast. With true Puritan democracy,—which is simply the scholar's democracy applied to religion,—he would discuss it with his workmen if they had ideas. That the immediate action and interest of God in human affairs was with him hardly so much a dogma as a concomitant of life, so commonplace that he attributed all public misfortunes to the anger of God for human sins, medicined every great public calamity and danger with a day of fasting and prayer, and announced good fortune in battle with phrases which modern taste disapproves and travesties—this was characteristic of his time; but his diaries and letters prove the spontaneous sincerity of it all in his own case. He chose the ecclesiastical functions of the government for his own handling as councilor. In his later years he loved to write amateur sermons and pass them around among his clerical friends for criticism. He was indeed a preacher by instinct; his mind was didactic; his letters are apt to be dissertations. This tone of mind and his doctrinal conservatism greatly forwarded and confirmed his leadership in a like-minded community.

But accident opened a very different career. The change from a clerical to an official life was common enough in those days, the preparation for the former being roundly serviceable for the latter; but in this case it was indirect. His elder brother, the father's chief helper, was drowned at sea, and Jonathan was called to assist in conducting the business, whose scope in time he greatly widened, alone or with partners. No training could have been better for his mental dangers. To the excellent drill in business practice, and the compulsory mixing and dealing with men, was added the enlarging dignity of great mercantile affairs, and the broader horizon of knowledge concerning other countries inseparable from so varied a foreign commerce, making him cosmopolitan in spirit. The very im-

maturity of the colony's industrial life opened a higher field for the few who handled those branches. The dependence upon Europe and the West Indies for all the luxuries of life, and most of its comforts and even utilities, compelled a thorough study of their markets and conditions. His own vessels carried to New York, Boston and Halifax, to the West Indies, to Liverpool, London, Bristol, Dublin and Cork, the products of Connecticut and the neighboring colonies, or were sold outright with their cargoes to buy foreign bills of exchange. He had mercantile correspondents in Hamburg and Amsterdam. From the latter he became in Revolutionary days the medium of furnishing information and arguments to an eager friend of America, Baron Van der Capellen. He hired the Mohegans along the Thames to hunt and trap for his trade in pelts. In his eighth year the first New England whale ship had sailed from Nantucket: Trumbull sent his own vessels to partake in the new industry, for oil, bone and "fins." He established semi-annual fairs at Lebanon, and made it one of the leading marts of the colony. As it lay on main thoroughfares between the two chief rivers, the Connecticut and Thames, he owned wharves on each, and storage sheds. His firm also contracted for supplying the English troops in the various wars, from Canada to the West Indies. By 1763, the climax of his fortunes, he had amassed the then considerable property of £18,000 sterling.

The upbuilding and management of such a commerce would have fully engrossed the time and powers of most men. But Trumbull had one of those first-rate business intellects which digest their experience into so-called intuitions; and he had the administrator's gift of choosing and instructing competent subordinates or companions. Further, business was far less exacting in this age of long sailing voyages and semi-annual fairs, of barter based on crops and scanty cash, than at present. The cargoes even of a great ship-owner might come in months apart. The average customer of a great merchant not only saw less money in a year than his successor of corresponding station often handles in a month, but received it with no such regularity. A large part of Trumbull's time and mental energy was left free; and his station and education, as one of the very few

men in the town with culture and leisure to represent it creditably, made public life a duty expected of him. Moreover, the public issues were far greater than now on the same stage. If the upper-class leaders had long leases of power, it was because supplanting them with the ignorant or uninfluential would have been thought grotesque even by those thus favored.

Still, his early choice and early rise were largely personal tributes. He had every gift to make him admired and liked. He was a handsome youth, with a fine figure preserved to old age, and praised even by his libeler; a striking forehead, with broad, strong upper face and Roman nose, and full dark eyes; a manner courteous though reserved, and a low quiet voice; and he possessed a kindly nature which later made him a gratuitous helper and provider of the poor, a balanced one which made him a local peacemaker and arbiter. We can imagine the general satisfaction in sending this cultivated and pleasing young theologian, of the strongest business connection, to the Assembly. First elected at twenty-three, and, with three years' mysterious intermission, regularly till 1740, he was made Speaker at twenty-nine. The following year he was chosen by the entire colony one of the twelve Assistants—the rulers of the upper house, acting as a council in the legislative recesses, and seven of them constituting a supreme court of appeals. This was unusual preferment for so young a man in Connecticut, where experience and seniority counted heavily; and he left the office only to go and remain higher. In 1745 he became a county judge, and thenceforward till his governorship he was a justice of county, probate, or superior courts, singly or jointly; becoming chief justice toward the close of the period, then one of the commonest steps to the governorship in the colonies—another marked change in values. It is interesting that he found divorce even then a considerable industry. As he had never practiced law, these appointments attest the general repute, even among lawyers, of his self-acquired knowledge and native gifts; and there is the highest of contemporary testimony to his fitness. William Samuel Johnson, one of the foremost lawyers of the State and still famed, says that he not only dispatched

court business well, but threw light on everything he touched, and that very few things escaped him.

But this catalogue of public and private functions—trader by land and sea, administrator, judge—gives no adequate idea of Trumbull's incessant activity and avidity for work, the multifarious duties imposed upon or assumed by him, and the wide variety of knowledge, ideas and practical experience he must have assimilated. That he discharged all civil business admirably is attested by the evident relief with which his colleagues turned it over to him. He was a special commissioner for nearly everything in war and peace. Whatever of moment the commonwealth wanted, the readiest and most satisfactory way to obtain it was apparently to appoint a commission, with Trumbull as a member, or sole member. It is Trumbull who floats a colony loan, audits the colony's accounts, collects the colony's outside dues, comes back from a commissioners' meeting with many thousand pounds in his pocket for the colony. It is Trumbull who devises plans for the great French wars in concert with commissioners for the other colonies, procures and distributes supplies, handles bounties and pay-rolls. It is Trumbull who helps to run the colony's northern boundary line. In the heart-breaking tangle of the Mohegan lands, where generations of conflicting private greeds clashed with the broader claim of the commonwealth to nearly a sixth of its entire surface; in the matter of Connecticut's right to colonize its charter lands in Pennsylvania, founding a new colony within the claim of an old,—it is he who prepares the cases to lay before the Privy Council, and wins them "as for that time." In the acute anxieties of the times after the Stamp Act, he is twice asked to act as the colony's agent at London, just then regarded as its weightiest post and fraught with issues of life and death.

In special incidents it is the same. The agent of a wrecked Spanish vessel intrusts its cargo for the winter to the collector of the port at New London; in the spring he lays claim to much more than can be found, not impossibly more than ever existed. The charge of embezzlement echoes through the colony; officials up to the governor are believed guilty of collusion; the colony's good name is smirched, and even a Spanish war is feared.

Trumbull (then Speaker, but a third time refused the Assistantship), and, singularly, the governor's son, are appointed to investigate. Trumbull spends many days examining witnesses, making inventories, paying bills, and reshipping such stores as are found; sends away the ship with the agent effusively satisfied; reports that the colony is not liable, and that the agent's conduct has been "very strange and extraordinary." The scandal dies out, but the governor loses his seat, and Trumbull regains his councilorship permanently.

He found time also to cultivate his intellectual tastes, and to keep in close touch with the progress of knowledge. Without much subtlety of intellect, he had a strong mental grasp and a retentive memory. He obviously read law enough to be a capable judge. He took a keen interest in foreign affairs, as a merchant who traded across seas would naturally do, and became a thorough student of history and civil jurisprudence. He was a master of dates; he made astronomical calculations; he was well read in the English classics; he kept up his Greek and Hebrew. He founded an academy in Lebanon, long famed as one of the best in Connecticut. Later, he had a copy made of all of Winthrop's Journals that was thought extant; he began the collection of the Trumbull Papers; he aided Hazard in his collection of State Papers. Both Yale and Edinburgh University gave him an honorary LL.D., at a time when neither the laws nor the honor were supposed to be mocked even for political good-will. He planned and began a history of the Revolution and its causes.

Nor was the public business in the colonies on the same plane with the relatively fixed and limited routine of State business now. Virtually the colonies were individual states, with their whole future in solution. The matters which came before the Connecticut government in Trumbull's colonial service involved nearly every issue of political existence and social organization, and afforded a training in every branch of statesmanship. Six may be especially noted: the land laws, the church establishment, the continental wars, the currency question, the charter limits, and the question of English right of control which ended in the Revolution. Reserving the last, we may glance at the others.

The English law of primogeniture had been replaced, as elsewhere, by a more nearly equal division of intestate lands; but in 1728 a turbulent scion of the Winthrops had secured its restoration by the Privy Council. The ultimate issues were two: whether a legally fortified aristocracy was to be increasingly set up; and whether the charter was a broken reed, as having no power but to transfer English law and custom bodily to Connecticut. The basis of the colony's social system, the basis of its legal existence, were both at stake. The colony bided its time, prevented legal rights from arising under the new law by settling cases out of court or prolonging appeals, and finally gained a decision for the charter in 1745. But for many years there was great anxiety, and profound legal research and counseling.

Almost immediately after Trumbull became an Assistant, the Congregational church establishment—its creed the Saybrook Platform, its ministers' salaries paid by taxation—entered on a forty years' contest against the rights of dissent; a struggle doomed, of course, to failure. Such rights had already been conceded to the Baptists and Episcopalians, but the church in power would not admit that there could be two forms of Congregationalism. The "Great Awakening" under Wesley and Whitefield in 1741, however, bred the "New Lights," who formed schismatic bodies and refused to pay their church rates. To abandon the government's system without an effort would stultify the state's action in ever having allowed establishment. Recalcitrants were imprisoned and distrained; unlicensed preachers were driven from the colony as vagrants; attendants at their meetings were fined and put in jail. But dissent was a synonym for life and thought; the body of outsiders became too strong to suppress or oppress: and toward the end of Trumbull's governorship the State silently gave way. Councilors needed to be most learned in the lore of creeds and covenants for this department; and Trumbull was welcomed to it. He was rigidly orthodox, and by nature a disciplinarian, and so approved and enforced the government's policy as legitimate measures of order. But his union of corporate severity and individual lenity toward the Revolutionary Tories makes it prob-

able that he softened its harshness to persons as much as possible, and tried to make expostulation do the work of writs.

The closing quarter-century of struggle for the English mastery of eastern North America had an epic grandeur of scene and stake, and Connecticut stood in the colonial forefront of it. In its opening act, the war to break the Spanish claim of supremacy in the Middle Atlantic, she sent some hundreds of her sons to die of pestilence before Carthagená. Trumbull, then Speaker, was made a lieutenant-colonel, but fortunately never took the field; there was food for fever better to be spared. To the French war which ended at Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, she contributed eleven hundred men and a war vessel to assist in the momentous capture of Louisbourg. In the final Seven Years' War, she had more than a quarter of her adult males steadily in the field to aid in the conquest of Canada, and two-fifths of them called out for it, spending £400,000 above her reimbursements. All this imposed burdens which seriously checked her prosperity. The sole English victory in a pitched battle until Quebec was won by a Connecticut officer, and the most picturesque colonial reputation which came out of the war was of a son of Connecticut. The colony also repeated at Havana the dreadful sacrifice of Carthagená. Trumbull was colonel of his former regiment, but remained at home to manage affairs as commissioner, attending with his usual ability to supplies and finances. The supply function was peculiarly difficult on account of great distances, lack of roads, and unorganized transportation, but he directed it governmentally and as private contractor also. The experience was invaluable both to him, to Connecticut, and to the country.

The financial adventures of the colony are of supreme relevance to our subject, for they taught her statesmen the lessons that saved the Revolution through her effective supplies. Other colonies went through similar experiences; Connecticut's glory is that she learned from them early and enduringly. Her first financial troubles were due to the English wars, her share in which she could not perform without borrowing. Queen Anne's War began a series of experiments in legal-tender paper, which had not ceased their evil effect when the War of Jenkins' Ear

and its Louisburg sequel compelled vast new issues, amounting to one-seventh of the entire list. Redemption was hopeless; the value sank to little more than ten per cent., and the colony bought it in. Parliament in 1751 fixed a five-year redemption limit for all future colonial paper, and forbade it as legal tender altogether; but Connecticut's Revolutionary history shows that the barrier was not needed. Trumbull remained all his life a bullionist pure and simple; he was wholly free from the fallacies which deluded even Franklin and Washington, insisted on having all outlays met by current taxes, and threw his whole weight against governmental meddling with values or prices.

The question of the charter limits, involved in the settlement of the Wyoming lands by the Susquehanna Company, is related only on the surface to the charter privilege of law-making previously noted. In the latter, a weak colony of perhaps eighty thousand souls pleads to be let alone. In the former, an exultantly strong one of a hundred and seventy-five thousand, in the very thick of an impending and fully recognized struggle with the mighty mother country, tears its derelict charter lands, hundreds of miles away, from the grasp of powerful claimants close at hand, and holds them by open war. The action was unofficial; but the company was largely the government under another guise, with its relatives and friends. Trumbull himself, the head of the government, prepared the company's case for the Privy Council. The whole episode has some curious resemblances to that of Texas; though as colonies the two protagonists could not fight, as States Connecticut would not fight. But the international quality of the imbroglio is beyond question, even though the scale is small.

The last-named subject has carried us beyond our radical dividing line, the Peace of Paris. Trumbull had now been over thirty years in public life, steeped in every detail and aspect of legislation, administration and judicial affairs, forced to consider every principle and need that could affect a state's internal harmony or external security. There was no more thoroughly trained statesman in America, perhaps none even in Europe. But a new class of problems had now to be confronted, and on his attitude toward them depended his continuance in service.

The colony, rightly or wrongly, believed its chance of a decent future to be at stake. Business issues were not vital, but political issues were. It liked to have good administrators; it must have resolute champions. One who combined both qualities would attain supreme leadership; he who lacked the one thing needful would lose even what he had. To choose his course, Trumbull needed no spur of ambition. He was a sort of essence of Connecticut, in the fullest sympathy with every desire, fear, and resolve of its dominant class; though his enlarged historical sense emancipated him from its narrower political ideas. We are rarely misled in reasoning from either to the other; and we shall find his individual utterances most valuable for community deductions. Moreover, his feelings were strong though repressed; there was no lukewarmness in his championship.

I have no intention of attempting a new *précis* of the causes of the Revolution; but one consideration is regularly overlooked, and concerns Trumbull individually as well as his commonwealth.

The currency question, though thoroughly discussed, is ignored as a contributory cause. It is true that the scantiness of circulating money was not in any way a *direct* cause, as a conscious grievance. But indirectly it bore a very real and traceable part in the catastrophe; the stringencies created by it put the direct causes more intensely into operation, in more ways than one. The prohibition of 1751, however judicious, saved one set of mischiefs at the cost of producing another class scarcely less demoralizing. There really was not enough coin in circulation to transact colonial business properly. The colonies may be said to have been in a permanent condition of panic shortage, though not of panic depression: they had developed more trade than their quick capital would bear. Among other proofs are the many months it took for the perceptible depreciation of the Continental currency; the earlier issues were taken up as a welcome addition to the circulating medium. Commerce flourished in spite of this lack, but it was the source of much difficulty and some disaster, and made the barter commerce of the day ill-balanced and precarious. Whenever local commodities fell short, and distant purchases were needed to supply articles for traffic

or remittance, the lack of cash resources was an embarrassment sometimes fatal. This condition greatly aggravated the hardships produced by the rigorous enforcement of the navigation acts, and by the Molasses Act of 1764, a blow at the best direct colonial commerce which made the later Stamp Act like a gall upon an open sore. With a larger stock of money, the volume of trade would have been enough larger to make impositions upon it less formidable; it would have rendered the quest of new markets in place of old, an easier task; and there would have been less fear of having a great part of the scant stock of specie absorbed in *advance* taxes as inexorable as fate. Further, the shortage combined with the opening of Western lands after 1763 to make Eastern lands a drug, hard to sell or mortgage reasonably, and depressed property values generally.

The double effect upon Trumbull's private fortune can hardly be doubted. It is not likely to be a mere coincidence that a business steadily growing for a generation, and whose bed-rock was the West India trade, begins to show distress and grow top-heavy just as the English government begins to cripple that trade. Trumbull finds it difficult to obtain articles for remittance, and his foreign debts have to claim an extension which become practically unending. He cannot market his large surplus landholdings. Then sea misfortunes like Antonio's throng upon him and make recovery impossible. Vessels and cargoes to more than £4000 are swept away. It becomes a current saying that "Trumbull money will not swim." He is forced to withdraw from ocean trade. The failure of a heavy debtor causes the loss of £1800 more. The seven years of the Revolution suspend the need of effort for settlement of foreign obligations, but they also force him to abandon his storekeeping. His only income was from his farm, the credit of a nominal salary of £300 a year, of which he drew only two half-payments during the war, and some perquisites as a share in prize-money. He may have been compelled to contract more debt; at any rate, despite a recent State grant of £3700 for arrears of salary and allowances, his debts at the time of his death exceeded his assets by £8000.

These conditions must not be forgotten when weighing his

part before and during the Revolution. The situation was exactly reversed, but his conduct was unvaried. While building up a great business, he gave his best energies to a wide range of onerous public duties. While striving to uphold it when sinking, with his heart torn by its anxieties, he was equally interested and sedulous in the public cause. In old age, when it had irrecoverably gone and he had but a petty and largely precarious living, he toiled for years in the public service almost unpaid, with the assiduity, the zeal, and the hopefulness of a young man with his career before him. To appreciate Trumbull fully, we must bear in mind that the calm, dauntless, unwavering, undiscouraged mainstay of Washington, full of cheer and trust in Providence, planning supplies ahead with far-sighted and unforgetting care, carrying out with invariable success an endless series of difficult supply campaigns from Boston to Ticonderoga and Valley Forge, was a ruined and straitened old man, with a family and a very inadequate income.

The steps toward the Revolution need only be mentioned as they involve Trumbull. The Stamp Act had a year's time to accumulate hatred and fear before it came. Joseph Trumbull wrote to his father early in 1764 that it was proposed. To Connecticut, as free from all royal appointees, it had not even the use or excuse it had in most other colonies, and was a pure burden as well as an invasion of autonomy. No sooner was its machinery established than the community rose in fury and struck it down. As the stamp agent rode into Hartford on his white horse in front of a thousand resolute men, to resign his commission, he compared himself to "Death on the pale horse, with all hell following him." Trumbull's part was not in rioting. Each colonial governor was to take an oath administered by at least three of his council, under heavy and dishonoring penalties, to enforce the act. Fitch of Connecticut summoned his council for consultation, but after a long, heated and exhaustive constitutional argument, only four of the eleven Assistants would accept the duty. The rest, of whom Trumbull was second (in rank of votes received), refused and left the room. The results justified their wisdom. Fitch and the compliants were driven from public life. The deputy-governor, Pitkin, was given Fitch's place,

and Trumbull was given Pitkin's. On Pitkin's death two years later, Trumbull succeeded to the chief magistracy.

Henceforth Trumbull is the active head of the party of contumacy, keenly sympathizing with the resistance outside, even when his own colony is quiet. Samuel Adams himself was not more uncompromising in act, or more sagacious in foreseeing the inevitable end. As early as 1767 he had written that if violence, "or methods tending to violence,"—to wit, as interpreted by the Stamp Act riots, anything much disliked by the colonies, —were used to perpetuate colonial dependence, it would hasten separation. As deputy-governor, he shared in the Assembly's unofficial advice to himself as chief justice not to validate the writs of assistance, and obeyed the advice. A letter of his concerning them in 1769 has a bearing on the community feeling not fairly appreciated, considering its author. He declares that the people will lose their liberties only with their lives; that it is not a spirit stirred up by a few hot-heads, but universal save with "a few dastardly, dependent slaves and dupes to administration, who have sold their country and their own posterity for the base consideration of a poor present pittance for themselves. We should rejoice to remain united with them [England] to the latest time; but to think of being slaves—we who so well know the bitterness of it by the instances so continually before our eyes, cannot bear the shocking thought—nature starts back at the idea!"

The shrill exaggeration of this rhetoric now excites a smile; in a public utterance even of that time it would seem agitators' "common form"; were it a letter to an opponent, we might dismiss it as an attempt to make a point; it must be admitted that the comparison of the negroes does not accredit Trumbull's sense of humor. But it was written to the colony's special agent, Johnson; there was no object in affected hysterics; and when a judge and administrator of nearly sixty addresses such language to a middle-aged lawyer, it must be held not only sincere (Trumbull was never anything else) but an uncolored type of the sentiments of his constituency. These plainly believed that the English government, despite all talk of "constructive representation," was, from distance and separateness, practically

a foreign power, imposing burdens on aliens whose unseen distresses neither disturbed their feelings nor menaced their elections; and that taxes laid without consent and collected without process of law, with resistance cowed by foreign troops and recalcitrants tried in extra-colonial courts, would constitute political slavery. They were partly wrong on the first head, exaggerative on the second, and unjust to the government's ideas and purposes on both. But they had not the advantage of a century's perspective. And Trumbull, even if mistaken, is hardly one to be accused of senseless panic.

The Boston Port Bill came. Connecticut, official and private, felt and declared the blow its own, and prepared for war. The Assembly, Trumbull at its head, denounced the bill as a menace to every English colony in America; and the towns were ordered to double their stocks of ammunition. Committees of correspondence and of safety were formed, and military companies were organized and drilled. The populace vented their feelings by mobbing loyalists; the least harmed of all, Rev. Samuel Peters, had the amplest revenge and more than repayment in immortality. Trumbull appointed a day of fasting and prayer, whose meditations on the crisis cannot have been mollifying; nor were they so designed. The storm centre was at his own residence. He was constantly surrounded by patriot leaders at the future famous "War Office." His son, studying military science, formed and exercised a militia company. When the Port Bill went into effect, Lebanon was draped in mourning, the bells tolled the entire day, and all business was suspended, while the bill was read to a great gathering who voted it an assault upon public liberty. The towns of the colony, Lebanon not least and with Trumbull's store as the starting-point, poured into Boston vast herds of live-stock and countless wagons of grain to enable the city to resist to the end. The non-importation agreement was vigorously enforced with Trumbull's aid.

The then colonial secretary, Dartmouth, was a friend of Trumbull's and wished well to the colonies; and Trumbull wrote him letters urging respect for their rights and feelings. But Dartmouth was only the mouthpiece of a foreign system incompatible with the one, and a foreign people unconcerned about the

other. Any compliance with American wishes would only have caused his own removal. Trumbull's other correspondence shows that he had little hope of a peaceful outcome. He had the Susquehanna case suspended, to avoid any ground for dissensions with Pennsylvania in the coming war. At home, he gathered for the colony the largest possible stock of military supplies—a providence of inestimable value in the events close at hand.

The war-cloud burst in Lexington. Gage himself, on the night of the battle, wrote an account of it to Trumbull, who sent the letter to Philadelphia. The work for which Trumbull's forty-four years in public life had been preparing him, and which he had long been forecasting, was upon him. He swiftly reconvened the Assembly not long adjourned. Within a week after the battle it had voted to organize at once one-fourth of the colony's militia, six thousand men. Trumbull was made director-general of marching orders. But he was also directed to write Gage a letter of remonstrance, and did so, forwarding it by the moderate Johnson and the warlike Erastus Wolcott. No similar composition was ever more curiously and irrationally misjudged. That it should have been misconstrued by Massachusetts, from the strained anxieties of its position, as an offer of mediation designed to keep an open door for Connecticut, is forgivable. That the characterization is still repeated is not, and invariably proves that the letter has not been read by the critic. So far from "hedging," it is not even diplomatic or placatory, and is merely a warning to Gage that he would have more than Massachusetts to encounter if he persisted. It consists of—first, a long and bitter denunciation of Gage for coming to Boston with troops at all, and of his conduct since; second (the kernel and object of the letter), a declaration that Connecticut will stand by Massachusetts ("nor will they be restrained from giving aid to their brethren if any unjustifiable attack is made upon them"); third, a formal suggestion that he suspend operations till "the temperate wisdom of the empire" may "find expedients to restore peace." Of course he could do nothing of the sort, and Connecticut knew that he could not. It was simply a reading of the Riot Act before opening fire, to clear the col-

ony's skirts before the world. The conduct of the colony for ten years before and the years thereafter is an all-sufficient commentary upon it.

From this time on our interest in Trumbull centers in his relation to the war and its leaders. That the relation was vital is, in fact, the one main reason for thus tracing his growth and accomplishment. It was such because the position of his State was such; but his own work was of the first importance in conferring that position upon the State. His situation made his function possible; but the manner in which others mishandled similar functions forbids us to give all the credit to circumstances and accessories. Indeed, it is easy to point out the aspects in which his personal equation was the deciding factor.

He controlled a district at once rich and untouched by the enemy. Its supplies were an unfailing storehouse of munitions for the Revolutionary cause, over and over gave it victory or made defeats retrievable, more than once saved it from outright extinction. Even Trumbull had no magic horn to pour out products from a country ravaged into poverty, or in the enemy's hands. But other stores much nearer were often unavailable for lack of such a management as Trumbull headed and advised. Much of the State's most valuable contributions were not its own product, but gathered from outside by his provident foresight well in advance of the need. Many of them were held back from civil use for that of the army by embargoes and restrictions, to which another might not have gained so easy obedience. Other contributions were the product of manufactures founded or fostered, or sources opened, by his active zeal. And that, alone of the districts contiguous to New York, it remained unravaged, and the sources open,—that the main British army, lying a few miles off throughout the war, had to content itself with casual raids instead of a crushing campaign to cut this main artery of the rebellion,—was due in part to his vigilant and energetic defensive organization.

His achievement, as with most other executive performances, was made possible by a splendid group of companions and subordinates: such men as his own son Joseph, who wore out his life in the cause, Jeremiah Wadsworth, Henry Champion, etc.

And his people, heavily burdened and drained, loyally supported his policy till the danger was over. But he took the initiative in that policy, and bore always a large part in its execution; and it was partly his long influence and recognized ability that secured so prompt a general consent and co-operation.

Lastly, the foundation stone of the entire success, the sound financial policy from which Connecticut never wavered—to “pay as we go”—though not his inception, was unflinchingly maintained by him. That the widely prevalent economic delusions, which “did more harm than the enemy” and would have made the whole machinery unworkable, gained no foothold here, was due in no small part to his clear head and the digested lessons of his business experience, so much wider than the local storekeeping of Franklin. He would not hear of promises to pay without provision of immediate means for payment. Nor would he countenance State regulation of prices. “If we affix a low price to provisions and articles of importation, we shall find that the farmer will cease to till the ground for more than is necessary to his subsistence, and the merchant to resign his fortune on a small and precarious prospect of gain.” Had he thrown his great influence, reinforced by so many weighty names from outside, on the side of irredeemable paper and state-fixed prices, Connecticut might well have floundered in the same slough as some other colonies and the national government. And, had it done so, it is certain that much of the Connecticut supplies would never have come into the hands of the army; that the roads, as elsewhere, would have been strewn with wagon-loads of food and clothing which teamsters could not have been hired to draw; and that, on any one of several occasions, Washington’s northern army would have gone utterly to pieces and the Revolution with it.

Such services afford little ground of selection for illustrative examples. The victories which form the climax of supply campaigns do not thrill the reader as they do the hungry, ragged, shelterless, half-armed soldiers to whom they bring food and comfort and safety. But now and then the scale is large enough to have a certain distinctness of impression. On one occasion a huge herd of fat Connecticut cattle, after some two hundred

and fifty miles of march around the British army and across the Hudson and Delaware, reaches the miserable camp at Valley Forge; and within five days afterward, said a commissary, "you could have made a knife out of every bone." Later, another great convoy safely gains the famished corps at the Hudson, on the very verge of disbanding, or, to avert starvation outright, seizing their food from the surrounding country. There is an intense interest in the knowledge that more than half the powder used at Bunker Hill was sent from Trumbull's providently gathered stores. Indeed, his powder quests have something of the zest of actual warfare. He obtains it from local mills, from the stocks of other States, from vessels arriving at outside ports, from vessels dispatched to the West Indies. He urges the building of other mills, the collection and making of saltpetre. The Middletown lead mine turns out bullets by scores of tons; he has the colony explored for other mines, even into New York. The iron works at Salisbury are enlarged into providers of the most varied list of war gear for land and sea—cannon and bombs, camp kettles and sulphur pots, anchors and swivels, and wrought iron for guns. Trumbull maintains a special express from his office to these forges. All the old fire-arms and their parts that are captured at Ticonderoga and elsewhere he has sent to him for repair. He is hospitable to David Bushnell's torpedoes and other military machines. He buys cloth abroad for soldiers' wear. He embargoes traffic in food products, orders the use of draught oxen limited to one pair per owner. He lays an embargo on all shipping, lifts it for whale boats to raid the Long Island Tories and the British market-boats and convoys, then restores it because part of them turn pirates and smugglers. He sees to it that loyalist backfires are not lighted. Nothing escapes his minute and vigilant care.

But even such specifications omit the most pertinent feature of the portrait—the constant reliance from all sides upon Trumbull's ability to provide means for making every plan practicable. Only by following his full activities from season to season does one realize how wide and entire was the dependence placed upon him. The impression conveyed by the "Brother Jona-

than" anecdote, contrary to that of most popular anecdotes, falls below the truth. The universal instinct is to "ask Governor Trumbull" not alone to advise, but to execute. Louis XV said that if Vergennes at Constantinople were requested to send on the Sultan's head, he would reply that it was a very delicate and difficult matter, but would send the head. Trumbull seems rarely even to have expressed that hesitancy; he promises the head and sends it. His quotas are always full on time. For any special service he is looked upon for troops, and they are always forthcoming. For any acute need he is the first to be solicited for supplies or other help; and, though he sometimes protests beforehand that the State is stripped, in some way they are invariably provided.

Trumbull, however, was something more than an expert purveyor and organizer. Others could have fulfilled those duties, though no other had his wand of long influence to call forth such full response. But the old managing commissioner for the French and Indian War was an invaluable counsellor for the formation as well as the execution of war plans. The Ticonderoga expedition was organized by him or under his immediate oversight. All the expeditions to or toward Canada, indeed, were his very own in primal wish and urgency. No man in America was more incensed at the Quebec Act—"a Papal check" on the colonies by which Catholic French and savages were to quell English Protestants; and he believed to the last that the place to strike was at the wild beast's lair itself. He aided in detaching the Oneida tribe from the English alliance. He was one of Schuyler's advisers, and was taken into council for every movement of Rochambeau and Ternay, and of Washington with them. The Rhode Island expedition, the abortive expedition against Arnold in Virginia, the Yorktown campaign, were planned in concert with him. The need of his co-operation would have dictated much of this, for prudence; but there is ample evidence that this was not all.

The real capitol of Connecticut during the greater part of every year throughout the war, and one of the leading capitols of the United States, was Trumbull's Lebanon store, the so-called "War Office." It was a plain wooden building, second

only to Independence Hall and the Old South Church among the intimate historic monuments of the nation's struggle for birth. He had closed out his mercantile business, and used one of the two rooms as a public depot for war supplies, the other being his office. Around the building were fastened swift Narragansett ponies, with riders famed for skill and endurance, to carry his messages and orders. Here were centered all the threads of that wonderfully efficient organization just described of a secret service to detect and punish Tory intrigues for carrying help or news to the enemy or inviting their raids; of much besides that concerned the war. Here he met with his Council of Safety, who formed with himself the actual executive government of the State, and over each of whose more than nine hundred meetings he personally presided. Here the other State or military officials came for directions or advice. Here Washington met him again and again for consultation, appeal, and encouragement. Here Rochambeau and his fellow officers took the measure of the governor who left an enduring memory of respect and admiration, despite Chastellux's genial demi-gibes. And whenever the cause seemed black with hopelessness, an interview was sought with Trumbull at the War Office, or a despairing appeal was sent thither, and the crisis was somehow averted. Nor was it solely his abilities, his power, his utter integrity and loyalty, which were relied upon: as much so was his comforting and fortifying assurance, his unwavering faith that a just cause would not be allowed to perish. This it was that kept him serene and undoubting at the nadir of his country's fortunes and amid the irretrievable wreck of his own.

He occupied a unique position personally. He was the only governor in the colonies—royal, proprietary or elected—who clung to the American side in the crisis; a lonely pre-eminence which drew the admiring confidence of the Americans and the less admiring respect of the British. And from the same causes he saw, from the first, the impossibility of any plan for unhatching the fledged bird, and replacing it in its shell. He objected to Congress' petition to the King in 1775, as a promise that "the more we are beaten the better we shall be." He declared that it was the English, not the Americans, who were the rebels—

“rebels against the constitution of the empire.” In reply to Howe’s proclamation, he said that “the rebels who need pardon from the King of Great Britain are not yet discovered.” To the Commissioners’ letter sent by Tryon he replied that the time for reconciliation was “irrevocably past.” Yet no one was freer from partisan rancor or pettiness. He seems never to have had a personal enemy. He rose superior to the Connecticut feud against Schuyler, whom he always supported and appreciated. He showed great personal kindness to the Tories whom as a body he suppressed. He was not lacking in good offices to the swarms of British prisoners, of whom his State’s secure situation made it the depository.

In the other departments of statesmanship than that of warcraft, he showed an even larger mind. We shall fall far short of full justice to him if we fail to note that, without an exception, he took the side which the judgment of posterity has taken, even against the temporary feeling of his commonwealth. He represented its thought and not its ignorance or passion. We have noted his financial sanity. In regard to national powers, he stood in every case against the State’s particularism, bred by a long contest for its autonomy. Whatever proposal was made to strengthen the federal bond or to enlarge the federal powers, had his hearty support. He had thrown his influence early in the war in favor of a Continental army instead of the militia system. He now favored successively the Confederation, the power of impost, the proposals for a stronger Constitution. (It is notable that he seems first to have suggested a part representation of the negroes, to secure the Southern adhesion, his plan being to count only the sound adults.) He treated as absurd the fears over the *Cincinnati*. He supported the commutation measures in face of the bitter opposition of his State, showing himself as always its leader and not its mere mouthpiece. His course upon this involved him in fiercer storms than his life had ever known. For the first time in half a century, so far as we know, he was at odds with his State—at least with the first tempest of feeling in his State—upon a leading question of policy. For the last two years of his term he failed of election by the people, and was compelled to accept it from the Assembly.

But he no more wavered than when the crowd was with him. He waited for a truer judgment, and had the satisfaction of seeing it soon prevail. Then, wearied out, he withdrew from public life in the year after the peace, and in the following year went to his long rest. For three or four years previous, as the war drew to a close, he had lived mainly as a quiet citizen of Lebanon, helpful in all local matters, liberal despite his scanty means, indulging in books and writing. The strong element of affection in his self-contained nature is shown by his request, after the war, that the correspondents he esteemed as friends would continue to write to him, and he would honor their continuance of confidential friendship with his own.

In these last years, our view of his personality is made more real by a pair of vivid little vignettes from a clever French observer. Rochambeau's companion, the Marquis of Chastellux, met the aged governor first in 1780—"the Governor *par excellence*," he styles him, having been such for fifteen [eleven] years, under both monarchy and republic." But indeed Trumbull, the only governor in the United States who antedated the Revolution, and almost the only one who had occupied the chair from the outset, was known as an ogre throughout Great Britain, or as "the Rebel Governor." Regarding the first interview, at Hartford, after referring to him as having "equally enjoyed the public esteem under the government of the English and of Congress," Chastellux goes on:

"He is seventy years old. His whole life is devoted to business, which he loves passionately, be it serious or petty, or rather for him there is none of the latter class. He has all the simplicity in dress, all the importance, even the pedantry, which beseeem a great magistrate of a small republic. He reminded me of the burgomasters of Holland in the times of the Heinsiuses and the Barnevelds."

And of a later occasion in Lebanon:

"Picture to yourselves this little old man, who wears the exact costume of the first settlers in this country, approaching a table already surrounded by twenty Hussar officers, and without being embarrassed or laying aside any of his stiffness of carriage, pronouncing in a loud voice a long prayer in the form

of a *Benedicite*. Let no one imagine that he excites the laughter of the auditors—they are too well-bred: on the contrary, you must fancy twenty *Amens* issuing at once from the midst of forty moustaches, and you will have an idea of this little scene. It is for M. de Lauzun to narrate how this good methodical governor, didactic in all his actions, invariably says that he will *consider* and refer to his council; how he makes important business out of trivial, and how happy he is when he has any.”

The sketch is drawn with the eye of an artist for contrasts, and apparently not overdrawn. A band of French Hussars in presence of an antique New England grace would furnish a delightful tableau for a *genre* painter or a bucolic poem. Trumbull's enjoyment of business for its own sake is almost a corollary from his career. His love of it and his dispatch of it were mutual cause and effect, and, like most old business men, affairs formed his best pleasure, and rest from them was not recreation but ennui. Just at this time, too, the shifting of the chief war theatre southward had left fewer daily decisions to be taken; and he doubtless felt under-employed where many would have felt over-worked. If trifles had his grave consideration, moreover, stores of legend, proverb, literature, and experience justify him by agreeing that in affairs there are no such, the maxim of business and still more of war exactly reversing that of law. In this very Revolution, a bit of mechanical routine in Gage's adjutant's office cost the British the slaughter on the return from Concord, and perhaps deflected the whole course of the Revolution. Trumbull would never have been the trusted “Brother Jonathan” of Washington, in fact or name, but for his sedulous care of small details. Only a neglect or misappreciation of larger matters for them would make it censurable, and that assuredly did not exist. Further, he was neither able nor desirous to disregard his council. They trusted their judicious, experienced, and energetic chairman, but they did not wish business transacted over their heads, and it was through their good-will and hearty collaboration that he accomplished so much; and the steady success of the Connecticut operations justified the Governor's tact and fairness, as nominal chairman and largely actual initiator.

Such was Trumbull after nearly half a century of active public service; somewhat stiff in body and habits by nature and years, ceremonious for his State's sake in an age when ceremony affected both home and foreign consideration,—valuing it, however, but little himself, and deprecating it as a social end; but unclouded in mind and unweakened in energies, and not more devout externally than internally and consistently. It was not rigidity, fussiness, or cant, even in rudiment, that won the supreme confidence of Washington and the country, a unique position among American governors in his time, and escape from their general oblivion since. Powerful if orderly forces, a massive sense and character, underlay his formal exterior, and had not been sapped by age.

But Chastellux's quick eye noted another interesting point, worth a historic comparison. His Dutch analogy is sound in essence; though the Dutch body politic, with its trading oligarchy above and fierce downtrodden plebs below, had but little resemblance to Connecticut. The chiefs of the historic oligarchies relatively termed republics have most often been of the Trumbull type. A group of social leaders too strong for dictation, and too proud and conscious of abilities to endure it, will not long bear a dominating original genius, and therefore such are rarely developed for lack of opportunities for growth. Usually they will have only the executive chairmanship of one of themselves, sure of his intimate sympathy and of their own control at will. The Claudii and Metelli, the Dandolos and Mocenigos, the De Witts and Barnevelds, were not path-breakers: they were organizers or executants. Of these was Trumbull, and such was the aristocracy he led, in pattern if not degree. But if he did not make a new Connecticut—perhaps it might not have been a better one—he kept the old one in the right path, directed its energies and heartened its spirit to victories of the first importance, was right even when it was wrong, and on points of high moment brought it around to his juster view.

He had not a flexible intellect. He cannot be called in any way a man of originality. His business training perhaps saved him from being a rather stern and obstinate obscurantist in some matters, though his large common-sense and humanity must al-

ways have emancipated him from the worst faults of the type. Yet one who always came to the right conclusion on every practical subject, where the ablest men found it easy to be wrong, must have had a keen discrimination of judgment which did the work of originality, as regards himself at least. In this regard he surpassed even Washington, whom in the bases of character he strongly resembled. It is true that in type of intellect and grain of disposition, alike from birth and training, two strong and high-minded men could hardly have been more different. Each was in some sort a sublimation of his province, its people and spirit, and its leader because such. Washington was as little of a preacher or theologian, minuscular scholar or communer with the dead, as any man that lived. He was a Virginian planter and manager of men, large-molded, hearty, judicious, practical, not imaginable as morbid or introspective. Because he was such he was the natural leader of a community of active, practical men, too much occupied in managing estates and bodies of retainers to have much disposition for metaphysics or self-study. Trumbull was equally a product of his own personal and communal heredity and social influences and training, and a type of New England at its truest; even his abounding practical work being felt as subordinate to his speculations on, and a means to preparation for, another world. Yet at bottom both were men of sound religious feeling and the highest sense of duty, not alone from habit and instinct, but from reasoned wish to commend themselves to God as instruments to his purpose and as justifying his work and choice. It was not merely mutual respect and common interests and tasks and burdens, it was real community of spirit, which made the two so brotherly in feeling during their brotherhood of lives, and has linked them in a closely common memory.

Brief Biography of Major M. A. Reno

MAJOR M. A. RENO was a native of Illinois and a great-grandnephew of Phillippe Francois Renault who came to this country with La Fayette. Renault was rewarded for services to the United States Government with large tracts of lands, for possession of which the Reno heirs have been fighting for a quarter of a century, for their valuation now amounts to \$400,000,000.

Major Reno was graduated from West Point and while there, was closely associated with General Custer and also with General Jackson, of Nashville. During Major Reno's visit to Nashville in 1888, he was a guest of General Jackson, at Belle Meade, for several days of his stay. It was their second meeting, since their parting at West Point, their first being in action during the Civil War, when each called to the other and waved salutes from the firing line.

Major Reno was married to Miss Mary Hannah Ross, whose father, Mr. Robert Ross, a Pennsylvania capitalist, founded one of the largest banks and the first glass works in Harrisburg, the State capitol. Major Reno's wife was a niece of the late Senator Don Cameron's wife, who was a Miss Haldeman, of Harrisburg, and a kinswoman of the founder of the *Louisville Courier Journal*. Major Reno had only one child—Robert Ross Reno, who married Miss Ittie Kinney, daughter of Col. George S. Kinney, of Nashville.

At the beginning of trouble between the North and the South, Major Reno organized a volunteer company in Harrisburg and served throughout all the years of the war. He was never wounded, but his horse was shot from under him at the battle of the Wilderness. He died in Washington in 1889.

THE CUSTER MASSACRE.

An account of the circumstances attending the massacre of General George A. Custer and his command, by the Sioux Indians, in the summer of 1876, found among Major Reno's effects after his death.

The policy of the Government, over the breaking out of the gold-fever in the Black Hills, was lax in the extreme. It did not prevent white men from invading this Indian country—its unquestioned duty—nor did it protect them when they went. This vacillating led many to risk the chance of success in the Black Hills, and in consequence, the Indians at once and very justly, began to handle them without gloves, for attempting to take their country from them.

No blame, therefore, can be attached to the red skins for defending their rights. All men will fight for their firesides, and this Black Hills country was really the home of the Sioux, made over to them in the most solemn manner by the treaty of 1868.

This armistice having been broken in such a manner, aroused the Sioux to savage resentment, and from many indications in the winter of 1875-6, it became evident to all on the frontier that an Indian war was inevitable. Thus the Government found it had a white elephant on its hands, for the white men in the Black Hills were in peril and numbers of Indians, outraged in their dearest rights, were eager for fight and were on the war-path.

What could be done? Nothing but organize a military expedition against them. This was done and General Crook from the Department of the Platte, General Gibbon from Montana and General Terry from Dakota, took the field. The plan of the campaign was for a simultaneous attack on the Sioux from three different directions—General Gibbon coming down the valley of the Yellowstone, Terry was to move from the Missouri to the Yellowstone and drive the Indians toward Gibbon, while Crook was to operate towards the same Point, but from the direction of the Black Hills, and thus by surrounding the Sioux to cut off all possibility of their escape.

From these movements into the Indian country an awful combat resulted on June 25 and 26, 1876, which will stand as a lasting monument to an imbecile policy that will set opposing parties in the field to battle against each other, both armed, equipped and supplied at the expense of the same Government.

Any one who, like me, has seen the awful fighting of these two fatal days, will seek to solve the Indian problem by means less bloody than a resort to arms.

The immediate cause which precipitated the Summer Campaign of 1876, was the refusal of Sitting Bull to make a treaty with the Government, or to agree to live on a reservation, which was practically a declaration of war and was accepted as such.

Orders were given for the concerted movements of Generals Crook, Gibbon and Terry and at the command of Terry, the Seventh Cavalry, under the immediate command of Lt. Col. George A. Custer, left Fort Lincoln, D. T., on May 17, 1876.

The Seventh presented a magnificent appearance on that beautiful May morning when it parted from its loved ones in Fort Lincoln and started on that long march, which for so many of them was to be the final one. We, including officers, soldiers, Indian Scouts, employees and citizens, numbered fully twelve hundred, while there were seventeen hundred animals, comprising mules, ponies and horses. We left Fort Lincoln with our band playing: "The Girl I Left Behind Me," and at the head of our splendid column rode our gallant Custer and his charming wife. She remained with us throughout the first day's march, and the next morning she parted from her husband who sent her back to Fort Lincoln under special escort. It was their last ride together.

General Terry and his staff accompanied us as far as the Yellowstone river and after a long march of twenty-one days from Fort Lincoln, we arrived at the mouth of Powder river on June 10. Here I was given command of six companies, comprising the Right Wing, and was sent on a scout of one hundred and fifty miles up this river to the mouth of the Little Powder, to search for Indians and if possible, to find General Crook and open communication with him, for it was nearing the time when he was expected to reach that point. Part of our trail was pie-

turesque and lovely, finely timbered, with a wealth of wild roses and the most superb grazing I ever saw.

After a march of five days we arrived at the mouth of the Little Powder and I was surprised to see a camp of soldiers on the South bank of that river. I tried to communicate with them, first by signal and then by voice, but the river was too broad for success in such efforts.

The officer in command then sent to me one of his Indian scouts who swam the river with a note in his mouth. He reached my camp in safety and, although as nude as he was at birth, he approached and delivered the note with all the dignity of his race. The letter proved to be from General Gibbon who was in command of his troops from Montana and marching to join General Terry and his men from Dakota.

I sent the Indian scout back to General Gibbon assuring him that he had found us and thus the two commands were put in communication. I returned then to the main camp, under Custer's command, and during this scout, I enjoyed some fine sport, for game was abundant and on one occasion I brought down two large elk.

I also found on my scouting expedition many indications to convince me that the Indians had their stronghold upon the little Big Horn river, about fifteen miles above its junction with the main Big Horn which empties into the Yellowstone.

The Big Horn is navigable about eight or ten miles above the mouth of Little Big Horn. On a bright sunny morning, June 22, 1876, the Seventh Regiment of Cavalry passed in review before General Terry, at the mouth of the small stream, the Rosebud. The officers and men were cheerful, the horses were in prime condition, the day was beautiful and not one in that splendid column of men and officers ever thought that the frightful disaster that finally overtook them, was within the range of probabilities.

After the review, the march was begun up the Rosebud, the regiment being under the command of Lt. Col. Geo. A. Custer. The march was continued up the Rosebud on June 23 and we encamped at nightfall after making thirty-five miles.

At the end of the second day's march up the Rosebud, my tent

was very near that of General Custer and after taking a cup of coffee and some hard bread—all we had—I and the other officers of the command were summoned to Custer's tent by the "officer's call" on the trumpet. Custer was seated on the trunk of a decayed and fallen tree and we saluted him in succession as we arrived; after all had made themselves as comfortable as possible, some lying on the grass and others upon whatever gave them support, Custer said:

"Gentlemen, I have sent for you to talk over the situation. There is a camp of Indians ahead of us and we must be prepared for a hard fight." In the discussion that followed, some one said that it was probable that the companies would be separated on the march or in the fight, and therefore that each company should have its own pack mules, provisions and ammunitions.

To this Custer readily agreed and it was so ordered. The next and last time I ever saw General Custer alive, was on the morning of June 25, the day upon which he saw the sun shine for the last time. The two columns, commanded by himself and myself respectively, were moving parallel to each other and he waved his hat for me to come to him.

I did so. He was riding a fine thoroughbred horse that he had gotten in Kentucky, when the regiment was after the Ku Klux Klan of the South. He was dressed in a full suit of buck-skin, with Indian fringes along the seams of his pants and of his coat sleeves. I had known Custer for a long time: as cadet at West Point, and during the Civil and Indian wars, and on this particular morning, he did not wear his usual confident and cheerful air, but seemed rather depressed, as with some premonition of coming horror. What that was is now a matter of history.

I remember, as I rode back to my command, the last remark I ever made to him was—"Let us keep together." In his jaunty way he lifted his broad brimmed hat as much as to say, "I hear you." But alas! he did not heed me, and that afternoon he was cold in death's embrace.

On the morning of June 24, we continued our long march up the Rosebud and we saw signs of the Indians in all directions. As we advanced the trail freshened, and after a march of twenty-three miles we halted, but reports from the scouts sent on ahead,

induced us to proceed on the march during the night instead of resting. We proceeded with great difficulty till daylight on June 25, when we halted for one hour and a half and then we marched on again.

The Indian trail was now very fresh. About 9 A. M. the Adjutant of the Regiment informed me that the Sioux village was now certainly close at hand and he gave me the following arrangement of the companies of the regiment. Companies M, A, and G, to be one battalion commanded by Major M. A. Reno. Companies H, D, and K to be a second battalion, commanded by Captain F. W. Benteen, Company B to be commanded by Captain McDougall and to be rear guard of the Packtrain. The remaining companies, C, E, I, F, and L were to go under the immediate command of Custer.

I assumed command of the companies assigned to me at once and proceeded to march in the direction of the Indians, without any definite instructions or orders. I saw the battalion under Benteen move off far to the left, and I did not see him again until about 2.30 P. M., of that same day. At half past 12 M. the Adjutant gave me an order from Custer in the following words:

“Go in at as rapid a gait as you think prudent, for the village is only two and a half miles off and *running away*, and you will be supported by the whole outfit.”

I proceeded at a fast trot until I crossed the Little Big Horn, and as soon as the battalion was in hand I charged, supposing myself followed by Custer, with the companies under his command. For as I led the advance and was the first to be engaged and draw fire, my command was, in consequence, the one to be supported and not the one from which support could be expected.

With the Ree scouts on my left, I charged down the valley, driving the Indians, who came out from a belt of cotton-woods to meet us, with ease before me for about three miles. It was too easy, in fact, for I soon saw that I was being drawn into some kind of a trap; I knew that these Indians could fight harder, especially as we were nearing their village, the entrance to which they certainly would not leave unopposed.

Neither Custer or Benteen was in sight, a fact I attributed to the great clouds of dust, and as I drew nearer to the villages,

the ground seemed suddenly to grow Indians; they came running towards me in swarms and from all directions.

The village was about three and one-half miles long, was situated on the Little Big Horn and the topography of the vicinity may be briefly told. The stream was very crooked, like the letter S in its wanderings, and just where the village was located, it spread out into a broad bottom, perhaps half or three-quarters of a mile wide. This creek was fringed, as usual, with the trees of the plains—a growth of large cottonwoods—and on the opposite side was a range of high bluffs, which had been cut into very deep ravines by the surface water and by the action of the stream. Just at the base of these bluffs, the earth had fallen in and left perpendicular banks, making what is known as cut banks.

I was soon convinced that I had, at least ten to one against me and I was forced on the defensive. This I did, taking possession of a point of woods which furnished, near its edge, a shelter for the horses. Under cover of the timber, I dismounted my battalion, detailing number four of each group of "fours," to hold the horses, thus reducing our fighting force to about seventy-five men. I then deployed the companies as skirmishers, the right resting on the timber, the left extending across the valley, and our front facing the village. The Sioux now made their first attack and the firing was heavy and rapid for one hour and a half. The enemy increased so greatly in numbers that we were forced into the timber for protection, but I firmly believe that if, at that moment, all our companies had been together the Indians would have been driven from their village.

Almost immediately, after entering the wood, I found that we were being surrounded and I knew my only hope was to get out of the timber and reach some high ground. The wood was about twenty-feet lower than the plain where the Indians were, and the advantage of position was theirs. I mounted my command and charged through the Reds in a solid body. As we cut our way through them, the fighting was hand to hand and it was instant death to him who fell from his saddle, or was wounded. As we dashed through them, my men were so close to the Indians that they would discharge their pistols right into the breasts of

the savages, then throw them away and seize their carbines, not having time to replace their revolvers in the holsters.

The scene that ensued was such as can be seen only once in a lifetime. Our horses were on the dead run with, in many instances, two and three men on one animal. We plunged into the Little Big Horn and began the climb of the opposite bluffs. This incline was the steepest that I have ever seen either horse or mule ascend and our only way was through a buffalo trail, worn in the banks, and only sufficiently wide to permit one man to pass at a time. In this narrow place there were necessarily much crowding and confusion and many of the men were compelled to cling to the horses' necks and tails for support, to prevent their being trampled to death, or falling back into the river. Into this mass of men and horses, the Indians poured a continuous and deadly fire and under its leaden hail, the loss of life was frightful and the Little Big Horn was transferred into a seeming river of human blood.

At this fight at the ford "Bloody Knife"—the chief of the Indians scouts—was shot dead at my feet. I lost three officers and twenty-nine enlisted men, with only seven wounded. The officers who fell here were A. A. Surgeon, J. M. DeWolf, First Lieutenant Donald McIntosh, and Second Lieutenant Benjamin H. Hodgson. Afterwards (when I went over my battlefield, we found McIntosh's body and near it a soldier of his company). Lieutenant McIntosh was the son of an officer in the Hudson Bay Company and entered the regular service in August of 1867. He had some Indian blood in his veins, inherited from his mother, and his face bore its traces. He was a cultured, elegant gentleman, a brave officer and he fell with his face to the enemy. Before we had crossed the river, while yet under shelter of the timber, Company G, commanded by Lieutenant McIntosh, was nearest the Indian village. I went in person, to notify him of my intention to withdraw from the wood and seek the hill. He replied, "all right," and at once set about getting his men in column and mounted. In doing this he was in the rear of his Company and as it joined the column on the charge, three or four Indians ran up to him and before he was able to use his

arms, they dragged him from his horse and thus the gallant fellow fell a victim to their barbarity.

He with all my men had been most terribly mutilated, and with the bodies of horses and ponies, were strewn over the plain in wildest confusion. They were covered with swarms of flies, and the odor from the decomposing bodies, under the blazing sun was intolerable; altogether my battle field presented a scene of horror, not easily to be forgotten.

The fate of Second Lieutenant Ben Hodgson was very similar, although his death did not occur till after that noble fellow had distinguished himself by the most daring services. He was my adjutant and the last order he ever carried for me was to Captain French, telling him of the move I intended making. In delivering this order, Hodgson was hit by a ball, just below his sabre belt. This wound would have eventually proved fatal, but the gallant fellow said nothing and rode in his place with the column. Just as he was crossing the river, his horse was killed under him and detaching himself from the animal Hodgson gained the opposite bank and tried to save himself by clinging to the stirrups of a passing soldier, but his strength was exhausted and weakened by his loss of blood, he fell back on the river bank and was killed by the nearest Indian.

After the fight, I searched for his body and I buried it on the hill, marking his grave as well as I could. It was found some months later by his friends who came from Philadelphia to take him home for burial. They found that his body had not been mutilated and that he was clothed as he had dressed himself on the morning of the ill-fated 25th of June.

As soon as my men reached the top of the bluffs, they dismounted and opened fire upon the Indians, in order to cover the ascent of their comrades, and when the remnant of my command was about me again, I quickly threw them into a line of defense while below us, in the plain, we could see the Indians stripping, scalping and mutilating the bodies of our dead. Fortunately, at this juncture, I saw Benteen with his three companies and Captain McDougall, with Company B, and the pack train, coming to us over the bluffs. Benteen informed me that he had hunted all morning for the Indians, and seeing no sign of them

anywhere, he thought it best to return to the Little Big Horn valley and join the main command. He had seen nothing of Custer, but he had received from a trumpeter this order from Crook:

"Benteen come on; big village. Be quick. Bring packs."

He therefore hastened to the Little Big Horn, expecting to find Custer there. He now became seriously uneasy over Custer's non-appearance and as senior officer of our united command, I sent Captain Weir, with his company from Benteen's column, to open communication with Custer; while, in the meantime, I was dismounting my men, putting my wounded under protection, had driven the horses and mules of the pack train in a depression in the hills and had placed my men along the crests of the bluffs. In a very short time Captain Weir sent back word by Lieutenant Hare, that he was having a heavy fight with the Indians who surrounded him in overwhelming numbers, and that he could go no farther. He was ordered to return, which he did with difficulty, and he had scarcely reached our lines, when we were most furiously attacked on all sides by the Sioux.

The fight now, for sometime, was a desperate one, almost hand to hand, and in many instances, Indians who were unarmed, or out of ammunition, stood on the heights and hurled heavy stones at our soldiers below them. At one time I discovered that the reds had taken possession of a ravine near by, and were preparing a fresh assault. I ordered Benteen to charge with his company. His men sprang up with loud cheers and led by their gallant officer, they rushed in a solid body down the ravine. This charge was so sudden and so bold, that the Indians broke and ran at their approach.

From one of the hills that overlooked our corral, the enemy poured a deadly fire, killing scores of our horses and mules, while many of the packers in the train were shot dead and wounded. But my men stood firm, although the fight continued with unabated fury till nine P. M., when it had grown very dark and the Sioux ceased firing, for the Indians will not fight after night fall. Thus ended the 25th day of June.

By this time, I was aware that the Indians were in overwhelming numbers and in consequence, we worked all night, making

every exertion to be ready for what I knew would be a terrific assault next day. We dug rifle pits, and being possessed of only two spades the men were compelled to use their hands, knives and tin cups; we barricaded the opening of the depression towards the Indians, in which our animals were herded, with the bodies of our dead soldiers, mules and horses and boxes of hard bread. We worked hard and rapidly, knowing the night would be of short duration, for day breaks very early in that high latitude.

All during the night, the Indians remained in hearing distance of my position and kept up a most fearful scalp-dance and the darkness was made lurid by their blazing fires, in which many prisoners were burned at the stake.

Finally our work was completed. We had done all we could, to fortify our position and I felt confident now that I could hold my own during the coming attack. The morning of June 26th dawned about half past two A. M., and exactly at that moment, we heard the crack of two rifles, which warned us that the assault would soon be made. This was the signal for the beginning of a fire that I have never seen equalled.

The Indians are the best light calvary in the world. I have seen pretty nearly all of them, and I do not except even the Cossacks. Every rifle was handled by an expert and skilled marksman, and with a range that exceeded that of our carbines. Many of these carbines in my command were rendered useless by failure of the breech block to close and leaving a space between the head of the cartridge and the end of the block, and when the piece was discharged, and the block thrown open, the head of the cartridge was pulled off, leaving the cylinder in the chamber, whence, with the means at hand, it was impossible to extract it. I desire also to state that my loss would have been less, had I been provided with some instrument similar to the trowel-bayonet. I am sure, had an opponent of that arm been with my soldiers on the night of June 25th, 1876, he would have given his right hand for fifty bayonets.

The Indians opened the attack with a tremendous fire and deafening warwhoops and as the day brightened, we could see countless hordes of them pouring out from the village and up

the valley, scampering over the high points towards the places designated for them, by their chiefs and which entirely surrounded our position. They had sufficient numbers to completely encircle us, proved by many of my men being struck on opposite sides of the lines from where the shots were fired. I think I was fighting all the Sioux nation who—unknown to us,—had assembled only a short time previous to celebrate their greatest religious festival—the Sun Dance—together with all the desperadoes, renegades, squaw-men and half-breeds between the Missouri and Arkansas rivers and east of the Rocky Mountains. They could not have numbered less than twenty-five hundred while many estimate their strength to have been fully five thousand.

(To be continued.)

The Great Carrying Place

BY EDGAR W. AMES,

AUTHOR OF "NEW YORK STATE GOVERNMENT", "READINGS IN
AMERICAN HISTORY, ETC., ETC.

IN an unbroken forest, tall groves of white pine stretched along the uplands, dense swamps covered the lowlands; on the high ground grew hard wood trees, and here and there rose the ghostly forms of white birches. Wolves prowled in the thickets, and panthers haunted the underbrush. Along the water courses grew gigantic elms, and in their branches eagles built their nests. The river flowed on its way unconfined, and no eye but that of the wild beast, or the equally wild Indian had looked upon its waters." Such was the "Great Carrying Place" when it was first looked upon by the eye of the white man.

For years the section of the country from Fort Edward to Lake Champlain was known as the "Great Carrying Place". Here the Indian left the Hudson, and taking his canoe on his shoulders, carried it twelve miles across the country, following the trail which is practically the line now followed by the Delaware & Hudson railroad, to the lower end of Lake Champlain, and thence north to Canada. This was the highway of the Indian nations. Across this trail went parties of Indians, some on peaceful pursuit bent, but more often on a scalping expedition.

Probably across this trail, went the party of Iroquois, who met Champlain and his Algonquin friends on the shore of Bulwaga Bay on Lake Champlain. And back across The "Great Carrying Place" came the scared, defeated band, bearing in their breast that eternal hatred of the French which made the

trail one of blood for 200 years, making New York an English province instead of a French one.

North of this trail was a beautiful sheet of water. After a savage foray upon the Algonquins of the north, the wily Iroquis needed a short route home, a place where he could obtain the bark for his canoe, and so he had in the course of years, made his route homeward to the Mohawk valley, across this lake. The surrounding hills and low lying plains, did not differ materially from those about the "Carrying Place." White men had never seen this gem, with its beautiful setting, and the wondering Indian or some wild bird were the only beings to skim its waters. This lake as we have said was one of the links in the homeward trail. This "Kayadrosseros trail," as it was known, led to the Mohawk country by way of some beautiful falls on the Hudson, later known as the falls of Glenn. From here the Indian travelled across country until he came to the pass south of Mt. McGregor, and thence across country again until he came to the Mohawk river a little to the west of where the city of Amsterdam now stands. It was into this trail that the white man first came.

The Indians had never forgotten their defeat on Lake Champlain at the hands of the Algonquins and the French, and in 1642 after becoming possessed of fire arms and skilled in their use, made an attack on the French settlements in Canada. There they captured one of the Jesuit fathers, and in the retreat up the Lake, they carried with them Father Isaac Jogues and some of his helpers. It was about the first of September when they arrived at that bold promontory jutting out into Lake Champlain, since become famous as Ticonderoga. Rounding this they turned west, when they were soon stopped by the churning rapids and charming falls of a goodly stream, the outlet of another lake. Here the Indians landed, shouldered their canoes, and were soon launched forth with their captives, upon the crystal waters of Andiatarocete. Here for the first time since the creation of the world, the eyes of a white man looked upon the water of Lac St. Sacrament, or Lake George as we now know it. The captives were taken to the Iroquis country, and after many tortures, Father Jogues was ransomed. He soon returned to Europe,

where his mutilated hands were kissed by Queen Anne of Austria.

Soon at the orders of the head of the Jesuits he returned to Canada. In 1646 he was ordered by his Superior to return to the Mohawk country. On this journey he gave the name of St. Sacrament to the lake he discovered; and crossing over from thence, to the Hudson, he sailed down as far as Fort Orange (where Albany now stands). His was in all probability the eye of the first white man to see the Dead Man's Point, and the trail of the "Great Carrying Place."

In 1666 came another band of white men—this time bent on a war of revenge, for the Iroquois descent on Canada. Coming up Lake Champlain, they intended to take the Kayadrosseros trail, but the guides on account of too much "fire water," lost this trail and took the Saratoga trail, i. e., down the Hudson river. They were unsuccessful in their attempt, and the years to follow showed party after party, first French, and then Iroquois, swinging back and forth across the "Great Carrying Place," bent upon war and sudden death. The terrible massacre at Schenectady occurring in 1690 during King William's war, was perpetrated by a band of French and Algonquin Indians, which came up Lake Champlain, and across the carrying place, and down the Hudson. Back they came in defeat, and in 1691 Major Peter Schuyler went north to retaliate, following the now well known trail. His expedition also came to naught.

So the tide of war ebbed and flowed. In the north the French were pushing south, and in the south the English were pushing northward, to flaunt the blood red flag in front of the lillies of France. War and bloodshed had been practically continuous both in this country and Europe from the beginning of the year 1700; and now in 1755, the English had a large force being collected at the "Great Carrying Place" in the waters of the upper Hudson under the command of Gen. William Johnson. This force was to march against Crown Point, a French fort located near the southern end of Lake Champlain. Part of this force was encamped below the small creek at the lower part of the village, and part on the island connected now by two bridges. This was Aug. 15, 1755, and 300 men were now busily engaged

in building Fort Lyman. West of this flowed the Hudson River, south of it was the brook now known as Fort Edward Creek, and a large swamp.

The following description of this fort was given by two prisoners taken from the English by the French:—"This house," i. e. fort, "has an enclosure formed by a ditch fourteen feet wide and eighteen feet deep. The earth from the ditch is thrown up toward the fort, and on the embankment pickets twelve feet high are set up, inclining outwards. The ditch does not continue on the river. There are only pickets on that side. There are two gates on the river side, and one small one on the north. Eight cannon are in the field at the Fort, and within the enclosure are twenty-four or twenty-five mortars. The five hundred men at the Fort are all outside. There is only one sentinel in a sentry box opposite the little gate. There is plenty of biscuits, pork, rum, but only a few beeves. There are no Dutch among the troops."

As soon as a sufficiently large body of troops was collected, Gen. William Johnson, who had now arrived, took command, and led them north through where now Hudson Falls and Glens Falls are located, then turning east by the Half-Way House and "Bloody Pond," to the shore of Lac St. Sacrament. To this body of water he gave the name of Lake George. Dieskau, the French commander, determined on a march against Ft. Lyman, or Ft. Edward, as Johnson had renamed it. Johnson decided to send a small body of troops under Col. Ephraim Williams, to the aid of Gen. Lyman, but at a council of war held on the morning of the 8th, Hendrick the friendly Indian chief, disapproved of the small number sent. "If," said that sage councillor, "they are to fight, they are too few; if they are to be killed they are too many," and again when it was proposed to divide the detachment into three parties, the Mohawk chieftain, picking up three sticks from the ground, said, "Put these together, and you cannot break them; take them one by one, and you will do it easily." This is the moment chosen by the Sculptor to represent in the bronze group on the Lake George Battle Monument.

This body of troops was ambushed by Dieskau, and Williams and Hendrick were both killed. Dieskau was wounded, but the

English in spite of their losses, were gradually successful, driving the French toward Johnson. As they came to the slight intrenchments which he had thrown up, the English opened fire, and after a hard struggle, the French were defeated.

While the fighting was going on, the heavy firing was heard at Fort Edward, and a party of two hundred and fifty men was sent out on a scout to the northward. They marched to within about four miles of the Lake, where they came upon a party of 300 Canadians and Indians sitting around a pool of water in the valley below. These were skulkers from Dieskau's ranks, and as they sat there eating, the English poured in a destructive volley, and in a short time nearly all of the Canadians were killed. For weeks afterward the water was reddened with the blood of the fallen soldiers, and from this cause was affixed to this dark and dismal pool, the name of "Bloody Pond."

After the battle of Lake George, there was no important event, until in 1757, occurred the attack of the French on Fort William Henry. This was followed by the awful massacre, immortalized by Cooper in his "Last of the Mohicans."

The story opens with the departure of the troops from Fort Edward for Fort William Henry, and shortly afterward the two daughters of Munro, started from the same place. They were led away from the trail by the Indian Magua, and finally arrived at a cave near the falls of Glenn, and there were captured by the Indians. This cave where Cooper places this part of the story, is still to be seen at Glens Falls. The coward Webb, hearing of the large force of French and Indians coming against Fort William Henry, became alarmed, and did not send any help, though only a few miles away, and the terrible massacre was the result. The few survivors finally reached Fort Edward in safety. From here the story shifts to other parts of the country.

After this time, aside from various petty incursions of the French from the north, and various retaliatory raids by the English, all was quiet along the "Great Carrying Place" for some years.

In the graveyard north of the village of Fort Edward is an old tombstone with this inscription:

"Here Lyes The Body of Duncan Campbell of Inverawe,

Esqr., Major To The Old Highland Regt., Aged 55 Years Who Died The 17th July, 1758, of The Wounds He Received In The Attack of The Retrenchments of Ticonderoga or Carillon the 8th of July, 1758."

Around the life and death of this Duncan Campbell clings a romantic and weird story. On the west coast of Scotland in Argyleshire, dwelt the Stewarts. To the South and east of the Stewarts were the Campbell clan. About 1742 Duncan Campbell, an officer of the Highland regiment, known as the Black Watch, was sent out into Argyleshire to harry the opponents of the King. On his return from his duty, he became separated from his comrades, and night falling swiftly, he lost his way among the mountain passes. Turning sharply into a ravine, he was startled to find himself face to face with a stalwart Highlander, and after some conversation, the stranger escorted Campbell to an unknown camp in the mountains, gave him food to eat, and shared his bed with him, and in the morning set him safely on his way. He found that his benefactor was a member of his own clan, named Donald Campbell.

Soon after this Duncan was relieved from his military duties and retired to his own estate, and the adventure was forgotten. One night, while he was sitting alone in his castle, he was startled by a loud rap on his door, and on answering the summons, he was surprised to find Stewart of Appin, a man for whom he had little liking. In a few hurried words, Stewart told his host that he had killed a man, was pursued and in danger of his life, and begged Duncan to hide him from his pursuers. This, much against his will he did, and hid the Stewart in an underground room in the castle. Scarcely had he returned from hiding the fugitive, when there came a second alarm, and on going to the door he was confronted by a band of his own clansmen. They told him that they were in pursuit of Stewart of Appin, who had treacherously murdered one of the clan. Campbell, though sick at heart at the thought of concealing the murderer of his kinsman, nevertheless lied manfully, and sent the pursuing party away.

That night after he had retired to his chamber, which is still called the Ghost Chamber at Inverawe, he was awakened by a

ghostly light which filled the room. By the dim radiance, he plainly saw the murdered form of his kinsman—Donald Campbell, as he had looked the day on which he had helped him when lost. Now his long black hair was dishevelled, his clothing torn and soiled with blood. The silence was broken by the ghostly visitor, who moaned in a hollow voice, “Inverawe, Inverawe, blood has been shed; shield not the murderer.” After this the vision disappeared. In the morning, he sought Appin in his hiding place, and told him that though he could no longer shelter him, he would not betray him, and so led him in safety to the mountains.

That night, as he was again seated in his bed-chamber, the apparition of his murdered relative and friend, appeared to him the second time, and again the apparition spoke:—“Inverawe, Inverawe, blood has been shed; blood must atone for blood; shield not the murderer.” The next morning Duncan went to seek Appin, but he was gone. The third night, Duncan, wearied with the day’s cares and worries, sought his room. The third time he saw the apparition, with all the customary demonstrations, but this time the voice was not one of warning as it had been the first time, nor was the attitude one of supplication as it had been the second time, but on the contrary, the tones and the appearance were threatening, and the words were: “Inverawe, Inverawe, blood has been shed; blood must atone for blood; we shall meet again at Ticonderoga.”

At this time the name of Ticonderoga was wholly unknown in the whole world. Yet the name of the meeting place remained with Duncan, and he tried hard to locate it but was unsuccessful.

Time passed, and in 1758, the Black Watch, of which Duncan Campbell had become a major, was ordered to the new world to make a part of General Abercrombie’s expedition against the French in Canada. As the army approached Ticonderoga, Gen. Abercrombie, who had heard the ghostly legend of Inverawe, called his officers, particularly those of the Black Watch about him, and told them privately to conceal the name of the fortress they were about to attack, from Campbell. The night before the attack Campbell while engaged in examining the scene of the prospective engagement, at dusk, and while crossing the

bridge which at that time spanned the outlet of Lake George, distinctly saw before him the ghost of his murdered kinsman. He thereupon made inquiry, and found the name of the fortress to be Ticonderoga. His mind was filled with the most dismal forebodings, and he told his friends that he should not survive the morrow's fight. In the attack next day, all the officers of the Black Watch were either killed or mortally wounded. Among the latter was Duncan Campbell, and suffering greatly he was removed by the retreating army, and brought to Fort Edward, where he died on the 17th day of July, 1758. Whether the ghostly part of the story is true, or not, yet it was very real to poor Campbell and tends to give the story of his death a romantic touch.

From this time to the Revolutionary war, the country did not settle very rapidly. This was to be expected. The route for the greater part of the way was exposed to the attacks of Indians, parties of whom were continually going back and forth across the trails, some bent on trade, all bent on plunder, wherever attainable. At the beginning of the Revolutionary war, there were but three houses in Fort Edward, and on top of the hill were three block houses. These were all the evidences of civilization to be seen about the "Great Carrying Place" by July 4th, 1776.

The old fort during the preceding twenty years, had gradually fallen to pieces, and was incapable of defense, though it was still used as a meeting and camping place for the soldier bands that occasionally stopped there. The Revolution was well on its way; Ticonderoga and Crown Point had fallen into the hands of the American forces, Boston had been captured, and the Declaration of Independence had been issued. In England alarm was felt at these successes, and so a plan was formed to crush the life out of the rebellion. "Cut off the head of the snake," was the way the English government expressed it. Howe was to come up the Hudson as far as Albany, St. Leger was to come east along the Mohawk to Albany, and Burgoyne was to come south from Canada following Lake Champlain and Lake George. When these three parties met, the rebellion

would be crushed. It is with the last named of these expeditions that we have to do.

Burgoyne with a large force followed out his part of the programs splendidly at first. Ticonderoga and Crown Point fell again into the hands of the British, and, vainly opposed by Gen. Schuyler, he kept on his victorious march to the Hudson. He was encamped about two miles north of where Hudson Falls now is, on the "Pine Plains," when an event occurred that, insignificant in its bearing toward an army it might seem, though awful in itself, yet was one of the most important factors in Burgoyne's defeat at the Battle of Saratoga. I refer to the murder of Jane McCrea.

Some three miles south of Fort Edward, lived Col. John McCrea, and with him lived his seventeen year old sister, Jenny. She was an orphan, and had come to live with her brother some years previously on the death of her father, a Scotch Presbyterian minister, who was at the time of his death living in New Jersey. Jenny was a beautiful young girl,—as General Gates wrote to General Burgoyne, "She was a young lady, lovely to the sight, of virtuous character, and amiable disposition." Black haired, blue eyed, tall and well formed, she was well fitted by nature to win the love of some good man. This she had done. Across the Hudson there lived with his mother, a prosperous young farmer, named David Jones. He was loyal to the king at a time when most of his neighbors were patriots, and he had joined the army of Burgoyne, and had been made a lieutenant in the "Royal New Yorkers," and all accounts agree in giving him high praise as a man. He and Jenny had been parted, for, as her brother was a staunch patriot, he had refused his sanction to any marriage between them.

Now David, who, with his mother had removed to Canada some time before, was approaching in Burgoyne's army, and the lovers were looking forward to a glad meeting. Jane had come to Fort Edward to visit a Mrs. McNeil, whose home stood near the spot where now the Episcopal church stands. She often visited there as she and Mrs. McNeil's grand-daughter were great friends. Her brother becoming alarmed at the advance of Burgoyne's army, had sent for Jenny to return home, as he knew

that the fort must inevitably fall into the enemy's hands, and that there would be danger in lingering near. Again the brother sent a more urgent message. Still she lingered. The lady with whom she was visiting was a Royalist, a friend of General Fraser. Her roof would be respected. Even should Fort Edward be captured, what had Jane to fear? Her lover was in the British camp. The capture of the fort would reunite them.

The story now varies. Some records say that the lover sent a party of friendly Indians with a letter to Jane, asking her to come to Burgoyne's camp. Others say that as she had prepared to go back to her brothers, Mrs. McNeil's house was attacked by the Indians, and the inmates captured and that Mrs. McNeil offered the Indians a reward to take them to the army of Burgoyne. At any rate Jane McCrea in company with Mrs. McNeil, started for the army in company with a party of Indians. They had only proceeded a little way, in fact not to the top of the hill on the road leading out of the town, when a quarrel arose, among the Indians as to whom Jane belonged, and one of them, known variously as "Le Loup," or the "Wolf," and also as the "Wyandotte Panther," killed her on the spot, and taking her scalp, left her body lying by a spring, near the road. After a time it was taken by some friends and buried. The remains have been moved in later years, and now rest in the Union Cemetery north of the village. Lieutenant Jones first learned of her death by recognizing the bloody scalp hanging from an Indian's belt. He was completely broken in spirit by the shock of her death. Disgusted with the service, he threw up his commission, and retired to Canada, never marrying, but living to be an old man, and it is said that he never smiled again.

The blood of this unfortunate girl was not shed in vain. Armies sprang from it. The mischief to the British cause had been effected as the murder of Jane McCrea resounded through the land. Those people of the frontier who had hitherto remained quiet, now flew to arms, to defend their families and their firesides, for in their exasperation they looked beyond the savages to their employers. Her name passed a note of alarm along the banks of the Hudson, and was a rallying cry among the Green Mountains of Vermont, bringing down all their hardy yeo-

manry. Burgoyne advanced soon after, with his army to Fort Edward, and from there went slowly on, becoming gradually hemmed in by the patriot forces, meeting defeat at Freeman's Farm, Bemis' Heights, and finally surrendering his army at Saratoga. With the march of Burgoyne's army ends the military history of Fort Edward.

At the close of the Revolutionary War, the Indians were gradually driven toward the westward by the advancing hosts of colonists. The old trail became used for purposes of peace, and the "Great Carrying Place" was known no more.

History of the Mormon Church

By BRIGHAM H. ROBERTS, Assistant Historian of the Church

CHAPTER LXIII

THE MORMON BATTALION

THE destination of the exiled Latter-day Saints was doubtless, though vaguely, fixed, (1) by the prophecy of Joseph Smith of the 6th of August, 1842; at which time, it should be remembered, he declared that the Saints would continue to suffer much affliction and would be driven to the Rocky Mountains, many would apostatize, others would be put to death by their persecutors, "and some of you," said he to his auditors, "will live to go and assist in making settlements and build cities in the Rocky Mountains;"¹ and (2) by the fact that when conditions at Nauvoo became intolerable to the Prophet, he actually started for "the Great Basin in the Rocky Mountains."² This matter of their destination was frequently discussed by the council of the Twelve when enroute through Iowa; and even before leaving Nauvoo.³

It is true that in some passages of "Mormon" literature, the destination of the "Camp of Israel" seems indefinite; and both "Oregon" and "California" as well as the "Great Basin in the Rocky Mountains" are sometimes referred to as a probable destination. This arises both from the unorganized state of Mormon literature, and because of the vagueness that accompanied the names "Oregon" and "California" in the decades of the first

1. Documentary History of the Church, Vol. V, 85 and note; also *ante*, this History, ch. XLVI, where the prophecy is considered at length.

2. *Mill. Star*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 332-3; Documentary Hist. of the Church, Vol. VI, pp. 545-8. *Ante*, this History, ch. L.

3. See *Ante*, ch. LXII; also Hist. B. Y. Ms., Bk. I, p. 162.

half of the 19th century. "Oregon" was then a land of unknown boundaries off in the northwest region of the United States. "California," a region without north or south boundaries very definitely fixed, but lying east and west between the summits of the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific Ocean; and the great western Rocky Mountain Plateau was for many years, and especially in "Mormon" literature, called "Upper California."⁴ But a close consideration of our annals will reveal the fact that always it was settled in the minds of Brigham Young and his associates of the Twelve Apostles, that the "Great Basin of the Rocky Mountains" was the destination of the people they were leading to the west; not Oregon, and not the Pacific slopes of California.

As early as the 8th of March, 1846, President Young urged the necessity of sending a pioneer company in advance "to the Great Basin," to put in crops that season. "We must divide and arrange the camps," said he, "so that a part may cross the mountains to the Great Basin soon enough to plant this spring; we must ascertain how many men can go forward from the camp, leaving their families somewhere on the road, so as to travel with all speed; three hundred men are wanted for the expedition."⁵

After the Mormon Battalion was chosen and arrangements made for its marching, President Young suggested that "The Soldiers," referring to the Battalion, "might tarry and go to work where they would be disbanded, and said the next temple would be built in the Rocky Mountains; and I should like the Twelve and the old brethren to live in the mountains where the temple will be erected, and where the brethren will have to repair to get their endowments."⁶ Some what later, he said: "I spoke of President Polk's feelings toward us, as a people. Assured

4. See Taylor's hymn of 1846, "The Upper California:"

"The Upper California, O that's the land for me,
It lies between the Mountains and Great Pacific sea," etc.

L. D. S. Hymn Book, p. 352. Also *Mill. Star*, Vols. VI to X, *passim*. "I frequently find California and Utah confounded," says Bancroft, "by writers of this early period. The limits of California on the east were not then defined, and it was not uncommon, nor indeed incorrect to apply that term to territory east of the Sierra" (Hist. Utah, p. 238).

5. Hist. of Brigham Young *Ms.*, Bk. I, p. 85.

the brethren [i. e. of the Battalion] that they would have no fighting to do; told them we should go to the Great Basin, which is the place to build temples, and where our strongholds should be against mobs. The constitution of the U. S. is good. The Battalion will probably be disbanded about eight hundred miles from the place where we shall locate. (Hist. Brigham Young *Ms.* Bk. 2, pp. 86-7).

In a communication to President James K. Polk, under date of August 9th, 1846, signed by Brigham Young as President of the council, it was said:

“The cause of our exile we need not repeat, it is already with you, suffice it to say that a combination of fortuitous, illegal and unconstitutional circumstances have placed us in our present situation, on a journey which we design shall end in a location west of the Rocky Mountains, and within the Basin of the Great Salt Lake, or Bear river valley, as soon as circumstances shall permit, believing that to be a point where a good living will require hard labor, and consequently will be coveted by no other people, while it is surrounded by so unpopulous but fertile a country.”⁷

After this there can surely be no doubt as to the determination of the Church leaders to settle in the Rocky Mountains, and that from the beginning of their exodus from Illinois and the United States. Finally active steps were taken to raise from among the camps a pioneer company to go over the mountains. In June Elders Parley P. Pratt and Ezra T. Benson were sent east along the line of encampments as far as Mount Pisgah to raise a portion of this company.⁸

6. Hist. of Brigham Young *Ms.*, Bk. 2, pp. 52-3.

7. Hist. B. Y. *Ms.*, Bk. 2, p. 137.

8. These brethren were met by Brigham Young returning from their mission to Mount Pisgah, on the 4th of July, when they reported that they had “raised eighty-four volunteers to go over the mountains that season, and \$50 in money. Hist. of B. Y. *Ms.*, Bk. 2, p. 6. For the suggestion that it was the glowing description of Salt Lake Valley by a Catholic Missionary—Father De Smet—that led Brigham Young to fix upon that valley as a place of settlement, see Note 1, end of chapter.

The above evidence as to intention of President Young settling his people in the Rocky Mountains, rather than in California or Oregon, may be further supplemented by the following entry in his journal while the Battalion was being mustered into service:

“July 14: I said I would prophesy that the time would come when some one of

Bishop Miller and his company, meantime, had completed a ferry across the Missouri at Council Bluffs, and began crossing to the west bank.

On Sunday the 28th of June an important council meeting was held at which President Young urged the importance of sending an advanced company of men as pioneers over the mountains, and called for volunteers who would be willing to leave their families with elderly men and boys while they, with especially selected teams and outfits, should make a dash for the mountains. Forty men volunteered at this meeting: among whom all of the Twelve that were present.⁹ Doubtless more could be found in the surrounding camps who would be willing to go and preparations were accordingly begun for the journey. Indeed the day following several of the Twelve, among them President Young, moved down to the ferry preparatory to crossing the river.

It was at this juncture in the affairs of the "Camp of Israel" that an event happened of large importance. Captain James Allen of the U. S. Army arrived at Mount Pisgah on the 26th of June, accompanied by three dragoons and presented to the leading Elders of that place "*A Circular to the Mormons*," setting forth that he had been instructed by Col. Stephen W. Kearney of the U. S. Army, and Commander of the "Army of the West," to *accept* the service for twelve months of four or five

the Twelve or a High Priest would come up and ask: 'Can we not build a Temple at Van Couver's Island, or in California?' It is now wisdom to unite all our forces to build one house in the mountains." (Hist. Brigham Young *Ms.*, Bk. 2, p. 53).

9. In his journal account of this meeting Elder John Taylor says: "Bro. Young spoke and said that the companies must prepare teams and grain and implements of husbandry to send over the mountains as the season is so far advanced that there must be something done and that quickly; and as the folks were not willing to let the Twelve go ahead any faster than they did, they must send on men and teams to prepare a place and plow and plant to receive us; for if we do not send men ahead it will throw us back another year and we will have to buy another year's provision. He then said he wanted to know how many were willing to go over the mountains and leave their families, and put it to the vote, and several held up their hands; he then said he wanted to know their numbers, for he was determined to go and leave his family if he could get any volunteers to go with him, and leave their families in the care of old men and boys. They would take mules, horses, and swift cattle that could travel thirty miles a day, and take grain and corn along. They then commenced numbering and numbered forty, among whom were the Twelve. There were a great many men down who could principally all go, and there were a good many not at meeting. They spoke of the practicability of going this fall. Brother Brigham thought we could do it in thirty-five days." *Taylor's Journal Ms.*, entry for 28 June, 1846.

companies of Mormon men who may be willing to serve their country for that period in our present war with Mexico; this force to unite with the Army of the West at Santa Fe, and be marched thence to California, where they will be discharged.”¹⁰ Captain Allen hoped to “complete the organization of this Battalion in six days” after his arrival at Council Bluffs, “or within nine days from this time.”¹¹

The presiding brethren at Mount Pisgah did not feel authorized to take any steps in the matter of Captain Allen’s communication on the enlistment of a Battalion, but gave him a letter of introduction to President Young at Council Bluffs, for which place the Captain started immediately and arrived on the 30th of June. The following day he met with President Young and others in council at the tent of John Taylor, and presented the whole question of raising a Battalion from the “Mormon” camps.

The authority under which Captain Allen acted was an order from Col. Kearney, at Fort Leavenworth. This order Captain Allen presented to Brigham Young and his fellow Apostles in the council assembled; and because of its importance as a public document, is here given in full.

HEADQUARTERS, ARMY OF THE WEST,
FORT LEAVENWORTH, June 19, 1846.

SIR:—It is understood that there is a large body of Mormons who are desirous of emigrating to California, for the purpose of settling in that country, and I have therefore to direct that you will proceed to their camps and endeavor to raise from amongst them four or five companies of volunteers, to join me in my expedition to that country, each company to consist of any number between 73 and 109; the officers of each company will be a captain, first lieutenant and second lieutenant, who will be elected by the privates, and subject to your approval, and the captains

10. The circular is given *in extenso* in Tyler’s Mormon Battalion, 1881, pp. 114-5. The words “*accept the service*,” is the phraseology of the act of Congress declaring war with Mexico. See Congressional Globe, 13th of May, 1846. The declaration of War “authorized the President to accept the service of fifty thousand volunteers, and placed ten millions of dollars at his disposal. * * * The call for volunteers was answered by the prompt tender of the services of more than 300,000 men.” History of the United States, Marcus Wilson, Appendix, p. 682. Same, Lossing, p. 482; Stephens, p. 488.

11. Tyler’s Mormon Battalion, p. 115.

then to appoint the non-commissioned officers, also subject to your approval. The companies, upon being thus organized, will be mustered by you into the service of the United States, and from that day will commence to receive the pay, rations and other allowances given to the other infantry volunteers, each according to his rank. You will, upon mustering into service the fourth company, be considered as having the rank, pay and emoluments of a lieutenant-colonel of infantry, and are authorized to appoint an adjutant, sergeant-major, and quartermaster-sergeant for the battalion.

The companies, after being organized, will be marched to this post, where they will be armed and prepared for the field, after which they will, under your command, follow on my trail in the direction of Santa Fe, and where you will receive further orders from me.

You will, upon organizing the companies, require provisions, wagons, horses, mules, etc. You must purchase everything that is necessary and give the necessary drafts upon the Quartermaster and Commissary departments at this post, which drafts will be paid upon presentation.

You will have the Mormons distinctly to understand that I wish to have them as volunteers for twelve months; that they will be marched to California, receiving pay and allowances during the above time, and at its expiration they will be discharged, and allowed to retain, as their private property, the guns and accoutrements furnished to them at this post.

Each company will be allowed four women as laundresses, who will travel with the company, receiving rations and other allowances given to the laundresses of our army.

With the forgoing conditions, which are hereby pledged to the Mormons, and which will be faithfully kept by me and other officers in behalf of the government of the United States, I cannot doubt but that you will in a few days be able to raise five hundred young and efficient men for this expedition.

Very respectfully your ob't serv't,

(Signed) S. W. KEARNEY,
Col. of First Dragoons.

Per Capt. James Allen, First Reg. Dragoons, Fort Leavenworth.

It is necessary at this point to suspend the narrative of raising this Battalion of men, in order that we may trace the events which led up to the remarkable circumstance of the government

of the United States calling upon the camps of the Saints for these volunteers.

On the 20th of January, 1846, the High Council of the Nauvoo stake of Zion, acting, however, as stated in the document to be quoted, by the unanimously agreed and united voice of all the authorities of the Church, declare the intention of the Church to send out early in the month of March a company of young, hardy men, properly equipped for their work, to seek out a place "to make a crop in some good valley in the neighborhood of the Rocky Mountains, where they will infringe upon no one, and not be likely to be infringed upon. Here we will make a resting place until we can determine a place for a permanent location." The subject thus introduced, the High council proceeds:

"In the event of the President's recommendation to build block houses and stockade forts on the route to Oregon, becoming a law, we have encouragement of having that work to do; and under our peculiar circumstances, we can do it with less expense to the Government than any other people. We also further declare, for the satisfaction of some who have concluded that our grievances have alienated us from our country, that our patriotism has not been overcome by fire—by sword—by daylight, nor by midnight assassinations, which we have endured; neither have they alienated us from the institutions of our country. Should hostilities arise between the Government of the United States and any other power, in relation to the right of possessing the territory of Oregon, we are on hand to sustain the claims of the United States Government to that country. It is geographically ours; and of right, no foreign power should hold dominion there: and if our services are required to prevent it, those services will be cheerfully rendered according to our ability."¹²

Elder Jesse C. Little was appointed President of the Eastern States Mission, his letter of appointment is dated "Temple of God, Nauvoo, Jan. 26th, 1846." In the body of that letter it is suggested:

"If our government shall offer any facilities for emigrating to the western coast, embrace those facilities, if possible. As

12. (Time and Seasons, Vol. V, p. 1096).

a wise and faithful man, take every honorable advantage of the times you can. Be thou a savior and a deliverer of that people, and let *virtue, integrity and truth*, be your motto—salvation and glory the prize for which you contend.”¹³

“In consonance with my instructions,” says Elder Little, in his report to President Brigham Young, which are recorded in the latter’s History, “I felt an anxious desire for the deliverance of the Saints, and resolved upon visiting James K. Polk, President of the United States, to lay the situation of my persecuted brethren before him, and ask him, as the representative of our country, to stretch forth the federal arm in their behalf.”¹⁴

In pursuance of this design Elder Little obtained a letter of introduction from John H. Steel, Governor of New Hampshire (in which state Elder Little was reared), who declared that he had known Elder Little from childhood, and believed him honest in his views and intentions, and added:

“Mr. Little visits Washington, if I understand him correctly, for the purpose of procuring, or endeavoring to procure, the freight of any provisions or naval stores which the government may be desirous of sending to Oregon, or to any portion of the Pacific. He is thus desirous of obtaining freight for the purpose of lessening the expense of chartering vessels to convey him and his followers to California, where they intend going and making a permanent settlement the present summer.”¹⁵

From Luke Milber, also of Peterboro, N. H., he secured a letter to Hon. Mace Moulton in Washington, which in addition to vouching for the high character of Elder Little, based upon personal knowledge of him for twelve years, announced that the Elder was “soliciting some aid from the general government, to assist himself and brethren throughout the United States in emigrating to California.”¹⁶

In New York Elder Little met A. G. Benson, of Brannan and

13. Little’s report, Hist. of Brigham Young *Ms.*, Bk. 2, p. 11.

16. Little’s Report, History of Brigham Young *Ms.*, Bk. 2, p. 12.

14. *Ibid.*

15. Little’s Report, Hist. of Brigham Young, Bk. 2, p. 11-12.

“A. G. Benson & Co.” fame, noted in a previous chapter,¹⁷ and from him carried a letter of introduction to Amos Kendall, former U. S. Post Master General, and also connected with the Brannan “A. G. Benson and Co.” affair. Mr. Benson asks Kendall to “aid Mr. Little in the object of his visit to Washington” as far as Mr. Kendall’s “many engagements would permit.”¹⁸

On the 13th of May, Elder Little held a conference of the Latter-day Saints in Philadelphia, and here met Col. Thomas L. Kane, son of Judge John K. Kane of Philadelphia. The Kanes were an old, and honorable Pennsylvania family. The Colonel’s father was Judge John K. Kane, who had been Attorney-General of the State of Pennsylvania, and was now (1846) United States judge for the district of Pennsylvania; also President of the American Philosophical Society. Dr. Elisha Kent Kane, the famous arctic explorer and scientist, was Col. Kane’s brother.¹⁹ The introduction to Elder Little, which the Col. solicited, opened the home of the Kanes to Elder Little and was the beginning of that interest and friendship for the Latter-day Saints ever afterwards manifested by Thomas L. Kane; and which led to very valuable service on his part to the Mormon people, as we shall see later, in one of the most critical periods of their history.

On Elder Little’s departure from Philadelphia for Washington, Col. Kane gave him a letter of introduction to Hon. Geo. M. Dallas, Vice President of the United States, in the body of which he said:

“This gentlemen [Elder Little] besides being very highly valued by the members of his own sect, is, I learn, esteemed honest and sincere in his professions by many of our friends in this

17. *Ante*, ch. LXI.

18. Little’s Report, Hist. Brigham Young *Ms.*, Bk. 2, pp. 12-13.

19. General Thomas Leiper Kane was born January 27, 1822; consequently was a very young man—24—when he visited the Mormon camps at Council Bluffs. He was educated principally in Paris, and on his return to the family home in Philadelphia, studied law, and was admitted to the bar in 1846. He served with distinction in the War Between the States on the Union side. He raised a regiment in Northern Pennsylvania that became famous for its valor, reflecting therein the spirit of its commander. He was several times wounded in action, and made Brigadier-General for gallant services on the field. Wounds and sickness compelled his retirement before the close of the war. He died in December, 1883.

city. He visits Washington, too, I believe, with no other object than the laudable one of desiring aid of government for his people, who forced by persecution to found a new commonwealth in the Sacramento valley, still retain American hearts, and would not willingly sell themselves to the foreigner, or forget the old commonwealth they leave behind them."²⁰

Arriving in Washington on the 21st of May, Elder Little called upon Mr. Kendall, but found him sick; and in the evening, in company with Mr. Dame of Massachusetts and Mr. King, representative from that state, he called upon President Polk and received an introduction. Sam Houston of Texas, and other distinguished gentlemen were present. The arrival of Elder Little was most opportune for the business he had in hand. News of the capture of an American reconnoitering troop of dragoons under command of Captain Thornton, on the east side of the Rio Grande, sixteen of whom were killed, had reached Washington early in May, and enabled the President in his message to Congress on the 11th of that month to say that "Mexico had invaded our territory and shed the blood of our citizens on our own soil;" which led congress two days later to declare war and vote the funds necessary to its vigorous prosecution. By the time Elder Little called upon the President the news had reached Washington of the victory of the American forces under General Taylor at the battles of Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma fought on the 8th and 9th of May respectively. News of these victories aroused the war spirit throughout the land,²¹ and hastened all the government schemes for prosecuting the war, including the plan of gathering the "Army of the West" at Fort Leavenworth, under then Col. S. W. Kearney, to invade New Mexico, and ultimately co-operate with the Pacific fleet which it was designed to sweep round Cape Horn and attack

20. Little's Report, Hist. Brigham Young *Ms.*, Bk. 2, p. 16.

21. Elder Little notes this excitement in his Report, by saying in recording his movements of the 23rd of May: "There was considerable excitement in consequence of the news that Gen. Taylor had fought two battles with the Mexicans" (Little's Report, Hist. of Brigham Young *Ms.*, Bk. 2, p. 16). And Lossing says that when "news of the two brilliant victories reached the states a thrill of joy went throughout the land, and bonfires, illuminations, orations, the thunder of cannons, were seen and heard in all the great cities" (Hist. U. S., p. 483).

22. Lossing's History U. S., 1872 Edition, p. 483.

the Pacific coast of Mexico.²² It was with this "Army of the West" that the Mormon Battalion was to be connected.

The day following his visit to the President, 23rd of May, Elder Little called again upon Amos Kendall and submitted to him his letters of introduction. "We talked upon the subject of emigration, and he thought arrangements could be made to assist our emigration by enlisting one thousand of our men, arming, equipping and establishing them in California to defend the country; he said, he would be able to inform me on Tuesday morning, what could be done."²³

On the 25th Elder Little called again upon Mr. Kendall; and on the 26th he met him on the street in Washington, "when he informed me," reports the Elder, "*that he had laid my case before the President*, who had determined to take possession of California, and also employ our men, who would receive orders to push through and fortify the country; he also said the President would lay the subject before the cabinet to-day, and that to-morrow evening probably he could give me a direct answer."²⁴

On the 27th Elder Little again met with Mr. Kendall, "Who informed me the cabinet had not fully decided; *the plan offered was for me to go directly to the Camp, and have one thousand men fitted out and plunge into California*, officered by our own men, the commanding officer to be appointed by President Polk; *and to send one thousand more by way of Cape Horn*, who will take cannon and everything needed in preparing defence; those by land to receive pay from the time I should see them, and those going by water from September 1st,"²⁵

At this point Elder Little apparently concluded to take up the matter personally with the President, and under date of June 1st addressed an "Appeal" to him. In it he expresses confidence in the President, else he would not have left his home and family "*to ask favors of you for this people*"—(i. e. the Latter-day Saints). He gives an account of himself and his fore-fathers who fought "in the battles of the Revolution;" of his own character, vouched for by his letters of introduction from men of

23. Little's Report, Hist. Brigham Young, Bk. 2, p. 16.

24. Little's Report, Hist. Brigham Young Ms., Bk. 2, p. 16.

25. *Ibid*, p. 16-17.



high standing, and then avers that the people he represents are of as high character as himself. He recites the repeated acts of injustice the Latter-day Saints have suffered in the several persecutions through which they had passed, because of their religion; and adds: Under these considerations, directed as if by the finger of God, I come to you fully believing that you will not suffer me to depart without rendering me some pecuniary assistance, and be it large or small, you shall not lose your reward." He concluded his "appeal" as follows:

"Our brethren in the west are compelled to go, and we in the eastern country are determined to go and live, and, if necessary, to suffer and die with them. Our determinations are fixed and cannot be changed. From twelve to fifteen thousand have already left Nauvoo for California, and many others are making ready to go. Some have gone around Cape Horn, and I trust before this time have landed at the Bay of San Francisco.

"We have about forty thousand [members] in the British Isles and hundreds upon the Sandwich Islands, all determined to gather to this place, and thousands will sail this fall. There are yet many thousands scattered through the States, besides the great number in and around Nauvoo, who are determined to go as soon as possible, but many of them are poor, but noble men and women, who are destitute of means to pay their passage either by sea or land.

"They, as well as myself, are true hearted Americans, true to our country, true to its laws, true to its glorious institutions—and we have a desire to go under the outstretched wings of the American eagle; we would disdain to receive assistance from a foreign power, although it should be proffered, unless our government shall turn us off in this great crisis and will not help us, but compel us to be foreigners. . . . But Mr. President, were you to act alone in this matter, I full well know your course. I am not ignorant of your good feelings towards us, receiving my information from my friend Mr. S. Brannan, who has gone to California, and also the Hon. Amos Kendall and others;²⁶ believe me, when I say that I have the fullest confidence in you, and we are truly your friends, *and if you assist us at this crisis, I hereby pledge my honor, my life, my property and all I possess, as the representative of this people, to stand ready at your call, and*

²⁶. Was Elder Little at this point presuming upon the alleged "silent partnership" of President Polk with Messrs. Kendall, A. G. Benson & Co., et al.?

that the whole body will act as one man in the land to which we are going, and should our territory be invaded we hold ourselves ready to enter the field of battle, and then like our patriot fathers, with our guns and swords, make the battle field our grave or gain our liberty. We have not been fighting men, but when we are called into the battle field in defence of our country, and when the sword and sabre shall have been unsheathed, we declare before heaven and earth that they shall not return to their scabbards, until the enemy of our country, or we, sleep with the pale sheeted nations of the dead, or until we obtain deliverance.

“With great respect I have the honor to subscribe myself your obt. subject,

“J. C. LITTLE,

“*Agent of the Church of Jesus Christ of L. D. S. in the Eastern States.*

“Washington, June 1st.”²⁷

On the 2nd of June, “At noon, says Elder Little, Mr. Kendall, by request of the President, called at my room and said the President had received my communication and desired to have me call to-morrow at noon, and wished Mr. Kendall to be present.”²⁸

On the 3rd of June Elder Little called upon Mr. Kendall—

“With whom I visited President Polk, who said he had no prejudice against the Mormons, but believed us good citizens; and was willing to do us all the good that was in his power consistently; said our people should be protected—that he had full confidence in me from information he had received—that he had read my letter with interest, and was glad of an opportunity of having an interview—that he had confidence in our people as true American citizens, if he had not, he should not make such proposals; he would do something for me, but did not *decide*; he wished to talk with the Secretary of the Navy, and also wished Mr. Kendall to come to-morrow at twelve.”²⁹

Elder Little visited the President again on the 4th of June, agreeably to appointment, but press of business made it necessary to postpone an interview until the 5th. On the 5th, the following occurred:

27. Little's Report, Hist. Brigham Young Ms., Bk. 2, 20-22. It will be observed that Elder Little's letter takes on the hue of the war times.

28. *Ibid*, 22.

29. *Ibid*, p. 22.

“I visited President Polk; he informed me that we should be protected in California, and that five hundred or one thousand of our people should be taken into the service, officered by our own men, said that I should have letters from him, and from the Secretary of the Navy to the squadron. I waived the President’s proposal until evening, *when I wrote a letter of acceptance.*”³⁰

On the 7th of June, Col. Kane joined Elder Little, and after dinner the Colonel “called upon Mr. Kendall, and the secretary of state, Mr. James Buchanan,” presumably in the interest of the cause Elder Little represented.

On the 8th Col. Kane gave Elder Little a letter of introduction to Geo. Bancroft, Secretary of the Navy; and the same day visited the President and the Secretary of War, Mr. Marcy. “He [Col. Kane] has concluded,” says Elder Little, in his Report, “to go with me to the Camp, and then to California, bearing dispatches from the government.”³¹

This same day Elder Little made his final call upon President Polk, of which he gives the following account:

“I called on the President, he was busy but sent me word to call on the Secretary of War. I went to the War Department, but as the Secretary was busy, I did not see him; the President wished me to call at two p. m., which I did, and had an interview with him; he expressed his good feelings to our people—regarded us as good citizens, said he had received our suffrages, and we should be remembered; he had instructed the Secretary of War to make out our papers, and that I could get away tomorrow.”³²

Elder Little left Washington in company with Col. Kane and his father, Judge Kane, who went with them as far as Harrisburgh. The elder Kane, before separating from his son, “Proffered,” says Elder Little, “to render any assistance in his power to influence the executive in our behalf.” At St. Louis Elder Little and Col. Kane, separated, the former to make his way to

30. *Ibid*, p. 23.

31. *Ibid*.

32. *Ibid*, p. 25.

the Camp of Israel, *via* of Nauvoo, the latter to proceed with his dispatches to Fort Leavenworth.

One thing should be remarked upon with reference to the foregoing account of Little's movements while in Washington—*viz*, the interest and activity of Amos Kendall. Undoubtedly he was still hopeful that Brigham Young and the other Church leaders would act favorably upon the contract drawn up by himself and Brannan, in relation to assigning alternate units of land upon which the Saints might settle to "A. G. Benson and Co."—hence his activity. Hence also his suggestion of so large a number of the Saints being sent to California by the government, two thousand men! Obviously, from the standpoint of a land speculator, the more people that could be sent to the new country under such a contract as he had drawn, and which he evidently hoped would yet be ratified, notwithstanding the, as yet, silence of Brigham Young, the greater the gains to the land-speculators, not to say land-sharks.

Just what consideration led the President and Cabinet to cut down the number from the 2,000 men proposed—one thousand from the camps and one thousand from the eastern branches—to the 500 finally called for, does not appear.³³ Most likely, however, it was thought that it would be inexpedient to have so large a Mormon population in California as to possibly create a Mormon state, and perhaps at the same time create a national Mormon problem.³⁴ At any rate we shall see from an official

33. It is alleged by some writers that the President's plan of "possessing California, by the aid of the Mormons"—involving this call of the large number of that people to engage in the enterprise—"was afterward changed through the influence of Senator Benton." (Tullidge, *life of Brigham Young*, p. 52). But if calling the Battalion was not only a hardship on the "Camp of Israel," but an intended, and artfully planned injustice—to which view the writer just quoted wrongfully inclines—then whoever influenced the administration to cut down the call from one thousand from the camps to five hundred, reduced both the hardship and the injustice by one-half.

34. "Possibly the elder in his enthusiasm was disposed to exaggerate the President's promises; while on the other hand we may readily imagine that Polk, on further consideration, either with or without the promptings of enemies to the Church, or of promoters of other military and colonization schemes, concluded that he had promised too much, that it was not altogether desirable or necessary to allow the Mormons too much power in California; that it would be as well to use rather than be used by them; and that there would be no difficulty in obtaining other volunteer colonist soldiers. Churchmen believe that Thomas Benton did more than any other to turn the President against them, which is not at all unlikely." *Hist. of Cal.*, Vol. V, pp. 472-3.

document, to be quoted presently, that it was evidently the policy of the administration and its advisers to keep the Mormon population in the minority in California, since the number of men to be enlisted in the "Army of the West" was not to exceed one-third of the number of the entire force under General Kearney, and instead of sending any Mormon forces from the East, *via* of Cape Horn, the administration turned to another source to supply the contingent to go by that route, namely, to New York. A regiment of volunteers numbering 955 officers and men, was raised in that state under one Col. Jonathan D. Stevenson,³⁵ and sent *via* of Cape Horn in three ships chartered by the government at a cost of \$65,000, and attended by the U. S. war sloop, *Preble*. The little squadron sailed from New York on the 26th of September, and arrived at San Francisco in the early days of March, more than a month after the arrival of the Mormon Battalion at San Diego.

It was to be expected, of course, that the Volunteers from the Mormon camps would be raised through agencies of the U. S. Army, and hence "confidential orders" from the War Department were entrusted to Col. Kane, to be delivered by him to the Commander of the "Army of the West," then Col. S. W. Kearney, stationed at Fort Leavenworth. In those "confidential" orders, addressed to Kearney, bearing date of June 3rd, 1846, was the following relative to the proposed Mormon Battalion:

"It is known that a large body of Mormon emigrants are *en route* to California, for the purpose of settling in that country. You are desired to use all proper means to have a good understanding with them, to the end that the United States may have their co-operation in taking possession of, and holding, that country. It has been suggested here that many of these Mormons would willingly enter into the service of the

35. Stevenson was a Col. of militia in New York, a ward politician and an ex-member of the legislature, who "had done some service for the administration that seemed to call for reward, and he was reputed to be a man of some energy and executive ability." (Bancroft's History Cal., Vol. V, p. 500.) Bancroft also declares that it was a conversation with Amos Kendall about the Mormons that first suggested the idea of sending a New York regiment to California (Hist. Cal., Vol. V, pp. 472, *note*, and 501 and *note*). Stevenson's authorization to raise the regiment bears date of 26th of June, which was about two weeks after Little & Kane's departure for the West. A full account of the New York regiment will be found in Bancroft's Hist. of Cal., Vol. V, ch. XIX.

United States, and aid us in our expedition against California. You are hereby authorized to muster into service such as can be induced to volunteer; not, however, to a number exceeding one-third of your entire force. Should they enter the service they will be paid as other volunteers, and you can allow them to designate, so far as it can be properly done, the persons to act as officers thereof.”³⁶

It was upon this order from the War Department that General Kearney issued his instructions to Captain Allen to proceed to the Mormon camps and raise the several companies of troops that were to form the “Mormon Battalion,” which instructions have already been quoted in full in this chapter. We now return to the first conference between Col. Allen and the Church leaders.

Captain Allen laid before the council of the Church leaders³⁷ his letter of instructions from General Kearney, also the Circular he himself had issued at Mount Pisgah.

The question arose in the minds of the Church leaders as to the disposition of the camps which would be materially crippled by the withdrawal of so many young, strong, and able-bodied men. Already the question of wintering the camps and caring for so large an amount of stock possessed by them, loomed large among their difficulties. About one hundred and fifty miles to the west, in La Platte river was “Grand Island,”³⁸

36. “Executive Document, No. 60, Letter of the Secretary of War to General Kearney, marked “Confidential,” 1846. In addition to the above instruction relative to raising a military force among the Mormons, General Kearney was notified that the Governor of Missouri had been instructed to raise an additional force of a thousand mounted men for the “Army of the West;” Kearney was ordered to invade New Mexico, take possession of Santa Fe, garrison it with sufficient force to hold it, and then push on to California to co-operate with the naval forces in taking possession of that land, leaving the Missouri and Mormon troops to follow him. It also contains the announcement of his elevation to the rank of brevet brigadier-general and instructions as to his procedure in California.

37. There was present at this council meeting, Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Willard Richards, Orson Pratt, Orson Hyde, Geo. A. Smith, John Taylor, “Uncle” John Smith, Levi Richards, Captain Allen and two others, (presumably the two dragoons who accompanied the captain on his mission). The council meeting was held at Elder John Taylor’s tent on Mosquito Creek.

38. “Grand Island” is described by Captain Burton in his “City of the Saints and Across the Rocky Mountains to California,” 1862. Referring to the immediate valley of La Platte, about “Grand Island,” he says: “The valley here is two miles broad, resembles the ocean deltas of great streams; it is level as a carpet, all short, green grass without sage bush. It can hardly be called a bottom, the rise from

fifty-two miles long, with an average width of a mile and three-quarters, and well timbered; in the neighborhood of which also were immense areas of grass that might be cut for hay, and the rank growth of rushes here and there along the extensive river bottoms, would enable much of the stock to winter on this range, could government permission be obtained for a large contingent of the camp to be stationed there. This country, as well as the one the camps there occupied, was within the Louisiana Purchase, and largely divided into Indian reservations, hence could only be occupied by the whites by permission of the government.

The question of government permission therefore in the event of the Battalion being raised was submitted to Captain Allen, and he assumed the responsibility of saying that the camps might locate on Grand Island until they could prosecute their journey. In his speech made to the camp the same day, the captain promised to write President Polk to give leave to the Camp to stay on its route wherever it was necessary. At a Council meeting held later in the day, on Brigham Young asking him "if an officer enlisting men in an 'Indian Country' had not a right to say to their families, 'You can stay till your husbands return,' Captain Allen replied 'that he was the representative of President Polk and could act till he notified the President, who might ratify his engagements, or indemnify for damages. The President might give permission to travel through the Indian country and stop whenever and wherever circumstances required.'"³⁹

After the first council meeting between Captain Allen and the Church leaders a public meeting was held at noon on the same day. President Young introduced Captain Allen who addressed the people: "He said he was sent by Col. S. W. Kearney through the benevolence of Jas. K. Polk, President of the United States to enlist five hundred of our men; that there were hun-

the water's edge being, it is calculated, about 4 feet per 1,000. Under a bank, from half a yard to a yard high, through its two lawns of verdure, flowed the stream straight toward the slanting rays of the rising sun, which glittered upon its broad bosom, and shed rosy light over half the heavens. In places it shows a sea horizon, but here it was narrowed by Grand Island, which is fifty-two miles long, with an average breadth of one mile and three-quarters, and sufficiently elevated above the annual flood to be well timbered," p. 39.

39. Hist. of Brigham Young *Mss.*, Bk. 2, p. 4, 5.

dreds of thousands of Volunteers ready in the states.⁴⁰ He read his order from Col. Kearney and the circular which he issued from Mount Pisgah and explained."⁴¹

Brigham Young followed the Captain. His own account of his remarks stand in his History as follows:

"I addressed the assembly; wished them to make a distinction between this action of the General Government and our former oppressions in Missouri and Illinois. I said, the question might be asked, is it prudent for us to enlist to defend our country! If we answer in the affirmative, all are ready to go.

"Suppose we were admitted into the union as a state and the government did not call on us, we would feel ourselves neglected. Let the Mormons be the first to set their feet on the soil of California. Captain Allen has assumed the responsibility of saying that we may locate on Grand Island, until we can prosecute our journey. This is the first offer we have ever had from the government to benefit us.

"I proposed that the five hundred volunteers be mustered and I would do my best to see all their families brought forward, as far as my influence extended, and feed them when I had anything to eat myself."⁴²

At the close of the public meeting another counsel meeting was held, with Captain Allen present, when the question of the people having a right to remain on Indian lands during the absence of the soldiers, and indeed along their whole route of travel, was further considered as already stated. Captain Allen withdrew from the council "*and the Twelve*" says President Young, "*continued to converse on the favorable prospect before us*. It was voted that President Heber C. Kimball and I should go to Mount Pisgah to raise volunteers. I said I would start soon, and I desired the companies to be organized so that we could ascertain who could go to make a camp on Grand Island

40. The statement is supported by Standard United States Histories; see also Note 10, this chapter.

41. History of Brigham Young, *Ms.*, Bk. 2, p. 3-4.

42. History of Brigham Young *Ms.*, Bk. 2, p. 4. An account of President Young's speech is also given in Elder John Taylor's Journal. See Note 2, end of chapter.

and who must remain after raising the troops; the Twelve to go on west with their families.”⁴³

Accordingly Presidents Young and Kimball started for Mount Pisgah, leaving Elders John Taylor, Parley P. Pratt, Geo. A. Smith, *et al*, to prosecute the work of raising volunteers in the camps about Council Bluffs.

There was apparently some reluctance among the people to respond to this unexpected call, and it required some persuasion to dispell it.⁴⁴ On the 11th of July, Col. Kane reached the Camp at Council Bluffs, and gave assurance that the general government had “taken our case,” says Elder Taylor, “into consideration,”⁴⁵ inferentially with benevolent intentions.

When within eleven miles of Mount Pisgah, Presidents Young and Kimball met Elder Jesse C. Little, president of the Eastern States Mission who reported his labors at Washington.⁴⁶

While at Pisgah President Young wrote the brethren at Garden Grove, and sent his letter by special messenger. After describing the terms of enlistment and the terms under which the volunteers would be mustered out of service in California, etc., President Young said:

“They may stay (i. e. in California), look out the best locations for themselves and their friends, and defend the country. This is no hoax. Elder Little, President of the New England Churches is here also, [at Mt. Pisgah] direct from Washington, who has been to see the President on the subject of emigrating the Saints to the Western coast, and confirms all that Captain Allen has stated to us. The United States want our friendship, the President wants to do us good and secure our confidence. The outfit of this five hundred men costs us nothing and their pay will be sufficient to take their families over the mountains. There is war between Mexico and the United States, to whom California must fall a prey, and if we are the first settlers, the

43. Hist. of Brigham Young *Ms.*, Bk. 2, p. 4, 5.

44. For the nature of the arguments employed with the people see excerpt of a speech by John Taylor taken from his journal under date of July 2nd, 1846, *Note 3*, end of chapter.

45. Taylor's Journal entry for July 11th, 1846. “We had some conversation with him [Kane] during which he manifested a spirit of sympathy for us.”

46. The Report of Elder Little is elaborate and signed. It is recorded under the date of July 6th in Brigham Young's History (*Ms.*) and occupies pages from 10 to 26, Bk. 2. I have already quoted from it copiously in this chapter.

old citizens cannot have a Hancock or Missouri pretext to mob the saints. *The thing is from above, for our good*, has long been understood between us and the United States government, but the first blow was struck sooner than we anticipated. *The church could not help the twelve over the mountains, when they wanted to go, and now we will help the Churches.*"⁴⁷

A letter of like spirit bearing the same date was sent to Almon W. Babbitt, Joseph Heywood and John S. Fulmer, Trustees of the Church at Nauvoo. The opening paragraph ran—"Beloved brethren—we send you another leaf of the gospel, which you know is glad tidings, or that which bringeth salvation." Then is announced the determination to send the five hundred men to California as per Kearney's orders to Allen, and Little's information to them when passing through Nauvoo en route for the Camps. "By this time you will probably exclaim, is this the gospel? *We answer yes.*"⁴⁸

"Now Brethren," continued this letter, "it is time for action; and if you succeed in selling all our property in Hancock county, and as unitedly succeed in removing all the poor Saints this fall, we shall soon be where we can rejoice in each others society, and by early spring can move a portion of the camp over the mountains and next spring plant our corn in yonder valley. *This is the first time the government has stretched forth its arm to our assistance, and we receive their proffers with joy and thankfulness.* We feel confident they [the Battalion] will have little or no fighting. *The pay of the five hundred men will take their families to them.* The Mormons will then be the old settlers and have a chance to choose the best locations. The principle of the thing is not new to us, but we have thought best to say

47. Hist. of Brigham Young Ms., Bk. 2, p. 26-30. Letter bears date of July 7th, 1846.

48. In the answer sent to this letter the brethren from Nauvoo said: "Your favor with the letter of Col. Kearney and the circular letter of Captain Allen we were truly delighted to receive with 'the new leaf of the gospel.'" The hearts of the Saints seemed to be greatly cheered by the request that had been made for them to send on older men and boys to take the place of many teamsters who would of necessity have to go in the Battalion, "but we have but few left in this place (Nauvoo)," said the trustees.

little about it. It is all right, and we will give you particulars the first opportunity.”⁴⁹

Finally, when President Young had returned from Mount Pisgah, a great public meeting of the camps about Council Bluffs, was held on the 13th of July, and the final work of enrollment began. On that occasion Brigham Young, in the several addresses he made during the meeting, said:

“If we want the privilege of going where we can worship God according to the dictates of our conscience, we must raise the Battalion. I say it is right, and who cares for sacrificing our comfort for a few years. I would rather have undertaken to raise 2,000 a year ago in 24 hours than 100 in one week now.”⁵⁰

But they could raise them now, was his plea. It was at this point that the great leader dropped to facetiousness by saying: “After we get through talking, we will call out the companies, and if there are not young men enough, we will take the old men, and if they are not enough, we will take the women.”

Continuing the leader said:

“Two gentlemen at Mount Pisgah who had been to Fort Leavenworth and enlisted to go to Mexico, said that Col. Kearney had discharged some of the Missouri troops, and when they heard we were going they felt exceedingly mortified. There are thousands in the United States who would be glad to be the first settlers in California.” . . . ⁵¹

49. This letter is signed by Brigham Young, “for the council, Willard Richards, Clerk. Occupies Hist. Brigham Young *Ms.*, Bk. 2, pp. 30-34.

50. Hist. Brigham Young *Ms.*, Bk. 2, p. 44.

51. A statement which is supported by the promptness with which the regiment under Jonathan D. Stevenson in New York was raised, and taken round Cape Horn to California, practically with the understanding that the calling of the regiment was “a colonizing scheme.” “No Volunteer,” says Bancroft, “dreamed of conflict with any foe: all regarded themselves as immigrant adventurers bound for a distant land of many charms under the protection of the government.” (Hist. of California, Vol. V, p. 502). The regiment of nearly 1,000 men was quickly raised. The authorization to enlist the men bears date of June 26th; and by the end of July the ranks of all the companies were filled. (*Ibid*). It is supported also by the fact that whereas the act of congress declaring war authorized the President to “accept the service of 50,000 men, 300,000 responded. (See Note 10). President Polk called for four regiments from Illinois, nine answered the call, numbering 8,370; “only four of them, numbering 3,720 men, could be taken.” Gregg’s Hist. of Ill., in History of Hancock Co., p. 118.

“ . . . We have lived near so many old settlers, who would always say, ‘get out’ that I am thankful to enjoy the privilege of going to settle a new country. You are going to march to California; suppose that country ultimately comes under the government of the United States, which it ought to, we would be the old settlers; and if any man comes and says ‘get out’ we will say ‘get out.’ Now suppose we refuse this privilege, what will we do? If you won’t go, I will go and leave you. We told you sometime ago we would fit you out to go, and now we are ready to fit you out with Captain Allen as the agent of the United States to help us. *The President of the United States has now stretched out his hand to help us, and I thank God and him too.* It is for us to go, and I know you will go.”⁵²

Respecting equipment Captain Allen said:

“In regard to what is necessary to take, a soldier receives money instead of clothing, and he could not tell exactly what it would cost. The cost of clothing is greater the first year than any year after; the probable price would be \$2.50 per month, but he had learned that Mr. Benton (U. S. Senator from Missouri) had made a motion to have it raised to \$3.50 per month.”⁵³

On this subject President Young remarked, “It is not necessary to change your clothing,” and added: “*You could not ask for anything more acceptable than this mission.*”⁵⁴

The work of enrolling and organizing the companies continued through three days, and therefore was completed on the 16th of July, on which day Captain Allen took the Battalion under his command.⁵⁵ Of this event Elder Wilford writes:

“This was an interesting day in the Camp of Israel. Four companies of the volunteers were brought together in a hollow square by their captains, and interestingly addressed by several of the Quorum of the Twelve. At the close of the meeting they

52. Hist. of B. Y., Bk. 2, p. 46.

53. The Benton motion prevailed. That was the sum allowed for clothing and was paid to the Battalion one year in advance at Fort Leavenworth, soon after enlistment, Aug. 6th.

54. Hist. of Brigham Young *Ms.*, Bk. 2, p. 48.

55. Tyler’s Mormon Battalion, p. 127.

marched in double file from Redemption Hill across the Missouri river bottom to the ferry, seven miles.

"The battalion have thus stepped forth promptly and responded to the call of the government, notwithstanding the persecutions endured in the United States, and that too in the midst of a long journey, leaving families, teams and wagons standing by the wayside, not expecting to meet or see them again for one or two years."⁵⁶

Before their final departure from the Camps in the vicinity of Council Bluffs, a "ball" was given in their honor;⁵⁷ and on the 20th they took up their march for Fort Leavenworth, where they arrived on the 1st of August, and began their preparations for the great western march.

NOTE 1. BRIGHAM YOUNG AND FATHER DE SMET—DID THE DESCRIPTION OF SALT LAKE VALLEY BY THE CATHOLIC MISSIONARY DETERMINE BRIGHAM YOUNG TO SETTLEMENT? The evidence presented in the foregoing pages of the regular text, proving that the destination of the Latter-day Saints, even before leaving Nauvoo, was clearly understood by Brigham Young, at least as to the general region in which they would settle, disposes of a question recently raised in a book of some excellence, under the title "The Catholic Church in Utah," published by "The Knights

56. Hist. of Brigham Young *Ms.*, Bk. 2, p. 55.

57. Col. Kane thus describes this event: "There was no sentimental affectation at their leave-taking. The afternoon before was appropriated to a farewell ball; and a more merry dancing rout I have never seen, though the company went without refreshments, and their ball-room was of the most primitive. It was the custom, whenever the larger camps rested for a few days together, to make great arbors, or boweries, as they called them, of poles, and brush, and wattling, as places of shelter for their meetings of devotion or conference. In one of these, where the ground has been trodden firm and hard by the worshippers of the popular Father Taylor's precinct, was gathered now the mirth and beauty of the Mormon Israel. * *

* * * "With the rest attended the Elders of the Church within call, including nearly all the chiefs of the High Council, with their wives and children. They, the gravest and most trouble worn, seemed the most anxious of any to be first to throw off the burden of heavy thoughts. Their leading off the dancing in a great double cotillion, was the signal bade the festivity commence. To the canto of debonnaire violins, the cheer of horns, the jingle of sleigh bells, and the jovial snoring of the tambourine, they did dance! None of your minuets or other mortuary processions of gentles in etiquette, tight shoes, and pinching gloves, but the spirited and scientific displays of our venerated and merry grandparents, who were not above following the fiddle to the Foxchase Inn, or Gardens of Gray's Ferry. French fours, Copenhagen jigs, Virginia reels, and the like forgotten figures executed with the spirit of people too happy to be slow, or bashful, or constrained. Light hearts, lithe figures, and light feet, had it their own way from an early hour till after the sun had dipped behind the sharp sky line of the Omaha hills." "The Mormons," p. 80, 81.

of Columbus," of that state.⁵⁸ The question referred to is, was it a certain conversation, or a series of conversations which Brigham Young had with a Catholic Missionary at winter quarters that led him to fix upon Salt Lake valley as a place of settlement? The Catholic missionary in question was Father De Smet, who claims to have traversed much of the Salt Lake valley in his rambles among the Rocky Mountains in 1841 (Letter of De Smet to *Precis Historiques Bruxelles*, Jan. 19, 1858. It is claimed also in "Father De Smet's Life and Travels among the North American Indians," that "He became well acquainted with (Brigham) Young, and it is possible the information he gave him may have influenced that leader in choosing Salt Lake valley as the future home of his people." ("Catholic Church in Utah," 271). Father De Smet himself puts forth the same suggestion, though modestly and with much charm of manner, in a letter to his nephew, written in March, 1851. He says:

"In the fall of 1846, as I drew near to the frontiers of the state of Missouri, I found the advance guard of the Mormons, numbering about 10,000, camped on the Territory of the Omaha, not far from the old Council Bluffs. They had just been driven out for the second time from a State of the Union (Illinois had received them after their war with the people of Missouri). They had resolved to winter on the threshold of the great desert, and then to move onward into it, to put distance between themselves and their persecutors, without even knowing at that time the end of their long wanderings, nor the place where they should once more erect for themselves permanent dwellings. They asked me a thousand questions about the regions I had explored, and the valley which I have just described to you pleased them greatly from the account I gave them of it. *Was that what determined them? I would not dare to assert it. They are there!* In the last three years Utah has changed its aspect, and from a desert has become a flourishing territory, which will soon become one of the states of the Union."⁵⁹

Commenting upon this, the author of "The Catholic Church in Utah," says:

"To the Mormons living in a temporary camp on the edge of

58. The author is Very Reverend W. R. Harris, D. D., L. L. S. D., 1909.

59. We may help out our Catholic friends by corroborating the fact of the meeting of Father DeSmet and Brigham Young. In the latter's *Journal History*, *Ms.*, is the following entry: "Nov. 19, 1846: Mr. Smith, a Catholic priest and missionary to the Black Feet Indians, called on me. I procured for him a newspaper containing a report of a trader concerning the Munchie or White Indians" (*Hist. B. Y.*, Bk. 2, p. 478). I think President Young or his amanuensis mistook "Smet" for Smith; but the "Smith" of the *Journal* is doubtless "De Smet" of our Catholic authors.

the desert, unable, or at least unwilling, to retrace the road leading back to the land of their persecutors, ignorant of the region which lay before them, De Smet's glowing description of the beautiful and fertile valley which lay beyond the mountains, brought the solution of their most perplexing problem, for it indicated a place wherein they could establish their homes and their religion, free from the troubles and persecutions which had so far beset them. His close acquaintance with Brigham Young, and his many conversations with him on the Rocky Mountain regions, and on Salt Lake Valley, probably determined the choice of the Mormon prophet, and led to the decision which ultimately settled the Latter-day Saints in the fertile lands they now occupy in Utah." (The Catholic Church in Utah, pp. 270-1).

All this *probability* disappears, however, in the presence of the repeated assertions of Brigham Young and others that the destination of the people he was leading was the "Great Basin of the Rocky Mountains," or the "Bear River Valley," long before the arrival of Father De Smet at the Mormon Camps on the Missouri.

NOTE 2. ELDER TAYLOR'S ACCOUNT OF PRESIDENT YOUNG'S FIRST SPEECH ON RAISING THE MORMON BATTALION: Elder Taylor first refers to Captain Allen's remarks. "He (Allen) stated his object for coming here was a good one, and that it was from a feeling of benevolence that he had been sent to us and to benefit us. . . . Brother Brigham then arose and said that he was glad to hear this thing; it was the thing they had been wishing to bring about a good while. He wanted to clear their minds of all prejudice and not blame the general government for acts that had been perpetrated by mobbers. He said it was what we had been trying to effect for several years, and this move had been made a little too quick for us. If we could have been apprised of this thing we could have had the men ready to march to-morrow with Captain Allen. He said, supposing we were to refuse this offer; we would have to go to California and have to depend upon our own resources to fight, when if we embrace this offer we will have the U. S. to back us and have an opportunity of showing our loyalty and fight for the country that we expect to have for our homes. If we did not go and help take it, what would be said when we got there and settled down? It would be as it always had been, 'get out of the way Mormons, get out of the way. Our fathers and ourselves fought for the liberties of this country and we are the only citizens.' Whereas if we go and help take the country we will at least have that

equal right, and I do not want anybody to be in those wildernesses and undiscovered before we are. *I think the President has done us a great favor by calling upon us. It is the first call that has been made upon us that ever seemed likely to benefit us.* Now I want you men to go and all that can go, young or married. I will see that their families are taken care of; they shall go on as far as mine, and fare the same, and if they wish it they shall go to Grand Island first. (*Taylor's Journal Ms.* Entry for July 1st, 1846).

NOTE 3. ARGUMENTS EMPLOYED TO INDUCE MORMON VOLUNTEERS TO ENLIST: The following is an excerpt from the journal of Elder John Taylor, one of the Twelve Apostles: "Thursday, July 2, 1846. I attended meeting at 10 o'clock according to previous appointment. Brother P. P. Pratt and myself made speeches and encouraged the people to come forward and volunteer. We made an appointment for a meeting to be held at Brother George A. Smith's camp to collect volunteers, as there were a great many that were not able to attend meeting in the forenoon. I rose and made a few remarks about the subject of volunteering. I said many have felt something like rebellion against the United States. I have myself felt swearing mad at the government for the treatment we have received at the hands of those in authority, although I don't know that I have sworn much. We have had cause to feel as we have, and any man having a spark of liberty in him would have felt likewise. We are now something like Abraham was, wandering not knowing whither we wander; fleeing from a land of tyranny and oppression we are calculating to settle in some part of California. This according to the laws of nations belongs to Mexico. Oregon is disputed by the U. S. and Great Britain, and we have either to go under the Mexican, British or American dominion, or else hide ourselves up and not go where we can have commerce; and [or else go where we will] be looked upon as interlopers. If you go to California you must have a legal pretense for going there. If we come under Britain we have to be subject to their provisions, if under the federal we have to be subject to them. The United States are at war with Mexico, and the United States have a perfect right to march into California according to the laws of nations. The U. S. calling upon us then gives us a perfect right to go there according to the requisition made that we should be disbanded at California.

. . . A great many seem to distrust the government and are afraid they will not be carried to California, but be sent to Texas or somewhere else. They will not be, they need not fear, who cannot trust the U. S.? Her flag floats over every ocean

FAC-SIMILE OF PRATT'S LETTER

The importance of producing in FAC-SIMILE Parley P. Pratt's letter consists in this: It is held by opponents of the Church of the Latter-day Saints that the purpose of the "Mormons" in moving west to the Great Basin of the Rocky Mountains was to found an independent government.

Pratt's letter is one of the proofs that they intended only to "LAY THE FOUNDATION FOR A TERRITORIAL OR STATE GOVERNMENT UNDER THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES . . . and to assist in the redemption of our country, and the emancipation of the world." The reference in the letter to not delaying until the return of President Young before giving in names for enrollment refers to the President's return from Mount Pisgah where he had gone to raise volunteers for the Battalion. See text of the chapter.

July 3, 4, 1848.
(Camp of Grall. 5000 ft.)

To all the Saints to whom these
presence shall come: Greeting.

Dear Brethren,

Nine Hundred men
must be raised forthwith for the expedi-
tion to California. Do not delay till the
return of resident young; but come forth
valiant and ready, and give in your names
to Major Hunt, the bearer of this
letter, for he assures it is the mind and
will of God that we should inherit the
Chaparran which a kind Providence has
now opened for us to secure a perma-
nent home, in that country, and thus
lay a foundation for a territorial or State
Government, under the Constitution of the
United States, where we shall be the first-
settlers and a vast majority of the people,
and thus be independent of Mexico, and
be able to maintain our rights and
freedom, and to assist in the redemption
of our country, and the emancipation of
the world from bondage.

The season is passing rapidly away, and it will take some days to organize five hundred men, even if they should all come forward immediately. And he assured that the Council and Camp will not move from this place until this thing is done.

Or should it fail to be done, we need not think of gathering, for we know of no place to gather, with an assurance of peace unless we hearken to Council, and improve the means which our heavenly father has put within our reach.

Done in behalf of the
Council.

We Remain, Dear Brethren,
your Brethren in the
Bonds of the Name and Ever-
lasting Covenant.

J. J. Pratt

and her ministry is in every nation. I know it is a great journey for a man to leave his family and go on; but Capt. Allen says he will give absolute permission for the families to remain here. Capt. Allen has also obtained a writing from the Pottawatomie sub-agency signed by the chiefs and braves to that effect, so that everything is straightforward. I then made a motion that we raise a body of 500 men and make Capt. Allen Lieutenant Colonel."

CHAPTER LXIV

SACRIFICES AND ADVANTAGES IN THE CALL OF THE BATTALION

The evidence presented shows that the call for the Mormon Battalion was not an unfriendly act on the part of the United States government. Representatives of the Church, as we have seen, had appealed most earnestly to the executive of the nation for aid in the western emigration of the Saints, and there was an expressed willingness on the part of the Church to assist the administration in its determination to take possession of California, which necessarily involved such service as that called for by the enlistment of the Mormon Battalion. Moreover, when it was proposed by the administration to accept the service of such a force of volunteers, the proposition was received with alacrity by the Church leaders—as is abundantly proven in the preceding chapter—as an answer to their appeal for aid in the western movement of their people. True, it involved both personal and community sacrifice to raise this force of volunteers. "The call," as explained afterwards by Col. Kane, "could hardly have been more inconveniently timed. The young, and those who could best have been spared, were then away from the main body, either with pioneer companies in the van, or, their faith unannounced, seeking work and food about the northwestern settlements, to support them till the return of the season for commencing emigration. The force was therefore to be recruited from among the fathers of families, and others whose presence it was most desirable to retain."¹

Practically five hundred wagons were left without teamsters, and in the same manner five hundred families were left without

1. Kane's "The Mormons," pp. 79-80. To this President Young bears witness on the 13th of July in his remarks already quoted in the preceding chapter.

their natural protectors, and providers. A call to war always involves sacrifice, but under the physical circumstances in which the Latter-day Saints were placed—exiled from their homes—nay, even worse, they were under enforced expatriation as well as exiled from their homes. Enforced expatriation, I say, except for the love of their country, which still glowed brightly in their hearts and knew no such thing as alienation from the country with which their destiny was inseparably interwoven.²

The families of the proposed Battalion, with the families of their friends, in whose care they must leave their loved ones, and upon whom they must depend for succor in their absence, would be scattered in a string of camps for some hundreds of miles between Nauvoo and Council Bluffs, with no certain abiding place designated, and no immediate prospect of being permanently settled. To respond to a call for a “war-march” of two thousand miles, much of which was desert, under such circumstances, was trebly hard. Moreover, from their then point of view, they had little to be grateful for to the government of the United States. Their appeals from the injustice of Missouri and Illinois had met with but cold reception at Washington. They did not and could not be expected to understand, much less sympathize with, the refinements employed by the executive and national legislators in drawing nice distinctions between the division of sovereignty between the states and the general government. They were conscious of the great wrongs inflicted upon their community in the two states in which they had settled. In Missouri they had made extensive land purchases of the general government—estimated at over two hundred and fifty thousand acres³—

2. Recording a conversation upon this subject between himself and Col. Kane, President Young said: “I informed the Colonel we intended settling in the Great Basin or Bear river valley, and those who went round by water would settle at San Francisco. We would be glad to raise the American flag; we love the constitution of our country, but are opposed to mobocracy; and will not live under such oppression as we have done. We are willing to have the banner of the U. S. constitution float over us. If the government of the U. S. are disposed to do us good, we can do them as much good as they can us. (Hist. of Brigham Young *Ms.*, Bk. 2, pp. 133-4).

3. Documentary History of the Church, Vol. III, Introduction, p. xvii. It is known that they paid to the U. S. government, for land alone, \$318,000, which at the rate of the minimum price of \$1.25 per acre, would give them land holdings of over 250,000 acres.

from which they were ruthlessly driven under an exterminating order issued by the governor of that state to a mob-militia.⁴ They had appealed to the general government for a redress of grievances without avail; and now they were asked to respond to a call from that government for service, the highest service that can be asked for or given even under normal conditions, but now a service involving much greater sacrifice than when conditions are normal, on the part of the volunteers themselves, and on the part of the camped community whose cares and anxieties and burdens must be increased by having thrown upon them the protection and support of what was equivalent to nearly five hundred extra families. To respond under these circumstances to such a call from their country, however brought about, will be responding to a test of loyalty to which no other community in these United States had ever been subjected. And the encamped saints responded, promptly and cheerfully. "The feeling of country triumphed," says Col. Kane, who was present in the camps during the enrollment of the volunteers: "The Union had never wronged them. 'You shall have your battalion at once, if it has to be a class of our Elders,' said one, himself a ruling Elder."⁵ A central mass meeting for council, some harangues at the more remotely scattered camps, an American flag, brought out from the store-house of things rescued, and hoisted to a tree mast—and in three days, the force was reported mustered, organized, and ready to march."⁶

On the other hand, and notwithstanding all the sacrifices involved, Brigham Young and those associated with him in the presiding council of the church, were too astute as leaders not to appreciate the advantages of this opportunity for a considerable number of their community to enter the service of the United States. The charge of disloyalty to the American government, had often been made against the Saints, which not all their pro-

4. Reference to the Chapters XXIX and XXX, this History, with the evidence of Generals Atchison and Doniphan, will convince the reader that "mob-militia" is not too strong a term.

5. This was Brigham Young whom the Colonel is quoting.

6. Kane's "The Mormons," p. 80. The passage is apt to be a little misleading as to the time in which the Battalion was raised. The "three days" which served for its enrollment and organization were preceded by about two weeks of earnest work among the camps gathering up men who could be induced to go.

tests and denials could overcome. But to accept service of the government in a time of war, involving such sacrifices as must be theirs would be an evidence of loyalty that would stand forever, both unimpeached and unimpeachable. That such was the understanding of Brigham Young is specifically expressed by him about a month after the departure of the Battalion. "Let every one," said he, "distinctly understand, that the Mormon Battalion was organized from our camp to allay the prejudices of the people, prove our loyalty to the government of the United States, and for the present and temporal salvation of Israel; that this act left near five hundred teams destitute of drivers and provisions for the winter, and nearly as many families without protection and help."⁷

Another advantage appealed to the leaders. It had become evident before the call was made for the Battalion, that while it might be possible for a specially organized pioneer company to go over the mountains that season—preparations for which, as we have seen, were being rapidly made—the very great majority of the camps would be under the necessity of spending a year or more in southern Iowa, principally on Indian lands. The prospects of remaining upon such lands in peace would be much enhanced if it could be pleaded that five hundred of their men were in the service of the government of the United States; and subsequent events demonstrated the validity of such a plea; also it was the advantage sought to be secured by Brigham Young in his first conference with Captain Allen on the subject of the enlistment of the Battalion.

Another consideration of importance was the remuneration of these soldiers. A year's pay for their clothing in advance at the rate of \$3.50 per man, would amount to \$42.00 each; and to \$21,000 for the Battalion.⁸

7. History of Brigham Young, Aug. 14, 1846, *Ms.*, Bk. 2, p. 151-2.

8. See Hist. of Brigham Young *Ms.*, Bk. 2, pp. 143-4, where he says expressly that clothing money "was paid to them at the rate of \$3.50 per month." Hence the Benton amendment of raising the amount from \$2.50 to 3.50, referred to in the preceding chapter, prevailed. A letter from the war department under date of December 11th, 1911, through the courtesy of Hon. Joseph Howell, representative from Utah, states: "Each enlisted man of this (the Mormon) battalion was, on August 6, 1846, paid \$42.00, being the allowance for one year paid in advance. These volunteers were paid the same rates of pay and emoluments as were other volunteers for service during the Mexican war and no bounty was paid to the members of said battalion nor to any other volunteers

Part of this money, viz \$5,860 was sent back to their families,⁹ of which, however, \$566.00¹⁰ was donated by the Battalion to the poor; and the whole sum sent to a committee of their own choosing to receive and distribute the same.¹¹ Evidently President Young was disappointed with the amount which the Battalion sent back to their families and the Church, since at least on two occasions he intimates that they should have sent \$16,000 to their families,¹² instead of \$5,000. At the request of some companies of the Battalion, while yet at Fort Leavenworth, agents were sent by Brigham Young to Santa Fe, to bring back the pay of the soldiers to their families. These agents returned to Camp, November 21st, bringing with them a mail of 282 letters, and, according to President Young, an additional sum of four thousand dollars.¹⁴ And notwithstanding the amount sent to the Camp was somewhat disappointing, it nevertheless was accepted as a very great blessing at the time. In a letter to the Battalion under date of August 19th, Elder Willard Richards wrote, in behalf of the council, informing them that the brethren had suggested the appointment of Bishop Newel K. Whitney as agent to go and purchase goods at St. Louis at wholesale rates for the families of the Battalion and ship to some point where teams from the Camp could reach them, and thus increase the purchasing power of the funds by considerable.¹⁵ Also "counseling them

who served during the Mexican War. The payment of the value of one year's clothing allowance in advance was in accordance with the law and regulations in force at that time, and was not a special allowance to the Mormon Battalion.

Respectfully,

E. A. GONGUE, Auditor.

It has often been said that the Battalion received a special bounty for enlisting. (See Bancroft's Hist. of Utah, p. 243). It is evident that the year's allowance for clothing, paid in advance, has been mistaken for a bounty.

9. "August 11th. * * * Elder Parley P. Pratt arrived from Fort Leavenworth, with a special message from the Battalion to Newel K. Whitney for the council, signed by Orson Hyde, and a package of \$5,860, being a portion of the allowance for clothing of the Battalion which was paid them at the rate of \$3.50 per month." Hist. of Brigham Young *Ms.*, Bk. 2, p. 143-4.

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 188-191. A list of the donors to the Twelve and the poor are recorded, and the amount donated.

11. This committee was Bishop Newel K. Whitney, Jonathan H. Hale and Daniel Spencer, Hist. B. Y., Bk. 2, p. 149; also pp. 157-8.

12. Under date of Dec. 13, 1846, and Dec. 15th, same year; Hist. of Brigham Young, Bk. 2, p. 508-9, and p. 526.

14. History of Brigham Young *Ms.*, Bk. 2, p. 483, and p. 508-9. Also *Mil. Star*, Vol. IX, p. 99.

15. Hist. of Brigham Young *Ms.*, Bk. 2, p. 157-8. The suggested procedure was put to vote before a meeting and carried unanimously; but afterwards some dissatisfaction arose owing to the fact that prices were not as low in St. Louis as had been anticipated, and freight up the Missouri to Fort Leavenworth jumped from 75 cents to \$2.50 per hundred weight. Hist. of Brigham Young, Bk. 2, p. 526.

to be prudent and economical that they might be made a blessing to their families and to the poor, as they were placed in circumstances which enabled them to control more means than all the rest of the Saints in the wilderness."¹⁶

On the 21st of August President Brigham Young also wrote to the Battalion:

"We consider the money you have received, as compensation for your clothing, a peculiar manifestation of the kind providence of our Heavenly Father at this particular time, which is just the time for the purchasing of provisions and goods for the winter supply of the Camp. After hearing your views concerning remittance of your future payments from Brother Mathews, and from Brother Dykes' letter of the 15th inst., we consider it wisdom for you to retain the funds which you may hereafter receive, until you can bring them yourselves or deliver them to our agent. . . . Those brethren who remembered the council in the distribution of their mites, shall receive the blessing of the council."¹⁷

In addition to this monetary return for clothing and their pay of seven dollars per month there was the five hundred stand of arms and camp equipment which was to be theirs when discharged in California;¹⁸ and in February and March, 1849, three months' extra pay was allowed to members of this organization.¹⁹ These several considerations, but not counting the last, led Elder John Taylor in an address to the Saints in Great Britain, November, 1846, to say:

"Although we have been inhumanly and barbarously dealt

16. Hist. of B. Y., Bk. 2, p. 172.

17. Hist. B. Y. *Ms.*, Bk. 2, p. 185-6.

18. See *ante*, Kearney's order to Capt. Allen.

19. "The pay rolls on file in this office show that three months' extra pay was paid in February and March, 1849, to members of said organization." Excerpt of a letter from the auditor of the war department, E. A. Gongue under date of November, 1911, per kindness of Representative Joseph Howell. From the same source of information it is stated that the payment of officers and privates was as follows:

"Captain, \$50.00 per month—rations 20 cents per day.

"1st Lieutenant, \$30.00 per month—rations 20 cents per day.

"2d Lieutenant, \$25.00 per month—rations 20 cents per day.

"1st Sergeant, \$16.00 per month.

"Sergeants, \$13.00 per month.

"Corporals, \$9.00 per month.

"Musicians, \$8.00 per month.

"Privates, \$7.00 per month."

with by the surrounding country where we dwelt, yet the President of the United States is favorably disposed to us. He has sent out orders to have five hundred of our brethren employed for one year in an expedition that was fitting out against California, with orders for them to be employed for one year, and then to be discharged in California, and to have their arms and implements of war given to them at the expiration of the term, and as there is no prospect of any opposition, it amounts to the same as paying them for going to the place where they were destined to go without.”²⁰

Also in a communication under date of August 9th, 1846, signed by Brigham Young, President James K. Polk is reminded of the disadvantages the camp experienced in raising the Battalion, and then—

“But in the midst of this we were cheered with the presence of our friend, Mr. Little, of New Hampshire, who assures us of the personal friendship of the President, in the act before us; and this assurance, though not doubted by us in the least, was soon made doubly sure by the testimony of Col. Kane, of Philadelphia, whose presence in our midst, and the ardor with which he has espoused the cause of a persecuted and suffering people, and the testimony he has borne of your Excellency’s kind feelings have kindled up a spark in our hearts which had been well nigh extinguished— . . . love of a country, or ruler, from whom previously we had received but little save neglect or persecution.”

Then in the 2nd of a series of resolutions in the same communication, addressed to President Polk, it was

“*Resolved*, That the thanks of this people be presented to President Polk for his friendly offer of transferring five hundred of our brethren to California, to the land of their destination under the command of Captain Allen.”²¹

Such were the views entertained at the time as to the benevolent intentions of the government, in proffering to take into its service this body of men; such the advantages accruing to the people of God through their enlistment, notwithstanding the sacri-

20. *Mill. Star*, Vol. VIII, p. 117.

21. History of Brigham Young *Ms.*, Bk. 2, pp. 137-8.

fiées and hardships entailed upon all by reason of that action. In later years, when repetition of very great injustice threatened the Latter-day Saints in their mountain homes; when a still mightier exodus and a wider devastation of their homes than they had experienced either in Missouri or Illinois was a real danger; when a sense of outrage and pursuing injustice stirred all emotions that minister to resentment—then was obscured the spirit in which this opportunity for service under the government was sought for, and tendered, and accepted; and only its hardships, derment, as will be seen by consideration of the following circumstances:—

“A. G. Benson and Co.,” together with ex-Postmaster-General, Amos Kendall, and the coterie of Washington politicians said to be in their conspiracy to prey upon the saints were, doubtless, greatly disappointed and outrageously angered by the cool silence of Brigham Young, who refused to walk under the yoke of bondage they had proposed for him and his people. Hence their enmity, leading to denunciations and threats as to what ought to be done, and doubtless what they would do with the Mormons. Robbers are ever angered with the escape of an intended victim; and the Saints, through the inspired wisdom of their leaders, had clean escaped from the schemes of robbery plotted against them by A. G. Benson, Kendall and Co.

Ex-Governor Boggs, of Missouri, was also still a factor in Mormon affairs. Before his departure for California he was much in evidence at Washington, and was known there as a bitter enemy of the Church of the Latter-day Saints. Col. Kane, while in conversation with Brigham Young, on the 7th of August, 1846, informed the Church leader that Governor Boggs had been working against the Mormons in Washington.²² Also the Church leaders heard of the efforts of ex-Governor Boggs' friends to have him appointed Governor of California, and this formed the subject of the 5th resolution in the series contained in the letter to President Polk, in which the Church leaders voiced their unalterable determination to oppose his appointment, and solicited the attention of the President to this matter

22. Hist. of Brigham Young *Ms.*, Bk. 2, pp. 133-4.

which might concern the future prosperity and welfare of the newly acquired territory.²³

It is alleged also that Thomas H. Benton, Senator from Missouri, was a determined enemy of the Church, and one who planned for its utter destruction.²⁴ It will be remembered that as far back as February, 1844, the Church authorities at Nauvoo had been informed from what they regarded as "a respectable source," that "an understanding" existed between Senator Benton and Martin Van Buren—the latter still thought of as an available presidential candidate in some quarters—that amounted to "a conditional compact entered into; that if Mr. Benton will use his influence to get Mr. Van Buren elected, that Mr. Van Buren when elected shall use his executive influence to wipe away the stain from Missouri, by a further persecution of the Mormons, and wreaking out vengeance on their heads, either by extermination, or by some other summary process."²⁵

It is therefore not surprising that the exiled Saints should believe in a combination between their enemies and those high in authority in the government. The opposition of these men to the Church can readily be accounted for on the ground that the vindication of the Latter-day Saints as a loyal and patriotic people, an honest and virtuous community, meant the condemnation of Missouri before the bar of public opinion and of history, for the course she had pursued in issuing her orders of extermination, by which fifteen thousand of the Saints after being robbed of their possessions were driven forth from the state into exile. Moreover, as we have seen, Governor Ford in his History of Illinois declares that with a view to hasten the departure of

23. The resolution stands as follows: 4. "*Resolved*, That (as) we have heard from various sources and have the same confirmed by Col. Kane, that the friends of Ex-Gov. Boggs, are endeavoring to make him Governor of California, and that we as a people are bound to oppose said Boggs in every point and particular that shall tend to exalt him in any country where our lot may be cast, and that peace and Mormonism, which are always undivided, and Liburn W. Boggs, cannot dwell together, and we solicit the attention of President Polk to this important item in the future prosperity and welfare of the newly acquired territory of our glorious Republic."

24. See the remarks of Brigham Young on 1st of October, 1848. Hist. of B. Y. Ms. for that date; also speeches of J. M. Grant and Brigham Young at the First General Festival of the Mormon Battalion, Tyler's Mormon Battalion, Ch. XLV. Also Hist. of Brigham Young Ms. for 4th of Feb., 1855.

25. See Chapter XLVIII, this History, note 8. Also *Times and Seasons*, Vol. V, p. 440.

the church leaders from Illinois, as he himself confesses, they were made to believe that the President of the United States "would order the regular army to Nauvoo as soon as the navigation opened in the spring," in order—according to Ford's pretending—"to make arrests for alleged cases of counterfeiting the money of the United States."²⁶

Also it must be remembered that it was asserted that the only terms upon which the Saints would be allowed to depart from the United States in peace, was by signing the contract drawn up by ex-Postmaster General, Amos Kendall, assigning to a powerful coterie of politicians in Washington under the name of "A. G. Benson and Co.," one half the lands on which they should settle; otherwise, it was threatened, they would be disarmed and dispersed by proclamation of the President of the United States; in which condition, of course, they would be a prey to their enemies. All these intrigues and pretensions of politicians, and these false threats combined, led the Mormon people, very naturally, to be suspicious of the actions of the government of the United States; and it was these several circumstances here detailed, that caused the consternation at Mount Pisgah, and the cry—"The United States troops are upon us!"—when Captain Allen and his three dragoons suddenly rode into the camp to propose the enlistment of volunteers in the service of the United States.²⁷

It is true—beyond all doubt, it is true—that very wild and murderous threats were made by the fierce and powerful enemies of the Saints; and it may be true that they sought to turn this Battalion incident to the disadvantage of the Church, by representing that the Mormons would not respond to a call for volun-

26. Hist. of Illinois, p. 413, and note 2, Chapter LIX, this History. It was Governor Ford himself who wrote the letter to President Young, *et al*, to make the Church leaders believe that regiments of the U. S. Army would be sent to Nauvoo in the spring to arrest the leaders and possibly prevent the migration of the people to the West. The letter of the Governor is copied into the History of Brigham Young, *Ms. Bk. 1* for 1846, pp. 4-6. It is followed by this comment by Brigham Young: "Should Governor Ford's speculations and suppositions in relation to U. S. troops prove correct, and government should send a regular force to arrest us, we will run no risk of being murdered by them as our leaders have been; and as to fearing a trial before the courts—it is all gammon; for our danger consists only in being held still by the authorities, while mobs massacre us, as Governor Ford held Joseph and Hyrum Smith while they were butchered." (Hist. of Brigham Young, *Ms. Bk. 1*—6th Jan., 1846—pp. 4-6). Ford's letter referred to above bears date of Dec. 29th, 1845.

teers, and in that event would be considered worthy of execration and should be halted, disarmed, and dispersed.

All this is within probability; and that it was true, became a fixed conviction in the minds of a number of leading men in Utah. It may be safely assumed that whatever was said at Washington lost nothing of bitterness as it passed into current, public discussion; but grew, rather, into reckless denunciation and murderous threats. Rumor also confounded in responsibility for what was said, the administration of the government at Washington with the individual enemies of the Church. It is therefore matter of small wonder, I repeat, if in every case proper distinction was not made between the inveterate individual enemies of the Church, and the responsible members of the government in the administration of James K. Polk.

27. Wilford Woodruff's journal entry for 26th of June, 1846, also Whitney's History of Utah, Vol. I, p. 258.

Historical San Jose

BY MARY MC CRAE CUTLER

AS the first Capital city of the great Golden State, San Jose was the centre of the wild and eventful life before the "early '40's." Here was established the Pueblo in connection with the great Santa Clara Mission, and between the two places stretched the "Alameda" which for over two hundred years has been a delightful avenue of shade. It is still the main avenue between the cities of San Jose and Santa Clara, but few of those who dwell in the handsome homes which line it, or ride between its long lines of cottonweed trees, know that this was the path trodden by pious Fathers or worshipping Indians in the days before the gold-worshipping "Gringos" found their way across the mountains and plains.

The remains of the old mission church at Santa Clara are still in a good state of preservation, and form the Mecca for many an appreciative antiquarian. These are too well known to deserve more than this passing mention.

As capitol for the Spanish government, San Jose was the residence of the Governor, who erected here what was at one time a large and imposing mansion. Remains of this structure were still to be found on the west side of Market St., close to the City Hall, a year ago, but since that time they have been torn away.

To the uninitiated, it was but an ugly, moss-grown, dilapidated adobe hut, inhabited by the lowest class of people, a blot upon the fair face of the city, a cumbrer of valuable ground.

To the well-informed, it was the pitiful link between the vanished glories of a romantic past, and the substantial creations of a practical present. Here was the home of the chivalry of Spain, the cavalier of the New Eldorado, the dreaded bandit, the



Once the residence of the Spanish Governor



This is the home of John Sutter, discoverer of California's gold

dark-eyed senorita for whose sake duels were fought and blood was spilled in those wild days of adventure.

After California passed under the control of the white man, this mansion became the home of several of the most noted and daring bandits of those troublous times, and the rendezvous of all the hard characters who terrorized the beautiful valley.

On the extreme opposite side of the city, on the very bank of the Coyote Creek, stands a house that represents the other element in the days of early civilization. This square, two-story building was taken down in New England, shipped in sections around Cape Horn, and set up in its present position by John Sutter, famous as the discoverer of California's gold. Here he made his home, and here many of the men most noted in Californian history were entertained. A grove of sycamores was planted about this house, and in time grew to immense size. Of this grove, only one huge tree remains, and it is in a condition of decay and will soon be lost even to memory.

In this Sutter home, the first Vigilance Committee was organized, its purpose being to capture or drive away the bandits, whose rendezvous across the town has already been described.

These two houses, then, represent the extremes of life in those early days, and their pictures deserve to be preserved for the student of California history.

As a center of interest to the literary pilgrim to California, is an old, unpretentious, deserted dwelling upon South Eighth street.

Every educated person has read the poems of Edwin Markham, author of "The Man With the Hoe," but few San Joseans know that in this old home the gifted author dwelt while studying his way through the curricula of Common School, High School, and State Normal. He still owns the story-and-a-half dwelling which many of his most ardent admirers pass without even a glance. So soon are we forgotten in the places that once knew us daily.

A far more pretentious home, and one to which every tourist's attention is called, is the famous "Winchester Castle," situated some distance southwest of San Jose. It is hard to get more than a glimpse of the splendid mansion in which dwells the wid-

ow of the man who invented the Winchester rifle, for high hedges and locked gates and sheltering groves, shut out the eyes and feet of curious intruders, and the profaning plates of the camera fiend. For years it has been a superstition of its owner that whenever the hammer of the builder lies idle and the mansion is considered complete, that Death will come to take her away. So, as the years go by, the ceaseless "improvements" continue until one wonders what more can be added, and what the end of such lavish expenditure will be. Recently, Mrs. Winchester has purchased several hundred acres of land on the shore of San Francisco Bay, opposite Burlingame station, and here it is said that she proposes to continue her building operations by erecting a castle which will be an imitation of the beautiful baronies of feudal times. It is announced upon authority that she intends to have a canal dug around the entire tract, thus rendering her property an island, access to which may be obtained only by a draw-bridge, which may be raised or lowered at the command of the mistress of the place. It has also been planned to construct a huge and high lookout station which will not only give an unobstructed view of the Bay, but of the entire County of San Mateo.

The deal by which Mrs. Winchester secures control of this property has already been closed, and the improvements, representing an expenditure of several hundred thousand dollars, are in contemplation.

In other parts of San Jose are to be found several buildings—still in good condition—which were taken down in the east, shipped around The Horn in sections, and set up in this far western city, and upon some of these buildings the numbers marking the sections have been carefully preserved to the present time. No doubt each one of these houses has a story well worth knowing if some "old resident" could be found to give it to us.

Those were the days when history was in the making, and when romance, and chivalry, and adventure combined to make California one of the richest fields of investigation by tourist, writer and antiquarian.



Where Edwin Markham spent his youth

The Tangiers Smiths and the Manor of St. George

OF the many families bearing the name of Smith, one of the most prominent on Long Island, are the descendants of Col. William Smith, Lord and Proprietor of the Manor of St. George and at one time Governor of the city of Tangiers, in Africa, from which fact the family derives its name.

The ancestor, Col. William Smith, was born at Newton, near Higham Ferrers, Northamptonshire, England, Feb. 2, 1655. His family was attached to the Royal cause and he was a great favorite with Charles II and of his brother James II and this favor continued with William and Mary and Queen Anne. In 1675 King Charles II appointed him Governor of Tangiers. The name by which this place was known to the Romans was "Tangis," probably a Carthaginian name, and is situated near the western entrance of the straits of Gibraltar, and is at present of very little importance, but in Roman times was the capital of western Mauretania. It was held in succession by the vandals, Byzantines and Arabs. From the last it was taken by the Portuguese in 1471, and in 1662 was annexed to the English crown, as part of the dowry of the Infanta of Portugal. In 1684 it was abandoned on account of the expense of maintaining it. An original impression of the seal of the city is in possession of the descendants of Col. Smith.



The motto reading "Seal of the Royal City of Tangis." At the time of his appointment as Governor, he received a commission as Colonel. When the place was abandoned, Col. Smith returned to England. He married Martha, daughter of Henry Tunstall, Esq., of Putney, County of Surrey, Nov. 26, 1675. Upon his arrival in England, he engaged in trade in London and he was styled "merchant." He sailed for America and landed August 6, 1686. On Oct. 22, 1687, Col. Smith purchased a valuable tract of land in the town of Brookhaven, Long Island, and known as Little Neck. In this purchase he was assisted by Governor Dongan, and he established his residence there in 1689. Soon after he purchased a large tract extending from the "country road" near the middle of the Island, and to the South Bay, and from Fireplace river to Mastic river. This with his former purchase was confirmed by Patent from Governor Fletcher in 1693, and called the Manor of St. George. He afterwards purchased all the land between his manor and the bounds of Southampton, this added to the manor made him the sole owner of the largest tract of land on Long Island, owned by one individual.

When Governor Slaughter came in March, 1691, he made Col. Smith, a member of council, and he was one of the commissioners who tried and condemned the famous and ill-fated Jacob Leisler.

The Supreme Court was established by Legislature May 6, 1691. This consisted of Joseph Dudley, Chief Justice, Thomas Johnson, Second Justice and with Col. William Smith, Stephen Van Cortlandt and William Pinhorne as Associate Justices.

Judge Smith was appointed Judge or Delegate of the Prerogative Court, for Suffolk County. This Court had full control of the probate of wills. The Book of Records, kept by Judge Smith from May 23, 1691, to April 1, 1703, is in the Clerk's office of Suffolk County, and known as the "Lester Will Book." This book was carefully copied and published in 1897 by William S. Pelletreau, and is known as "Pelletreau's Early Long Island Wills."

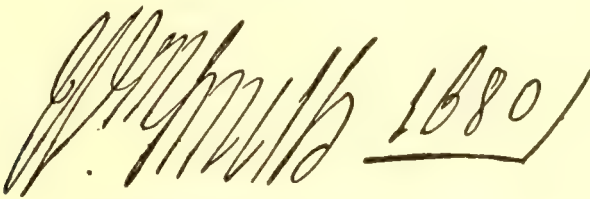
Upon the arrival of Geo. Fletcher, Aug. 29, 1692, the seat of Chief Justice Dudley was vacated for non-residence, and Col.

Smith succeeded him in that high office. All the duties of his various positions were performed with the greatest impartiality and dignity. When Governor Bellamont came to power, he removed Chief Justice Smith from office, though he retained his position as Member of Council. Gov. Bellamont died March 5, 1701, and the Lieut. Governor John Nanfau being absent, Judge Smith as senior Member of Council claimed the power of Governor, and exercised it. In 1702 Gov. Lord Cornbury appointed him Chief Justice and he held the office until April, 1703.

In the ancient burying ground at Setauket, L. I., is the tombstone bearing the inscription:

“Here lyes intered ye Body of ye Hon. Coll. Wm. Smith, Chief Justice and President of ye Council of ye Province of New York, Born in England at Higham Ferrers in Northamptonshire, Feb. ye 2 165 4-5 and died at the Manor of St. George, Feb. 18, 170 4-5 in ye 51st yeare of his age.”

After the death of Col. Smith, his heirs sold large tracts of the Manor. On March 30, 1716, William Henry Smith sold to Capt. Isaac Halsey 10,000 acres, next to the Southampton line. This tract is still known as “Halseys Manor.” A tract of 6,000 acres next, west, was sold to Benjamin Youngs Feb. 4, 1721. This was known as Brookfield. A considerable part, however, of the original manor of St. George, is still in possession of the descendants of the Lord of the Manor.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, followed by the year "1680" which is underlined.

(Autograph of Col. Wm. Smith.)

Historical Views and Reviews

OLDEST FLAGS IN THE WORLD

IT would be rather wide of the fact to say that the flag of the United States is the oldest in the world, although it may be said that among modern nations the Stars and Stripes lists as one of the oldest standards. The national flag of China was announced as such to all the foreign diplomats in 1872. The present flag of Spain was adopted in 1785. The French flag was adopted in its present form in 1794, while that of the German Empire dates back only to 1871. The flag of Italy was adopted in 1848.

The United States flag antedates all of these, and may even be older than that of Switzerland, the history of which appears to be in some obscurity. But it is far from being "the oldest in the world." Recognized authorities say that almost at the dawn of the world, as soon as men fell into the way of banding themselves together for a common cause, they adopted some sort of a conspicuous object as their symbol—a common object about which to rally. This was particularly true in organized warlike expeditions.

It can hardly be doubted that flags, or their equivalent, were used very early in the world's history. Among the buried remnants of early races and civilization are found records of objects which were apparently used as ensigns. These are accepted as evidence that the ancient Egyptian soldiers were not without their standards. The Assyrians and Jews also carried something similar in design and purpose.

According to ancient records, Darius's chariot had two standards fastened to the yoke. We find banners, standards and ensigns mentioned often in the Bible.

Even in ancient times it is known that some sort of drapery was used for the standards, but it is considered probable that

the flag, in the sense of the word as used to-day, did not make its appearance until the Middle Ages, and perhaps not until the practice of heraldry had reached a definite form.

The Bayeux tapestry, commemorating the Norman conquest of England, contains many representations of the flags of the period, which were borne on the lances of the knights of William's army.

The powerful aid of the Church seems ever to have been enlisted to give sanctity to national flags, and the origin of many can be traced to a sacred banner, notably the oriflamme of France.

The flags of the United States were various before and after the Declaration of Independence, and even after the adoption of the Stars and Stripes these underwent some changes in the manner of their arrangement before taking their present form.



OLDEST STREET CAR LINE.

The contention that Scranton had the first street car line in the world, appears to be groundless. According to accepted authorities, the first line was opened in New York in 1832. It was constructed in Fourth Avenue, from Prince Street to Harlem. Between that year and 1873 horse railroads were introduced in practically all of the large cities of the country.

About 1830, John Stephenson, a New York carriagemaker, conceived the idea of transporting passengers over rails laid on paved streets, and he was the prime mover in this kind of traffic. In 1831 the New York & Harlem Railroad obtained a charter to operate a street car line. It was opened for traffic in November, 1832. The first car was a combination of the typical English coach of the day and the American omnibus. This street car line was a failure.

In 1837 the horse car service in Fourth Avenue was abandoned in favor of steamdrawn cars. In 1852 a French engineer named Loubat revived the horse car idea in New York, and a short line was constructed in part of Sixth Avenue. Within the next eight years about thirty horse car roads were constructed

in the United States, the most important of them being a line between Boston and Cambridge.

The history of Scranton itself will serve to prove that it did not have the first street car line. Early in the last century it was a mere hamlet called Slocum Hollow, after the Slocum family, then prominent in that part of Pennsylvania. Really active development of the town did not begin until 1840, this work being undertaken by Col. George W. and Selden T. Scranton and their associates. The town was named in honor of Col. Scranton. It was not incorporated as a borough until 1856 and a city in 1866.



WASHINGTON STATUE 118 YEARS OLD.

While the whole country was celebrating his birthday last month, George Washington stood alone, forgotten, unnoticed in a New York office, gazing through dim and dingy window panes cobwebbed by spiders upon scenes of metropolitan development that would have made him gasp with astonishment if he had not been used to gazing upon them every day.

One hundred and twenty years ago this particular "George Washington" took his stand in old Bowling Green resplendent in a Colonial uniform that shimmered with all the sheen of a new coat of paint. He had been carved out of a solid oak log by the Mr. Sullivan who made the figure of "Justice" for the City Hall Building. He stood 8 feet 9 inches from his boot heels and weighed 800 pounds. There was a little stiffness in his attitude and his boots didn't look very comfortable, but nevertheless he didn't complain so long as he was the admired of all beholders.

That was in 1792. For half a century he stood faithfully at his post. Rain storms came and beat into his face, snow swirled around his legs and got down inside his coat collar, but he stuck to his job. Then in 1843 the City Fathers, perhaps noticing the cracks in his legs, decided to give him a well earned rest, and ordered his removal from the Green.

The statue then entered upon a career that was, to say the least, varied. Somewhere along the road he apparently lost an

arm, but some person now unknown supplied him with a new member, which, while it doesn't exactly match the other one, does very well in a pinch. One Jacques bought the relic from the City Fathers for \$300. Upon his death it was sold to a Mr. Schiff, by him to a Mr. Theobald, and by him to Joseph Liebman, the present owner.

During the centennial week, in 1889, the statue again was given a public exhibition by placing it on the temporary wooden arch erected at Washington Square and Fifth avenue. For a time, during Mr. Liebman's ownership, the statue was exhibited in a store window at No. 2158 Seventh avenue.

Mr. Liebman has removed to Vineland, N. J., and the statue has temporarily been left in the keeping of Mr. C. I. Hobson, who has it in his office at No. 614 West One Hundred and Eighty-first street.



ANOTHER LINCOLN MEMORIAL.

It is now proposed by the Lincoln Memorial Association that a "Lincoln highway," from Washington to Gettysburg, be constructed as a most appropriate monument to the man who freed the slaves. Champ Clark, Speaker of the national House of Representatives, in a recent letter to Congressman D. F. Lafean, from the Adams county district, expressed his entire approval of the Lincoln memorial highway, declaring it would be of lasting use, a benefit to the people and expressive of the aggressive character and practical ideas of Lincoln. Mr. Lafean has been told he will receive the support of many members of Congress, and he believes steps will be taken soon for the construction of the boulevard.

A memorial erected in the Soldiers' National Cemetery to Lincoln has recently been completed at a cost of \$5,000. This appropriation was made in 1895, but the committee in charge of the memorial, feeling that it was a meagre allowance, was long in doubt as to the most fitting investment of the money. The Lincoln memorial occupies a position facing the rostrum where

Memorial Day exercises are held. On the central pedestal is a bust of the martyred President, with head bowed in reverence. On either side is a bronze tablet, one containing a copy of the invitation asking his presence at the dedication of the National Cemetery and the other a copy of his speech.



PASTEUR'S BIRTHPLACE

Mr. Rockefeller's subscription of \$11,000 to the fund which is being raised to purchase and maintain the little house at Dôle, in the Jura department, France, where Pasteur was born, has aroused a feeling of humiliation in France, which is thus placed in the position of allowing a foreigner to supply the money necessary to honor one of her great men.

Pasteur's father was a soldier in the army of the Great Napoleon and was 25 when he retired to his native country after the collapse of the empire and earned a living as a tanner.

The subscription toward the purchase of the house has not been closed. Mr. Rockefeller's suggestion that it should remain open having been acted upon, several foreign universities and many communes and villages have sent subscriptions to the Mayor of Dôle.



INDIAN PRESS SOLD AS JUNK

Useless, out of date and covered with mold and rust, the plant, type and fixtures of the old Cherokee Advocate, the only newspaper the world has ever known published in the Indian tongue and the "angel" of Christianity and civilization among the red men of the Indian Territory, has been sold as junk to J. S. Holden, editor of the Fort Gibson Post, as the highest bidder, the purchase price being \$151.

With the passing of all that remains of the old Advocate, there disappears an institution that perhaps did as much as any

single thing toward the uplifting of the Cherokees. It has boasted of some of the brightest Indian scholars known to history as its editors. It has preserved peace and it might have declared war.

No newspaper ever printed with success, perhaps, had a policy that was built upon as high a plane as was the policy of the *Advocate*.

The type, as far as is known, is the only font of type of an Indian language that ever existed. A little more than a year ago a part of it was brought to Muskogee, and is now stored somewhere in this city, few people know exactly where. The type was made especially for the *Advocate*.

Three generations of one family acted as its editors. W. P. Boudinot was son of Elias Boudinot, the first editor, and E. C. Boudinot, said to be one of the brightest Indian writers that has ever lived, is the son of W. P. Boudinot.

For a long time it was the only means in the Indian Territory of distributing information, and remained as the only newspaper until the *Indian Journal*, now the *Muskogee Phoenix*, was begun in Eufaula.



HAWTHORNE AND THE SPOILSMEN

The Library of Congress has requested the Treasury Department to turn over to it a file of papers relating to the appointment and dismissal of Nathaniel Hawthorne, author of the "*Scarlet Letter*," "*House of the Seven Gables*," etc., to and from the position of Surveyor of Customs of the Port of Salem, Mass. The recommendation for Hawthorne's appointment in 1845 include letters from Franklin Pierce and George Bancroft, besides a considerable number of politicians of lesser note. The file, which is a part of the records of the Appointment Division of the Treasury Department, does not contain the actual record of Hawthorne's removal, but indicates the effect of that removal which took place in 1849, by the considerable number of indignant letters complaining of Mr. Hawthorne's dismissal from of-

fice, as well as a long statement from the Whigs of Salem, Mass., explaining why Mr. Hawthorne's removal was necessary in the interests of party success. Among those who protested against the removal, which had then become a fact, were Horace Mann and Rufus Choate.



NEW TABLETS ON WASHINGTON MONUMENT.

The Washington National Monument Society at its meeting in Washington last month, took steps to have Idaho, Washington, Oklahoma, Arizona, New Mexico and Texas represented in tablets on the monuments.

All other states are thus represented and the legislature of the six named states will be asked at their forthcoming sessions to appropriate money for the purpose.



NEW YORK'S "HOUSE OF LORDS"

The Irish House of Lords, as the three story frame house at 161 East Eighty-fifth street, New York City, has been known for half a century, is coming down. Messrs. Brill and Moss, who operate the Eighty-sixth Street Theatre, bought the property at auction a few weeks ago and are contemplating extending the playhouse over the landmark. When the theatrical men bought the property it was thought that it would only be altered. When the news got about Yorkville that the house was coming down much regret was expressed, especially by the older residents of the section. The building was the home of the late Johnny Sheehy, one of Yorkville's best known citizens for fifty years. The house was not only known to Eastsiders but over in London, in the British War Department, there are many old timers who are acquainted with the little frame edifice.

Stuck away in the pigeonholes of the War Department there is said to be much matter bearing on the doings of the Irish House

of Lords about thirty years ago. For several years the English Government had the place watched, fearing it was a hotbed of Fenians. Somebody had hinted to the British Consul in this city that a number of men were meeting there nightly for the purpose of laying plans to free Ireland. A hint was enough for the zealous Consul and he told his Government what was going on. Shortly afterward several men from the English military intelligence office were sent to this country to make observations. Mr. Sheehy and his friends, who met each night to tell stories of the "ould sod," had no idea that they were being watched.



NEGRESS SAW WASHINGTON

If records kept by the old slaveholders of Aunt Granny Hafford, a negress of this city, are true, Bloomington has a citizen who is probably the oldest in the United States. According to the best information that can be gathered, she is at least one hundred and twenty-five years old. This statement is obtained on records kept by George and Washington Hafford, her last slave owners, who lived at Monticello, Ky.

When the Hafford family bought Granny it was shown that she was born about 1787, and at that time the age of a slave had much to do with the price. She has often told of seeing George Washington when she was a little girl living in Virginia. She had seventeen children, two of them—Mrs. Josephine Wilson and Moses Hafford, old slaves—are still living here. Granny has more than eighty grandchildren living, and it is believed she must have more than three hundred great-grandchildren. Several great-great-grandchildren have been found. Mrs. Hafford is on her death bed.



RARE COLONIAL MANUSCRIPTS

Columbia University has in its possession a rare collection of manuscripts of the Colonial days, which was opened to inspec-

tion by the public, beginning on Lincoln's Birthday, in the university library.

The collection represents the manuscripts, papers and letters of Samuel Johnson, first president of Columbia University, then known as "King's College," as well as certain documents of William Samuel Johnson, his son, famous for his prominence in the revolutionary period, being a signer of the Declaration of Independence and first United States Senator from Connecticut, as well as the third President of King's College.

The documents are the gift of the Johnson family of Stratford, Conn., lineal descendants of the Johnsons named. There are 867 pieces, some of the more noteworthy sections being: Manuscript works by President Johnson, 37; letters from him, 328; letters to him, 138; manuscripts, sermons and prayers, 109; manuscripts relating to King's College and Columbia, 16.

Among the letters to President Johnson are several from Benjamin Franklin, forming the most interesting portion of the collection. The list of books read by William Samuel Johnson from the age of four up is a document of unique educational value, showing, as it does, the reading of an American boy in the second quarter of the eighteenth century.



NEW YORK'S FIRST SUBWAY

The Beach pneumatic tunnel, New York's first subway, was rediscovered recently during reconnoiterings for section 2 of the Lexington avenue subway. It runs under Broadway from Murray street north to Warren street. The pneumatic tunnel proved a failure.

The tunnel, a brick lined pipe eight feet in diameter, is connected with the entrance in City Hall Park by a five foot circular passage running southwest for about fifty feet, which joins it under the west side of Broadway at a distance of four feet above the track level. There was found at the Murray street end of the tube the corroded remnant of the cylindrical car fitting close

to the sides of the tunnel. It was the plan of Alfred E. Beach to propel this car by compressed air.



ONCE SERVED JEFFERSON DAVIS

Braxton Terry, a negro who keeps a second hand store in Norwich, Conn., says he is Jefferson Davis's last surviving servant. Up to a dozen years ago or so, as he tells the story, he was not alone in the distinction of having waited upon the President of the Confederacy, for Ellen Green, another of the house servants, was living on Long Island. Her death left him the only survivor of the Davis household.

Terry was never a slave. His father, a Richmond negro, had gained his freedom in 1840. Terry had worked as a huckster on the James River and as a newsboy in Richmond, and at the time the Davis family came to the city he was employed in a Richmond market where the President traded. Mr. Davis was attracted by him and took him as a personal servant.

One thing that impressed him before he went to work at the Davis home was the fondness of Mr. Davis for eggs and the fact that he would always have fresh farm eggs and bought them by weight. The steward of his household was always obliged to accompany Mr. Davis to market and to see that the eggs weighed up to the standard.

Terry was born on a plantation in 1846. Joseph Johnson, who raised him, was a slave trader and usually had sixty or seventy-five blacks on his place. Terry was one of eighteen children and a twin, there being five pairs of twins among the children. He has twin sons.

As a free negro he had privileges that slaves seldom did and often travelled about the Southern States with Johnson. Johnson was in the Confederate army and was captured by Federal soldiers when at home on a furlough in 1865. Terry was at the Johnson house when its owner was captured and had aided John-

son in burying some \$1,700 in gold and silver in the cellar under the main part of the house.



FORGOTTEN SUNFLOWER INDUSTRY

Like coals carried to Newcastle, a car-load of sunflower seeds, billed from Europe, passed through Kansas, the great "Sunflower State."

"Why are Kansans importing sunflower seed?" the manager of a seed company here was asked .

"For feeding chickens, pigeons, and canaries," he replied.

"But why don't they use their own seed?"

"That's an interesting story," went on the manager; "the seed from the Kansas sunflower is just as good as any, but the people don't gather it any more. They are so aristocratic that they buy the imported product. Twenty years ago we handled sunflower seed from Kansas by the carload for poultry feed in the East, but that is now a forgotten industry."

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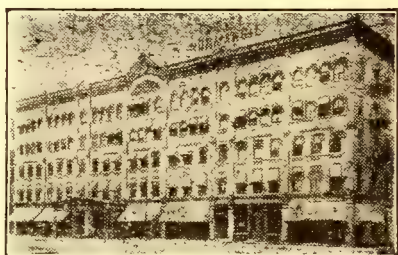
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Errata in February installment of article on Mormonism: Page 187 should be 185 and 185 should be transposed to 187. On page 161 a line was omitted in last line but one of the second paragraph. Insert—"thence to San Francisco where they arrived on the 31st of July."



Major George Cook

AMERICANA

April, 1912

A Genealogical History of the Arnot and Allied Families

BY LYMAN HORACE WEEKS

WHEN the American colonists finally brought their Revolution to a successful conclusion and established peace by the treaty with Great Britain in 1783, a new era of commercial and industrial possibilities opened for the nation. The potential needs of the community were great. Trade between the old world and the colonies had become well established during the colonial period and now it was realized that under changed conditions the energies of the people would be quickened to a wonderful extent, while the natural resources of the country held out alluring prospects. None were more quick than the Europeans to recognize these facts and to comprehend the exceptional opportunities for the first-comers that lay within the future territorial and business expansion of the western continent.

During the first quarter of a century of the political existence of the United States, a great body of immigration set in from Europe, quite distinct in character from any that had preceded it in the previous century. Trade relations with Europe, that during the troubles with the mother country had been largely suspended, were now reestablished and the business thus offered, as well as the purely domestic openings for trade, commerce and industry, generally attracted from the old world many young men, who, lacking opportunity at home, thought to find place for themselves in the new world. Particularly from Scotland and Ireland there was an arrival that was of momentous character, bringing to America, as it did, the Scotch and Scotch-Irish strain

of blood that constituted, in the generations following, a large and influential factor in the upbuilding of the republic. The extent to which these men and women of this nationality moulded republican institutions and laid the foundation of the country's future great prosperity, has been recognized by all historians and cannot be over-estimated.

At this time the city of New York was already the commercial center of the United States. In trade and in industry it offered many inducements to the new comers. Hither many of these Scotch and Irish families came and the settlers of this race during this period, had weighty and widespread influence in determining the character and in directing the growth of the metropolis and the territory immediately surrounding and contributory to it. Some of them settled permanently in New York city. There they became substantial merchants, their descendants continuing in the footsteps of their fathers in subsequent generations, in business, social and public life. Others, with the pioneer spirit more strongly in them, pushed their way further to the west or south, and were in the vanguard of those who conquered the new territory of the country, which, up to that time, had lain a wilderness dormant. Others eventually moved northward into the interior of New York state and there settled, and their descendants have been among the founders and developers of the northern and western part of that commonwealth.

About this time, also, a movement westward from New England set in. Descendants of the early New England colonists had become impatient over contracted conditions which surrounded them and were disturbed by complications which had arisen concerning their landed possessions, especially in the land grants of the western territories which had been made to the several colonies during the preceding generations. These enterprising New Englanders shifted westward. Some of them penetrated to the far-away northwestern territory, while others paused on their westward march and remained in northern New York.

Thus we find that in its central and northern part, New York has exhibited, during the century and a quarter of its existence

in statehood, an interesting and suggestive alliance of these Scotch and Scotch-Irish folk with the descendants of the early New Englanders. Together they created a substantial democracy, developed the natural resources of that section, built towns and cities, and planted new industries. Especially in the early and middle part of the century they were foremost in every movement that made for the betterment of the state of their adoption and the communities to which they were attached. The histories of these various families in this particular class constitute many of the most interesting and most important pages in the history of the Empire State. In the broad of view, they are not individual or personal. They are of more than ordinary moment as component parts of the history of the commonwealth. They are essentials to any correct study and appreciation of the conditions and movements to which they belonged.

As illustrative of the spirit which brought these people

THE ARNOT FAMILY IN SCOTLAND

to America at this period and of the strength of character which they contributed to this formative work in making the new commonwealth, no more typical family than that of Arnot could be selected. In the century that the Arnots have been identified with New York state, they have grown beyond ordinary local interest and importance. In a full sense, the representatives of the family for three generations have been foremost among the creators of that section which the city of Elmira dominates. Their individual and personal history during these more than one hundred years, has been merged at every point in that of the community in which their lives were passed and to which they gave their best thoughts and best activities. Thus the history of the Arnot and the associated Tuttle family becomes an essential part of the history of that section with which their names have been so notably associated.

In Scotland, the Arnot family in many lines has been of ancient renown. Evidently of French origin the name presumably was brought to Great Britain by the Norman invaders in the eleventh century. The French origin of the family has been, however, lost sight of and for at least six or eight centuries the Arnots

have been conspicuously identified with Scotland. Branches of the family have been distributed in different parts of Scotland, principally in Ayrshire, Perthshire and Fifeshire. For the most part they have been, from the beginning of their history, people of the substantial middle class, generally ranking well among the county gentry, and in many instances handing down chartered lands from generation to generation.

In the case of one notable family, they received a grant of arms, and for several generations carried the title of baronet. The remains of the ancient homestead of these barons of Arnot are still standing in Kinross. It is a picturesque old ruin, bearing the coat of arms on an entablature over the great entrance. It is locally known as the Arnot Tower. Concerning this structure, its name and the derivation of its name, an English authority says: "Arnot. Ard+enoc= high hill. The high ground near Arnot Tower is still termed Knock of Arnot."¹ Burke, the recognized English authority on heraldry, says of this family:

"Sir Michael Arnot, of Arnot, in the county of Perth, the descendant of a very ancient Fifeshire family, designated of that Ilk so early as the 12th century, was created a Baronet by Charles I 27th July, 1629. His son and heir, Sir David Arnot, second Baronet, M. P. for Kinross in 1689, was father of Sir John Arnot, third Baronet, who having devoted himself early to a military life, was appointed in 1727, Adjutant General of Scotland. In 1735 he rose to the rank of Brigadier General; in 1739 to that of Major General, and died, 4th June 1750, a Lieutenant General, and Adjutant General of North Britain. His eldest son, Sir John Arnot, fourth Baronet, was succeeded by his son, Sir William Arnot, fifth Arnot, Lieutenant Colonel of the Queen's regiment of dragoon guards, who died in 1782, leaving a son and heir, Sir William Arnot, sixth and last Baronet.

"Arms—Argent, a chevron sable between two mullets in chief, and a crescent (qu. étoile) in base gules."²

Rietstap, the French authority on heraldry, records the arms of these Arnots as follows:

"Arnot d'Arnot—*Ecosse* (Baronet July 27, 1629 M. et vers le commencement du 19 e siècle)

1. "The Place-names of Fife and Kinross" by W. J. N. Liddall, p. 2.

2. "A Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Extinct and Dormant Baronetcies of England, Ireland and Scotland." By John Burke, second edition, 1844, p. 617.

“D’arg. au chev. de sa., acc. en chef de deux etoiles de gu. et en p. d’un croiss (ou, d’une etoile rayounante) du meme.”³

It appears therefore, that, for nearly six hundred years, these armor-bearing Arnots were established in Perthshire, the ancestral home of those of the name who came to America at the beginning of the nineteenth century. In the main line and in many of its branches the family was one of the most distinguished in the county. The cadets of the house were mainly located in Perthshire, naturally grouped about the historic home of the main stem. There they constituted a very considerable and influential part of the various communities in which they lived. Two of the baronets in the main line of descent were named John Arnot and that Christian name persisted in general use in the family in successive generations. It was a common inheritance of all the Arnots of Scotland as well as of those who crossed the Atlantic to the New World.

THE ARNOTS IN AMERICA

I

JOHN ARNOT was a native of Perthshire, Scotland, where he was living about the middle of the eighteenth century. With his wife and several children, he emigrated to America in 1801, and settled near Albany, New York.

II

JOHN ARNOT, son of John Arnot, was born in Perthshire, Scotland, September 25, 1793. Brought by his parents to America in 1801, his childhood years were passed in the paternal home near Albany. He received a good public school education, and then at an early age began work for himself. As a young man his sterling character and his pronounced aptitude for business attracted attention from those with whom he was associated, and when, in 1817, at the age of twenty-four, he decided to go into the interior of New York state in search of fortune, he was able to

3. "Armorial General."

command the assistance of capital. With Egbert Egberts he founded the firm of John Arnot & Co., in the village of Newtown, which afterwards became the city of Elmira. From that time on his life was entirely identified with that of his new home. His Scottish thrift, energy and ambition quickly won their reward, and the business which he had established became, under his direction, so prosperous, that he was able soon to become its sole proprietor. In 1831 he became a partner of Stephen Tuttle, one of the pioneer settlers and business men of Central New York, and that firm relationship continued until the retirement of Mr. Tuttle on account of age, a few years before his death.

Individually Mr. Arnot was the founder of many of the foremost financial, industrial and commercial establishments of the city of Elmira and the county of Chemung, and was also associated with other prominent men in most of the large enterprises of that part of the state. He was always confident of the great future of the city of Elmira and never hesitated to pledge his energies and his resources in every respect to the upbuilding of the city to which he was so much attached. He became a large landed proprietor in the suburbs of the growing city and through his real estate transactions as well as other business pursuits acquired large wealth. At the age of forty he was recognized as one of the most substantial business men of Elmira and one of its most devoted and patriotic citizens. The list of the commercial and financial enterprises with which he was identified is long and notable. He was one of the founders of the Chemung Canal Bank. During the panic of 1837, when the stability of that institution was threatened by the financial exigencies of the period, he was summoned by his associates to take the position of cashier, and in that place he not only maintained the stability of the bank, but was successful in putting it on a sound basis and restoring to it the full confidence of the community. In 1852 he secured a controlling interest in the bank and became its president. In 1854 he was president of the company which was organized to construct the Junction Canal, and in the same year he was elected president of the Gas Company of Elmira. With several partners, he entered upon coal mining near Blossburg, Pennsylvania. Several mines were opened there and the enterprise

was carried on successfully, Mr. Arnot continuing as a coal operator until the time of his death.

Despite his multitudinous business engagements, Mr. Arnot devoted much time to the public affairs of the city of his adoption, in all which he maintained a healthy and active interest. An earnest believer in thorough and wide-spread public education he was one of the earliest and strongest supporters of the public school system and did much to secure its firm establishment in the state of New York about 1858. As a members of the Elmira board of education for six years following 1859 he gave invaluable service in establishing the first public schools in that city. Politically he was a Whig in early life and afterwards a Democrat when the Whig party was broken up. In 1858 he was nominated for congress by the Democrats of his district but was defeated.

The esteem in which he was held by the community in which his life was spent, and to which he was devoted, has been well expressed by one of his biographers as follows:

“To him and his associates Elmira is indebted for its present status as a thriving commercial center. It was his particular work, so it appears, not only to project new enterprises, but to renovate, enlarge and establish upon a sound financial footing works and corporations seemingly involved in ruin. To him all such unfortunate ventures appealed when stricken with threatened destruction, and without exception the appeal was never made in vain. His public spirit and love of his adopted home were shown by his investment of means in each and every company or improvement which directly benefited the interests of Elmira.”⁴

At the time of his death the common council of Elmira, in a series of resolutions, placed on record the general opinion that “this community has sustained a severe and irreparable loss.” At the same time, at a meeting of the officers of the various banks of Elmira, a series of resolutions was passed, one of which was:

“That owing to the high character of the deceased, his sterling ability as a banker, the purity of his principles, the conscientious

4. “Encyclopedia of Contemporary Biography of New York.” Vol. V, p. 181.

regard for truth and justice which characterized all his dealings, this city has lost its ablest financier and one of its best citizens."

Died in Elmira, November 17, 1873.

Married, 1823, Harriet Tuttle, daughter of Stephen and Mary Ann (McKerachan) Tuttle. She was born in 1804 and died in Elmira, December 6, 1877.

[*TUTTLE*. The Tuttle family under various names is one of the most ancient in England. On the Battle Abbey Roll, the name is one of the first, spelled Toteles. There are few localities in England where the family in some form has not been found, and the name has been spelled in probably a score or more different forms, the most notable of which have been Tothill, Tuthill, Tuttil, Tuttell, Totell, Totehall, Toothill and Tuttle. Even more anciently than in England, the family was in Ireland, where it existed before the Christian era. In that country the name was originally derived from one of the early kings of Ireland, Tuathal, and among its various names have been such familiar forms as O'Toole and O'Thothill. One of the most notable families in England was the Tothills of Devonshire. The modern branch of this family has been mainly descended from William Totyl who was the first high sheriff of Devonshire in 1549 and lord mayor of Exeter in 1552. Tradition says that he was the father of thirty-six children. "All the circumstances point unmistakably to the Devonshire branch as the source of the four Tuttle families who came over in 1635."⁵ The armorial bearings of the Devonshire Tuttles were:

Arms.—Azure, on a bend argent, cotised or, a lion passant sable, langued and armed gules.

Crest.—On a mount a Cornish chough proper, in the beak a branch of olive vert, fructed or.

Three distinct Tuttle families came from England to America on the ship *Planter* in 1635. The heads of these families were John Tuttle, Richard Tuttle and William Tut-

5. "The Descendants of William and Elizabeth Tuttle." By George Frederick Tuttle, p. XXV.

tle, whose names were on the list of those passengers who had received certificates of departure from the minister of St. Albans, Hertfordshire. John Tuttle and William Tuttle settled in Ipswich and Richard Tuttle in Boston.

I. *William Tuttle*, who was born in England in 1609, appeared on the passenger list of the *Planter* as a husbandman, that is a landed proprietor. Settling in Ipswich, Massachusetts, he very soon became engaged in mercantile pursuits and was also part owner of a trading vessel. In 1639 he joined John Davenport and Thomas Eaton in settling the Quinnipiac Colony at the mouth of the Connecticut river, afterwards the town and city of New Haven. He signed the first covenant of the new colony June 4, 1639. From the beginning he was one of the most active citizens of New Haven and acquired much land, not only in New Haven, but also in East Haven and North Haven. Some of his original property included the later site of Yale College. With several of his fellow citizens he was engaged in the unsuccessful enterprise to plant a colony on the Delaware river in 1644, a project which led to serious complications between New England and the Dutch and Swede settlers. He was a farmer, a member of many town commissions, a constable, and often appointed to settle town and other boundaries. He died in June, 1673. His wife, Elizabeth Tuttle, died December 30, 1684, at the age of seventy-six. His children were John, Hannah, Thomas, Jonathan, David, JOSEPH, Sarah, Elizabeth, Simon, Benjamin, Mercy and Nathaniel.

II. *Joseph Tuttle*, son of William and Elizabeth Tuttle, was born in New Haven, where he was baptized November 22, 1640. He married, May 2, 1667, Hannah Munson, born June 11, 1648, daughter of Captain Thomas Munson. His children were Joseph, Samuel, STEPHEN, Joanna, Timothy, Susanna, Elizabeth, Hannah and Hannah.

MUNSON. The Munson family of England was established in Lincolnshire as far back as the thirteenth century. John Munson was living in Lincolnshire in 1378, and from him in the fourth generation, was Sir Thomas

Munson, 1564-1641, who received the title of baronet. His son, Sir John Munson, of the fifth generation, 1600-1683, was the second baronet. It was from a cadet branch of the family in this generation that Thomas Munson, who came to New England, was derived. The arms of this family—the barons Munson, of Burton—as given by Reitschap and Burke, the heraldic authorities, were:

Arms.—Or, two chevronels, gules.

Crest.—A lion rampant proper, supporting a column, or.

Motto.—*Prest pour mon pais.*⁶

I. *Thomas Munson*, the American pioneer, was born in England about 1612, and died in New Haven, May 7, 1685. He was one of the most prominent and most active men of his generation in the colonies of Hartford and New Haven, being alike conspicuous in civil and military life. In the Pequot war of 1637, he served under Captain John Mason, and for this the town of Hartford gave him a grant of land. Before 1640 he removed to Quinnipiac or New Haven, being the sixth on the list of forty-eight planters who agreed to make that settlement. The same year he was a freeman and four years later he took the oath of fidelity to the New Haven colony. His military service, which was of a notable character, began in 1643, when he was chosen a sergeant of the militia company. In that position he served uninterruptedly until 1664, when he was chosen a lieutenant; he was made a captain in 1676. When war with the Dutch in New Amsterdam was apprehended, in 1673, he was appointed a member of the grand committee of the colony, afterwards the council of war, to take charge of the preparation for hostilities. In 1655, after over thirty years of military service, he urged the infirmities of age as a reason why he should be re-

6. "The Munson Record, a Genealogical and Biographical Account of Captain Thomas Munson and his Descendants." By Myron A. Munson. Vol. I, p. xxi.

"Armorial General," Par. J. B. Reitschap, edition 1887, Deuxieme, Vol. II.

"A Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Peerage and Baronage, the Privy Council, Knightage and Companionage." By Sir Bernard Burke. Edition of 1907.

lieved from further responsibilities, but the town, appreciating and depending upon his ability, refused to accept his resignation. On September 9 of that year, he was ordered by the council of war to take command of the forces of the New Haven colony, which were summoned for King Philip's war. He was not less conspicuous in civil life than he had been in military service. He was a carpenter and builder and from the beginning of the colony of New Haven, he was placed on various committees where his practical knowledge was useful. He was selected to appraise property, to provide for the building of the church and a schoolhouse, to run lines separating various properties and the adjoining towns, and otherwise to be helpful in those minor needs which were essential for the comfort of the community. He was elected a selectman in 1656, and in that capacity served almost continuously for more than a quarter of a century. In 1662 he was elected a deputy to the general court, and was elected almost annually to that position until 1685. From 1662, for many years, he was a magistrate of New Haven, and he was the first commissary of the town. He died May 7, 1685, and was buried on The Green in New Haven. His wife, Johanna Munson, who was born about 1610, died in New Haven, December 13, 1678.

Issue:

1. Elizabeth Munson, who married, first, October 19, 1664, Timothy Cooper, son of Lieutenant Thomas Cooper, of Springfield, Massachusetts, and married, second, Richard Higginbotham, who died December 18, 1706.
2. Samuel Munson, baptized August 7, 1643; died in 1693. He was of New Haven and Wallingford.
3. Hannah Munson, baptized June 11, 1648. Married, May 2, 1667, Joseph Tuttle.

III. *Stephen Tuttle*, son of Joseph Tuttle and Hannah (Munson) Tuttle, was born May 20, 1673. Early in life he removed to Woodbridge, New Jersey, where he received a grant of land in 1695, and became one of the substantial citizens of that colony. He died in 1709. He married, Septem-

ber 12, 1695, Ruth Fitz Randolph. His children were Timothy, Joseph, STEPHEN, and Samuel.

IV. *Stephen Tuttle*, son of Stephen Tuttle and Ruth (Fitz Randolph) Tuttle, was born in New Haven, and was taken to Woodbridge by his parents when he was a young child. Subsequently he returned to New Haven, and afterwards lived in Farmington, Connecticut, where he was killed by lightning, June 23, 1735. He married, January 23, 1734-5, Sarah Stanley, who died July 20, 1736, daughter of Nathaniel Stanley of Farmington.

V. *Stephen Tuttle*, only child of Stephen Tuttle and Sarah (Stanley) Tuttle, was born in Farmington, October 19, 1735. He was brought up in the family of his grandfather Stanley, first in Farmington, and after 1742, in Goshen, Connecticut. In 1773 he removed to Palmyra, Tioga county, New York, and subsequently to Wilkes Barre, Pennsylvania. He died in Wilkes Barre in 1809. He married, March 25, 1758, Lydia Lyman, who was born June 16, 1738, daughter of Ebenezer Lyman of Torrington, Connecticut. His children were Sarah, Amelia and STEPHEN.

VI. *Stephen Tuttle*, son of Stephen Tuttle and Lydia (Lyman) Tuttle, was born in Goshen, Connecticut, August 4, 1772. As a boy he lived in central New York and in Wilkes Barre, Pennsylvania, but removed from Wilkes Barre to Elmira, New York, about 1811. He became one of the most energetic and successful of the pioneers in building up that section of the country. He was interested in nearly every enterprise there instituted and his name was conspicuously identified with all the early history of Elmira. He was engaged in farming, in merchandising, in milling, and in other pursuits. He was the first president of the town corporation of Elmira. He died in Elmira in 1851. He married Mary Ann McKerachan, who was born in Kent, Litchfield, Connecticut, in 1773, and died in Elmira, New York, January 3, 1860. The father of Mary Ann McKerachan was William McKerachan, an Irishman, who came to America in 1764. He settled in Pennsylvania and taught school in that colony and in the neighboring colony of New

Jersey. In 1774 he removed to the beautiful valley of Wyoming, where he taught school, kept a store, and acquired landed property. His knowledge of mathematics and surveying made him a useful member of the community and he was a magistrate, a judge of the county court of Westmoreland county, and captain of the Hanover militia company. He lost his life in the Wyoming Massacre, but his wife and several children escaped. Mrs. McKerachan married, second, Matthias Hallenback of Milford, Connecticut, and one of the pioneers of central New York. Mary Ann McKerachan, who married Stephen Tuttle, was brought up in the family of her stepfather. She was recognized as "a woman of genuine piety, remarkable shrewdness and honesty."

VI. *Harriet Tuttle*, only child of Stephen Tuttle and Mary Ann (McKerachan) Tuttle, was born in Wilkes Barre, Pennsylvania, in 1804, and married John Arnot in 1823.

Issue of John Arnot and Harriet (Tuttle) Arnot:

1. Marianne Tuttle Arnot, born in Wilkes Barre, Pennsylvania, in 1824; died in December, 1877. Married in 1875, William Butler Ogden, who was born in Delaware county, New York, June 15, 1805, and died at High Bridge, New York city, in 1877. William B. Ogden was a successful merchant, a manufacturer, and a real estate owner of Chicago, being one of the founders of that city and its first mayor. He ranked high among the most eminent men of the West in his day, especially in railroad building and management, in which field he was particularly distinguished. He was the first president of the Union Pacific Railroad Company, the president of several other western railroads and a director in many other railroad and business enterprises. As a generous benefactor of educational and other public institutions, he was particularly noted.

2. Aurelia Covell Arnot, died in 1874, unmarried.

3. Stephen Tuttle Arnot, born in 1830; died in November, 1884. He was one of the leading business men of Central New York, being president of the Bank of Elmira and mayor of the

city of Elmira in 1883. Married Charlotte Hewett, daughter of Gurdon Hewett of Owego, New York.

Issue:

Fanny Palmer Arnot, married Warham Whitney of Rochester, New York.

4. JOHN ARNOT, of whom below.

5. Matthias Hallenback Arnot, born in 1833; died unmarried. He was graduated from Yale College in 1856 and was a prominent merchant of Elmira. Died in February, 1910.

6. Mary Frances Arnot, born in 1836. Married, first, Richard Suydam Palmer; married, second, George Griswold Haven of New York.

Issue (by first marriage):

I. Walter Palmer, died in infancy.

II. John Arnot Palmer.

III. Richard Suydam Palmer.

7. Peter Arnot, born in 1839; died young.

III.

JOHN ARNOT, second son and fourth child of John Arnot and Harriet (Tuttle) Arnot, was born in Elmira, March 11, 1831. He was educated in private schools in Elmira and in neighboring places, and then studied for a time in Yale College. Business life appealed to him more than scholastic pursuits and he left college to enter the banking house of his father in Elmira. In 1852, when his father became president of the Chemung Canal Bank, John Arnot, Jr., became cashier. In that position he developed a remarkable financial ability, and eventually succeeded his father, being at the head of the institution until the time of his death. From early life he was interested in politics, being a Whig, but his political activity was of a non-partisan character. From 1859 to 1864, he was president of the village of Elmira, and in 1864 was elected the first mayor of the new city. Again, in 1870 and 1874, he was elected mayor, his fidelity to public trust, his remarkable financial ability and his general usefulness in public affairs making his official career one of distinction. In 1882 he was elected a member of the forty-eighth congress as a

Democrat in a strong Republican district, receiving a plurality of three thousand over all other candidates, where in previous elections the Republican ticket had, as a rule, about three thousand majority. For the next term he was re-elected practically without opposition, receiving the endorsement of all the parties. He was continuously a member for many years of the board of education of Elmira.

A local historian had said of him: "He lived a life so full of generous actions and loving kindness to all, that no epitaph will adequately or accurately describe it. Before the people in any capacity, he was invincible. They were all and always for him."⁷

Died November 20, 1886.

Married, June 2, 1858, Anne Elizabeth Hulett, daughter of Charles Hulett of Horseheads, Chemung county, New York. She was born April 16, 1837; died in Elmira, New York.

HULETT. Since early in the seventeenth century branches of the Hulett family have been settled in various parts of New England and northern and central New York. The early history of this family in America is still obscure, but it is generally considered that the various branches were descended from Sergeant Thomas Howlett or Hulett of Boston. Thomas Howlett was an Englishman and is believed to have been of that family of the name which was of considerable distinction in England before the Cromwellian period. In England the name was spelled both Hulett and Howlett and probably was originally derived from the French family which used the spelling Hulett. Sergeant Thomas Howlett, who was born in 1599, came to America in the fleet with Governor John Winthrop in 1633 and settled in Ipswich. Savage says of him:

"With the junior John Winthrop he was one of the founders of Ipswich, Massachusetts, in 1633, being made a freeman March 3, 1634, and elected to represent the town in the general court in 1635.

7. "A History of the Valley and County of Chemung." By Ausburn Tower, p. 116.

8. "A Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England." By James Savage, Vol. II, p. 480.

He married, first, Alice French of Boston, by whom he had a daughter Sarah, who married John Cummings. When he died, December 22, 1667, he left a widow Rebecca Howlett, who died in Newbury, Massachusetts, November 1, 1680, and a son, Samuel, who was in Topsfield, Massachusetts, in 1661."

Descendants of Sergeant Thomas Howlett, were early in the western part of Massachusetts and in Vermont, and from the latter colony they moved to New York. In the colonial records the name was spelled Hulett as frequently as it was spelled Howlett.

I. One of the Hulett colonial families was of Hadley, Massachusetts, in the middle of the seventeenth century.

II. Several of the sons of the Hadley, Massachusetts, family removed to Wallingford, Rutland county, Vermont, and there the bearers of the name became numerous in succeeding generations.

III. *John Hulett* of Wallingford, and Veteran, Ulster county, New York, married Martha Clark, daughter of Deacon Clark, of Wethersfield, Vermont. He died in Veteran, January 12, 1847, at the age of eighty. His children were Laura, Guy, Clark, Asahel, John M., CHARLES, Almira, Martha, Mason, Nehemiah, Marcia A., George W. and Benjamin F.

IV. *Charles Hulett*, son of John Hulett and Martha (Clark) Hulett, was born in Wallingford. He removed to Chemung county, New York, soon after 1825 and became one of the prominent citizens of the town of Horseheads. He was one of the three commissioners appointed to supervise the first town meeting of that town. He married, in October, 1835, Ann E. Munson, daughter of Isaac and Sarah (Bradley) Munson of Wallingford, Connecticut. Isaac Munson was of the Munson family of New Haven, descended from Thomas Munson, whose daughter Elizabeth Munson, married Joseph Tuttle, and was the ancestress of Harriet Tuttle, who married John Arnot, Jr.

I. MUNSON. *Thomas and Johanna Munson*, the Amer-

ican pioneers of Hartford and New Haven (See TUTTLE Family on a preceding page of this sketch).

II. *Samuel Munson*, son of Thomas and Johanna Munson, was baptized August 7, 1643, and died in 1693. He was a resident of New Haven and Wallingford, Connecticut, and was scarcely less prominent than his famous father. He was a freeman of the colony of New Haven, the first school master of the town, treasurer, recorder, auditor, selectman and ensign. He married, October 26, 1665, Martha Bradley, daughter of William and Alice (Pritchard) Bradley.

III. *Theophilus Munson*, son of Samuel Munson and Martha (Bradley) Munson, was born September 1, 1675, and died November 28, 1747. He was a town treasurer of New Haven, a deputy to the general court and a captain of the militia in the Indian war. He married Esther Mix, daughter of Thomas Mix.

IV. *Israel Munson*, son of Theophilus Munson and Esther (Mix) Munson, was born in New Haven, December 11, 1701, and died July 28, 1754. He married, first, February 1, 1726-27, Elizabeth Bishop; second, October 28, 1736, Mary Brinsmade; third, September 27, 1744, Margaret Mansfield.

V. *Israel Munson*, son of Israel Munson and Margaret (Mansfield) Munson, was born October 9, 1737, and died December 27, 1806. He married in New Haven, April 11, 1765, Anna Griswold.

VI. *Isaac Munson*, son of Israel Munson and Anna (Griswold) Munson, was born in New Haven, April 5, 1771, and died February 11, 1835. He resided in New Haven and Wallingford. He married Sarah Bradley, who was born April 11, 1773, and died June 3, 1821. She was descended from Abraham Bradley, one of the pioneers of New Haven.

VII. *Anne E. Munson*, married Charles Hulett.

V. *Anne Elizabeth Hulett*, daughter of Charles Hulett and Anne E. (Munson) Hulett, married John Arnot, Jr.

Issue of John Arnot and Anne Elizabeth (Hulett) Arnot:

1. Harriet Tuttle Arnot, born March 22, 1859. Married, January 2, 1879, James Bailey Rathbone, of Elmira, New York.

Issue:

I. Anne Elizabeth Rathbone.

II. John Arnot Rathbone.

III. Catharine Rathbone.

2. John Hulett Arnot, born July 7, 1860; died July 25, 1899. He was graduated from Yale University in the class of 1885.

3. Edward Munson Arnot, born June 19, 1862; died March 22, 1865.

4. Matthias Charles Arnot, born October 27, 1867; died July 31, 1901. He was graduated from Yale University in the class of 1891. Returning to his home in Elmira, he began his business career as a clerk in the Chemung Canal Bank. Gradually advanced as he acquired proficiency in financial affairs, he ultimately became vice-president of the bank, which position he held at the time of his death. From boyhood he was strongly inclined to scientific studies and was especially proficient in mathematics. When he grew to manhood his interest in those pursuits still continued and what time he could spare from banking and other financial affairs he devoted to further study and original investigation in purely scientific directions. He was among the first Americans to become attracted to the subject of aeronautics and his application to this branch of science was of an intensely practical character. The aeronauts, Herring and Curtis, in their early experiments, profited much by his encouragement and definite support. Herring, who had been engaged with Octave Chanute in Chicago, in 1904 and subsequently, found later on in Mr. Arnot an associate who had both enthusiasm concerning the new airships and a mathematical and mechanical genius that was most valuable. The two working in conjunction built a successful flying ship in 1897 and Mr. Herring paid generous and deserved tribute to Mr. Arnot for his assistance both financial and in practical mechanics, in the production of the first really successful Herring machine in 1897. In "Gas Power," of which Mr. Herring was at one time editor, he gave a full account of Mr. Arnot's co-operation and support in this work. The talent

of Mr. Arnot in this direction was displayed to a notable extent and those who were most familiar with his accomplishments have been unreserved in their confidence, that had his life been spared he would have been numbered among the foremost of American authorities on aeronautics. The "glider," which he was instrumental in bringing to completion with Mr. Herring, was fully described in the scientific periodicals of that day, and was recognized as a distinct advance upon anything that had been produced up to that time. An illustration of the machine which was printed then in the "Scientific American" afterwards had a place of honor in the latest edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica*.

He married Alice Hale Up de Graff, daughter of Doctor Thaddeus S. and Ella Up de Graff, of Elmira; she died March 15, 1898.

The Three Cushing Brothers

BY JULIA A. LAPHAM

AT the annual meeting of the Waukesha County Historical Society, held on the 6th of May, 1911, a committee was appointed to take the initiative in the matter of placing a monument, in memory of the three Cushing brothers at Delafield, Wisconsin, the early home of the Cushing family and the birthplace of Wm. B. Cushing.

As a result of this action the State of Wisconsin has appropriated \$5,000 for such monument and it is hoped that a site can be provided by subscription.

Howard B. Cushing, the elder of these brothers was born in Milwaukee, August 22d, 1838. He did good service both in the artillery and the cavalry during the civil war. He was a member of the third cavalry which served in Arizona and aided in clearing that part of the country of Apaches. Cushing was killed by the Apache chief, Cochise, in May, 1871.

John G. Bourke speaks very feelingly of Howard Cushing in his book "On the Border with Crook." He said, "Howard Cushing was the bravest man I ever saw."

In a letter to the New York Herald at the time of Cushing's death Sylvester Maury, a graduate of West Point said in part, "There is not a hostile tribe in Arizona or New Mexico that will not celebrate the killing of Cushing as a great triumph. He was a *beau sabreur*, an unrelenting fighter; and although the Indians got him at last, he sent before him a long procession of them to open his path to the undiscovered country. * * * He has left behind him in Arizon a name that will not die in this generation."

Alonzo Hereford Cushing, the second brother, was also born in Milwaukee, January 19th, 1841. He, too, served with honor

during the Civil war. He was killed at Gettysburg July 3d, 1863. One writer said of him: "No task was ever placed upon the shoulders of Alonzo Cushing, whether in civil or military life, so far as I have been able to ascertain, that was not well and cheerfully done."

Gen. Couch, commanding the 2nd corps, in his report, said of him: "Lt. Cushing was with me throughout the battle and acted with his well-known gallantry," at Fredericksburg.

President Lincoln brevetted him captain, to date from December 13th, 1862, for gallant and meritorious services at battle of Fredericksburg. In May, 1863, the President gave Cushing the brevet of Major, dating from May 2nd, for gallant services at the battle of Chancellorsville. Two days before Cushing's death the brevet of Lieut. Colonel was made out for him for conspicuous gallantry at the battle of Gettysburg July 1st, 1863.

Wm. Barker Cushing, the youngest of the three brothers, was born in Delafield, Wisconsin, on a farm, now known as the Alden farm, November 4th, 1842.

He entered the Naval Academy at Annapolis as a cadet when fourteen, and, a few years later was acting master's mate on board the frigate Minnesota.

In a letter written in June, 1861, he said: "I have been to the north twice in command of prize ships captured from the enemy." He does not state that one of these ships "The Delaware Farmer," was taken by himself, the first taken by any one in the war. One of the two was worth \$150,000.

The destruction of the confederate iron clad, the Albermarle, was one of the most daring exploits of this young man—he was only twenty-two at the time. This feat brought him a vote of thanks from Congress and a well-earned promotion. It also brought words of praise and congratulation from all parts of the north.

It has been said of him: "There was not a year during the war that Lt. Cushing did not distinguish himself by some perilous adventure." In November, 1862, he was ordered in the steamer "Ellis" to capture Jacksonville and destroy the salt works in New River Inlet. After performing this duty successfully the steamer got aground. Lt. Cushing set the "Ellis" on

fire and escaped in a small boat. He received special commendation for his coolness, courage and conduct in this affair.

Lt. Cushing was advanced to the rank of Commander in January, 1872—the youngest officer of that rank in the navy. In July, 1873, he was placed in charge of the “Wyoming.” In November of that year he heard of the execution of several of the crew of the *Virginius* at Santiago, de Cuba. Without waiting for orders he steamed for that port and stopped the executions, pending instructions from Spain—by which they were entirely discontinued. His demand for an interview and reply to Gen. Burriel were perfectly characteristic of Wm. B. Cushing. With his hand on his revolver he said: “Gen. Burriel, this conduct may suit your subjects, but it does not suit an officer of the United States Navy. I must know positively and immediately, are you going to shoot any more of the crew of the *Virginius*? Give me an answer. I will not be insulted again.”

Burriel, amazed and completely cowed, dropped the swaggering ranting manner with which he had begun the interview and meekly replied “I will not shoot any more without further trial.”

Wm. B. Cushing died at Washington, D. C., December 17, 1874. A temporary marker has been placed to mark the birth-place of this man—until such time as a permanent memorial can be erected.

The American Bell

BY JULIA A. LAPHAM

IN the United States Centennial Almanac for 1875 the following account of the "American Bell" is quoted from a description written by Col. Etting, of Philadelphia, for the American Historical Record.

"This American bell was hung up in its place early in 1753, as will appear by the following bill:

Philadelphia, April 17, 1753.

The Province,

To Edmund Wooley, Dr.

For sundrys advanced for raising the Bell Frame and putting up the Bell:

A peck of potatoes, 2s. 9d.; 14 lbs. Beef at 4s. 8d.; 4 Gammons*, 36 lbs., at 6d.—18s.....	£1	6	5
Mustard, Pepper, Salt, Butter.....	0	2	0
A Cheese 13lbs. at 6d.—6c. 6d.; Beef, 30 lbs. at 4d.—10s.; a peck Potatoes, 2s. 6d.....	0	19	1
300 Limes, 14s.; 3 gallons Rum of John Jones, 14s...	1	8	0
36 Loaves of Bread, of Lacey, ye Baker.....	0	9	0
Cooking and Wood, 8s.; Earthenware and Candles, of Duchee, 13s. 4d.....	0	11	4
A barrel of Beer, of Anthony Morris.....	0	18	0
	— — — — —		
	£5	13	10

Errors excepted.

Ed. Wooley."

*Smoked hams.

What use was made of these supplies is not explained, nor is the reason for recasting the bell given, but we are told it was

done in a "masterly manner" and that the letters were better than in the old one.

"When we broke up the metal our judges agreed it was too high and brittle, and cast several little bells out of it to try the sound and strength. We fixed upon a mixture of an ounce and one-half of copper to one pound of the old bell."

It was soon found this composition was defective, that too much copper had been added. Pass, a native of the island of Malta, with a son of Charles Stow, who were "the persons who originally undertook to recast the bell, and who had made the mould in a masterly manner and run the metal well," insisted on making another assay and in June, 1753, their second bell was placed in position in the State House steeple.

Of this event the *Maryland Gazette*, of Thursday, July 5th, 1753, said: "Last week was raised and fixed in the State House steeple [Philadelphia] the new great bell. Cast there by Pass and Stow weighing 2,080 lbs. with this motto: 'Proclaim Liberty throughout all the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof.' Lev. xxv. 10."

There was a great difference of opinion in regard to the success of this second attempt, but no further effort to improve its sound seems to have been recorded and the bell continued to be used.

This bell, on Monday, July 8th, 1776, rang out "to the citizens of Philadelphia the glad tidings that a new nation had, a few days before, sprung into existence, proclaiming in language understood by every ear, All Men Are Born Free and Equal."

"For full fifty years, as nearly as can be ascertained our Liberty Bell continued to celebrate every national anniversary and then—it cracked, it had performed its mission and was mute forever."

Major Reno and the Custer Massacre

PART II

AFTER being reinforced by Benteen, my own command numbered about four hundred, but one-third of these were detailed to protect the horses and mules, and were, in consequence, of no practical assistance to my fighting force and our situation was desperate in the extreme. The fight did not slacken till about half past nine A. M., when I discovered that the Indians were making a last desperate attempt which was directed against the lines held by Companies H and M. In this attack they charged close enough to use their bows and arrows and one man, lying dead within our lines, was touched by the "coup-stick" of one of the foremost Indians. He will never touch another. When I say that this "coup-stick" was only about ten or twelve feet long, some idea of the desperate and reckless fighting of these people may be understood.

But let me explain: Each Indian when preparing for battle, or hunting expedition provides himself with a pole, from six to twelve feet long and when he touches a dead body with it, the scalp of the man or skin of the animal, becomes his property. Then he makes a number of small bags from the skin or hide of his victim, which he fills with scalp-locks or fur, respectively. Each little bag represents one victim, and it is the Sioux's ambition to collect as many of these ghastly trophies as possible, which when completed and stuffed, are then attached to the "coup-stick." I have frequently seen these poles with as many as ten or twelve little bags fastened to them.

This charge of theirs was gallantly repulsed by Captain Benteen and the brave men on that line. The Indians also came close enough to send their arrows into the line held by Companies D and K, but were driven away by a like charge of the line, which I accompanied. We now had many wounded, and the

question of water had become vital, as we had had none since early on the previous day. The suffering was intense, for fighting and the hot sun had parched our throats. Some of the men's tongues were so swollen they could not speak, and our wounded were really dying for want of it. The river lay at our feet and could be approached by a deep ravine, but from the ravine to our lines was an open space one hundred feet in width, which was commanded by the Indians on the bluffs. Fully fifty soldiers volunteered to go for the water, and a skirmish line was formed under Benteen to protect the men as they dashed down the hill in front of his position, to reach the water. Thus we succeeded in getting some canteens full, but at the expense of many of the volunteers being struck and a few killed.

The fury of the attack was now over, and to my astonishment we soon saw the Indians going in parties down the bluffs to the village. Two solutions occurred to me for this movement; either that they were going for something to eat, and to get more ammunition—as they had been throwing their arrows—or, that Custer was coming and they had been informed of it by their runners. We took occasion of this lull to fill all our vessels with water, and soon we had it by the camp kettle full. The Indians continued to withdraw, and all firing ceased, except occasional shots from the sharpshooters sent to annoy us about the water.

Very soon, about two P. M., the grass in the bottom was set on fire and was followed up by the Indians who encouraged its burning. Evidently it was being fired for a purpose, which I discovered later to be the creation of a dense smoke, behind which they were packing and preparing to move their village *tepees*. Between six and seven P. M. the Indians came out from behind the clouds of smoke and dust and we had a good view of them as they filed away in the direction of the Big Horn mountains, moving in almost perfect military order. The length of their column was fully equal to that of a large division of the Cavalry Corps of the Army of the Potomac, as I have seen it on its march.

We now thought again of Custer, of whom nothing had been heard or seen since the morning previous, when he separated his command, and we concluded that the Indians had gotten between

him and us and had driven him towards the boat at the mouth of the Little Big Horn river. That he and his entire command lay dead, only a short distance from us, down the valley, did not once occur to us as being within the realms of the possible. Afterwards we found that his massacre had been accomplished before Benteen joined me on the bluffs, at about the time of my fight with the Indians in the timber, where, had I remained five moments longer, I am convinced—as I was then—that my column would have shared the same awful fate as Custer's.

The departure of the Indians impressed me with the belief that they were only removing their village to where they could get fresh grass for their immense herds of animals, and feeling sure that they would renew the attack at daylight, I changed my position to a better one on the bluffs where we could have an unlimited supply of water and which we barricaded and fortified as we had our old one, the night before. Early the next morning, the 27th, while we were on the *qui vive* for Indians, I saw with my field-glass a heavy dust down the valley. For some time, there could be no certainty of its cause, but finally I was satisfied that it was Cavalry, and if so, it could only be Custer as it was,—from my information,—too early for either Gibbon or Terry, to reach the Little Big Horn valley.

I had, previous to this time, written a communication to General Terry, which three of my men had volunteered to take to him. I could not get my Indian scouts to venture out, and beside I had no confidence in them. I told my men to go as near the approaching column as was safe, to ascertain if they were white men or Indians. If they proved to be soldiers, my volunteers were to return at once; if Indians, they were to push on to Terry as rapidly as possible. Almost immediately we were rejoiced to see our men returning over the high bluffs, and we knew then that relief was at hand.

During my fight with the Indians on these bluffs I desire to say that I had the heartiest support from my men and officers. I have never seen their equals for bravery and magnificent fighting. But the conspicuous services of Brevet-Colonel F. W. Benteen I desire to mention especially, for if ever a soldier deserved recognition by his Government for distinguished services, he

certainly does. After DeWolf was killed the whole responsibility of the wounded rested on Dr. Porter, and I have never known a man to act a braver part than he. He worked without intermission, trying to relieve our poor sufferers, taking off an arm here, a leg there, and enduring this strain amid scenes of sickening horror for over thirty-six hours. Custer's disaster was not the defeat of the Seventh Cavalry, who held their ground for two days, after his massacre, against a savage force outnumbering ours ten to one, and had he not separated his regiment, he and his five companies would not only have escaped their awful fate, but our united force could have whipped Sitting Bull and his entire village.

I think it was about ten A. M. that General Terry rode into my lines. He knew nothing definitely of Custer, but said that he heard from Crow scouts that the Indians had whipped Custer; but this he did not believe. He assumed command and immediately sent Benteen with his company to search for Custer and very soon our brave leader's unfortunate fate was known to us all. I had, in this last fight, lost forty men and had sixty wounded and all day of the 27th I was employed in caring for my sufferers, getting them doctors, medicine and canvas to protect them from the scorching sun and by evening I had them moved down to General Terry's camp. It was then too late to move my own camp, so we were compelled to remain another night on the bluffs, but fortunately during the cool night, the odor from the dead men and animals that surrounded us on all sides, was not so terrible as it had been under the heat of the sun. On the morning of the 28th at five A. M. I proceeded with my command to Custer's battle ground, where we buried the mutilated remains of all our dead comrades. The scene was beyond description. It filled us with horror and anguish. For the dead had been mutilated in the most savage manner and they lay as they had fallen, scattered in wildest confusion over the ground, in groups of two and three, or piled in an indiscriminate mass of men and horses. They had lain thus for nearly three days under the fierce heat of the sun, exposed to swarms of flies and carrion-crows and the scene was rendered even more desolate by the deep silence which seemed to hang like a weird mystery over

our dead friends. By force of contrast, this very quietness spoke more plainly than words, of the fierce hand to hand conflict, the din and crash of battle, the demoniac war-cry of the Sioux and of how our brave and daring men fell before the overpowering strength of a savage foe.

We found General Custer on the bluffs and near him lay the bodies of eleven of his officers. As a tribute to his bravery, the Indians had not mutilated General Custer and he lay as if asleep; but all the other men had been most brutally mangled and had been stripped of their clothing. Many of their skulls had been crushed in, eyes had been torn from their sockets, hands, feet, arms, legs and noses had been wrenched off; many had their flesh cut in strips the entire length of their bodies, and there were others whose limbs were closely perforated with bullet-holes, showing that the torture had been inflicted while the wretched victims were yet alive. There were twenty-nine enlisted men missing from this field of blood and they undoubtedly had been taken prisoners and perished at the stake, while the Indians were celebrating their scalp dance on the night of the 25th, in sight of my camp.

Lying almost at Custer's feet was young Reed, a nephew of the General's, who had been visiting him at Fort Lincoln and who had pleaded to go on the campaign, where this handsome lad of nineteen met such an untimely fate. Within a few feet of the General, lay his two brothers, Boston and Tom. There was in the whole army no more popular man, than gallant Tom Custer. He was young, handsome, a prince of good fellows and full of that bravery that ever characterized the Custers. He had served with distinction during the war and had frequently before been engaged in Indian fights. As we approached him we were horrified to see that his body had been opened and his heart torn out. Thus I knew that the vengeance of Rain-in-the-Face had been at work. Several years before Rain-in-the-Face had murdered two white men of our Fort and afterwards, boasted of it in the Reservation. He was arrested and brought to trial by Tom Custer, but before the time appointed for his case arrived, the wily Indian had escaped, sending back word to Captain Tom that he would be revenged by cutting out his captor's

heart. Rain-in-the-Face kept his word, by literally tearing out the loyal heart of young Tom Custer. Near these three brothers and their boyish nephew, lay their brother-in-law, Lieutenant Calhoun, who had fallen on the skirmish line.

We found the clothing, blood stained and torn, of Lieutenants Porter and Sturgis, but neither their bodies, nor those of Dr. Lord and Lieutenant Harrington, could be found anywhere, on the battlefield and I have always thought that these gentlemen must have suffered burning at the stake with the enlisted men.

Ten years later Sitting Bull came to Washington with Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show. Buffalo Bill—Mr. Cody—had been one of my guides during my fight with the Sioux, at the Custer Massacre, and through his courtesy I was granted an interview with Sitting Bull. Through an interpreter this old Sioux warrior talked quite freely with me about his fight with Custer.

He told me that when his warriors were celebrating their great religious festival, the Sun Dance, his runners came in and announced Custer's approach, and being thus warned eleven days in advance, he at once informed himself as to our strength and then prepared to meet us.

He also assured me that Custer's division of his regiment into battalions exactly suited *his* plans, for then he retained a sufficient force to overwhelm me and sent forward an equal number to surround Custer. Sitting Bull did not personally engage in the fight, but explained that he remained in the council tent and directed the operations of his leading generals, Black Moon and Crazy Horse.

He then described the details of the terrible battle, which he declared lasted only one hour. He said Custer was taken completely by surprise, when he found himself suddenly surrounded by numbers ten times greater than his own, and that the Indians were enabled to kill our men so quickly, because they were exhausted from the long march of one night and two days, and had been so long in the saddle that they were almost overcome with fatigue, while the horses were also broken down by hard travel and no food.

Their annihilation was effected with comparatively few shots being fired for, explained Sitting Bull, "my powder was scarce

and my warriors did great and quick work with their war-clubs to save my ammunition."

I then asked Sitting Bull to tell me what had become of Lieutenants Porter, Sturgis, Harrington, Dr. Lord and the twenty-nine enlisted men, but to this he would make no reply, and his reticence more deeply convinced me that they had been burned at the stake. I then asked him why he had retreated so unexpectedly on June 26th, when he had my command surrounded on the bluffs. To which he replied, that he was "very sorry to withdraw on that occasion, for it had been his intention to continue the fight till he had killed every man in my command, but that his runners announced to him the approach of Generals Terry and Gibbon with their large force and he deemed it prudent to retreat."

We spent some very sad hours that morning of June 28th on Custer's battle-field, and many of my brawny men, who had stood their own peril stoically, were moved to tears at sight of the horror that had befallen their comrades. At every step we found signs of a desperate conflict and a fearful carnage. There lay George W. Yates, in a position that proved how dearly he had sold his life. Not far away and nearer Custer, lay all that was mortal of Colonel Myles W. Keogh. He was an officer of the Papal Guards at the beginning of the civil war, when he and six of his brother officers came to this country and entered the volunteer service. No one who knew the generous Keogh could ever forget him, and when he realized that the tide of battle was against him, I can well imagine the calm heroism with which he met his awful death. The Indians had robbed him entirely of his clothing, but about his neck was suspended an *Agnus Dei* of the Catholic Church, and although the chain that fastened it was of finest gold, it had been left untouched by the savages, which proved the Indian's well known fear of charms, or talismans.

As if to commemorate his bravery, Keogh's horse had escaped death most miraculously, the only living thing that remained of Custer's splendid column; we found the lonely animal wandering over the battlefield with his body perforated with bullets. No babe of a tender mother ever received such care as

did this old war-horse from my brawny men; we sent him to Fort Lincoln and when he was recovered, he was clothed in black velvet and led before the regiment on every occasion of "dress parade."

Custer's command was completely annihilated, not one of his men escaping, except a Crow scout,—an Indian named Curley. He says he remained with General Custer until he saw that everything was lost; then seeing a Sioux jump off his pony to kill a wounded officer, he sprang on the pony and wrapping himself in the Sioux's blanket he effected his escape. He says that Custer's command was entirely surrounded, but that the men made a brave resistance and only succumbed to overwhelming numbers.

He also stated that during the fight, the soldiers had some trouble with their carbines, for from his hiding-place he could see the men sitting down, under fire, and working with their guns—a story that had confirmation in the fact that I found knives with broken blades, lying near the dead bodies on the battlefield. Curley also tells of one soldier who seeing all was lost, tried to save himself by flight and he had reached a ravine unperceived, when he was suddenly confronted by a dozen young bucks and rather than fall into their hands and be tortured, the soldier placed his revolver to his head and fired. Many Indians, too young to fight, were ordered to stampede the horses and this was effected by the youthful bucks suddenly springing up before the horses and waving their blankets before them. The horses took fright and were driven into the Indian lines and thus they gained not only numbers of fine horses, but also a large amount of ammunition that was packed in the saddles. After the fight, Curley states the squaws, old gray-haired warriors and even children came on the battleground to plunder and mutilate the dead and to crush in their skulls with heavy stone mallets.

After leaving Custer's field I went with my command over my own battle-ground. Here we found the waistband of Sergeant Hughes' trousers very much stained with blood; he had been Custer's flag bearer, and as his was among the missing bodies we concluded that he had been brought here alive and had been given a death of torture. There lay a dead cavalryman with an

arrow sticking in his back and his skull crushed in. One ghastly find was near the center of the field where three *tepee* poles were standing upright in the ground in the form of a triangle, and on top of each were inverted camp-kettles, while below them, on the grass, were the heads of three men whom I recognized as belonging to my own command. These heads had been severed from their trunks by some very sharp instrument, as the flesh was smoothly cut, and they were placed within the triangle, facing one another, in a horrible, sightless stare. Their bodies were never found.

The plain was strewn with Indian ponies—some still struggling in their death agony—and horses that were branded “Seventh Cavalry,” while frequently we came upon great blackened spaces in the grass which showed us where the fires had been built, in which so many of our men had perished, and around which the Indians had celebrated their horrible scalp-dance on the night of the 25th.

After burying all my men here, we pushed on to the recent site of the Indian village. It was larger even than I had expected and stretched three miles and a half down the valley, bearing evidence that it had contained fully eighteen hundred *tepees*, and from twenty-five hundred to three thousand lodges. A lodge represents a fighting man—that is, all males from twenty to fifty years of age—but when the Sioux are in active war all the males who are able to bear arms are pressed into the fight. Consequently, at the battle of the Little Big Horn, the Indian strength could not have been less than forty-five hundred, possibly five thousand fighting men. And it was this overwhelming force that was splendidly equipped—even better than our Cavalry was—that General Custer attacked with his little band of less than seven hundred men.

Everywhere throughout the village were signs of the Indians' hasty departure; piles of *tepee*-poles tied together, ready for trailing; buffalo robes, cooking utensils, cavalry saddles, elk skins, spades, axes, pistols, dishes fashioned from horn and wood and implements of all kinds lay scattered about, and a number of Indian dogs that had been left behind, fled like wolves at our approach.

Two tepees, made of fine white skins, had been left standing in the village and within them lay the bodies of nine great chiefs who had fallen in the fight. These dead warriors were laid out in state, in full war paint and costume, their robes, head dresses, leggins and moccasins being richly embroidered in the beautiful Indian bead-work. During the funeral services of these braves, their war-horses had been killed and placed in circles around the tents, so that, on their ponies' spirits, the spirits of the dead warriors might ride into the "Happy Hunting-grounds."

After burying our dead, my next move was to go over Custer's trail and study it. Our great mistake from the first was that we underestimated the strength of the Indians, and it was this alone which led to such disastrous results. I am convinced that, had Custer known the great force of the Sioux he would never have divided his command. Just before he ordered me to charge the Indians, a scout came in and announced that the village was near and the Indians were *running away*.

This seemed true for we could see a great cloud of dust ahead of us with mounted Sioux moving about as if greatly excited. This information must have had weight with Custer and caused him to change his plan of attack; for instead of following me, as I was informed he would, his trail proved that he intended to support me by moving farther down the stream and attacking the village in flank, that thus our two commands might work toward each other.

But he found the distance to the ford greater than he imagined and it must have taken him fully three-quarters of an hour to reach it, although his trail proves that he rode rapidly. This gave the Sioux an opportunity to see and understand his maneuver and an hour to prepare for his attack, at the lower end of the village. I am convinced that until General Custer actually made his charge upon the village and rode into an ambuscade of fully two thousand Indians, he was not aware of their great strength.

The point from which he made his charge was cut into deep ravines swarming with hidden foe, who poured upon him a sudden, staggering fire. Could he have gained any position, where defense was possible, he might have saved himself, but that was

impossible, for he was entirely surrounded; he could not retreat and even from the very first, I assume he must have known what the result would be.

Recognizing this, I can well believe how he and his gallant men determined to sell their lives as dearly as possible and fall as only brave men can, fighting to the last.

His battlefield told its own tragic tale, revealing unerringly each detail of the awful conflict, showing where the first shot was fired, where the column divided in its retreat, where the combat waged most fiercely and where the last stand was made.

In this encounter with the hostile Sioux the Seventh Cavalry lost over seven hundred of its men and officers, many of whom were of the elite of the army. The number of Indians killed can only be approximated. I saw only eighteen dead Sioux, but Captain Ball, Second Cavalry, who made a scout of thirteen miles over their trail, says that their graves were many, along their line of march on retreat.

It was simply impossible that numbers of them should not be hit in the several charges they made so close to my lines. They made their approach through the deep gulches that led from the hill-top to the river, and were often within a few feet of my lines; but when the jealous care with which the Indians guard their dead and wounded is considered, it is not astonishing that their bodies were not found. It is probable that the number of stores left by the Sioux in their deserted village on the Little Big Horn, was to make room for their dead and wounded on their *travois*.

After much reflection I have concluded that several great blunders were the direct causes of the Custer Massacre. It is an established fact that Custer disobeyed the orders of the general in command of the expedition; for instead of waiting to meet General Gibbon and General Terry on June 26, at the Rosebud and then co-operate with them, in their concerted plan of action, as he had been directed, as soon as he struck the trail of the Indians, he followed it till he came upon the Indian village, on June 25.

Then without attempting to communicate with either Terry or Gibbon and without taking the trouble to ascertain the

strength or position of the Indians, he divided his regiment into three separate battalions—an act which nothing can justify—and dashed against the Indians, thus recklessly driving his own and my commands into an ambuscade of five thousand Sioux.

Nor did Custer take into consideration the unfed and exhausted condition of his men and horses, and he entirely ignored the fact that the Indians were on the *qui vive* and ready for attack, at noon, whereas it would have been an easy matter to surprise them very early in the morning.

The only explanation for such conduct on the part of so brilliant an officer as Custer undoubtedly was, otherwise, was his great personal ambition.

He had thought himself partially disgraced because he had been superseded in command of the expedition, by General Terry, and it was well known that he was resolved, if possible, to carry off all the honors of the campaign. For, being in command of the only cavalry regiment attached to the expedition, he knew the brunt of the fighting would necessarily fall on him, and he made no secret of his intention to cut loose from Terry, where there was fighting to do and to carry on the campaign on his own hook.

Absolutely insensible to fear, he was also reckless and daring in the extreme, and driven by an intense desire to distinguish himself by some brilliant exploit he made his headlong dash to a horrible death, without the most casual regard for the maxims of military prudence.

Even now, after the lapse of nearly ten years, the horror of Custer's battlefield is still vividly before me, and the harrowing sight of those mutilated and decomposing bodies crowning the heights on which poor Custer fell will linger in my memory till death.

Stephen Sayre

HIGH SHERIFF OF LONDON

BY WILLIAM S. PELLETREAU, A. M.

STEPHEN SAYRE, prominent in London at the time of the American Revolution, and High Sheriff of the city, was born in Southampton, Long Island, N. Y., June 12, 1736, and was the fourth in the line of descent from Thomas Sayre, who was one of the original settlers of Southampton, in 1640, being the first English settlement in the Province of New York. His parents, were John and Hannah Sayre, the former of whom was born in 1692, and died March 12, 1767. The latter died June 5, 1782, aged 89. They were the parents of ten children: Prudence, Abigail, John, Luce, Eunice, Hannah, wife of Stephen Rogers, Sarah, Matthew, Ann and Stephen, the subject of this article.

The present representatives of the family are known as "the Sayres of Flying Point."

Stephen Sayre was a graduate from the College of New Jersey, now Princeton University. He went to London before the Revolutionary War and was successful in founding a banking house in that city. He was made High Sheriff of London, and about the time of the opening of hostilities the ridiculous charge was made against him by Lord Rochford that he had engaged in a conspiracy to seize the person of the king as he went to the Parliament House, and to take possession of the Tower. He was imprisoned in the Tower for a few days, and being examined on a writ of *habeas corpus*, was dismissed as entirely innocent. He then instituted proceedings against Lord Rochford and the court awarded him one thousand pounds damages. He was on terms

of intimacy with the best society in London and highly respected. He returned to America after the war and settled at Bordentown, New Jersey. His estate was afterward the property of Joseph Bonaparte, the ex-king of Spain. Mr. Sayre married Elizabeth, daughter of Hon. William Noel, Esq., and had one son, Samuel Wilson Sayre, who went to Virginia and married a daughter of Philip Lightfoot Grymes of Brandon, Middlesex county, Va. By this marriage he had one daughter, Mary, who married Carter Braxton, and had many children, all daughters. He afterwards married Virginia Bassett, and had ten children, of whom only four arrived to manhood, and two were living in 1879, viz.: Burnwell Bassett Sayre, of Frankfort, Kentucky, and William Sayre of Charleston, South Carolina. The former had two children, Virginia and Elizabeth. The latter had one child.

Stephen Sayre and his wife occupied their estate "Point Breeze," at Bordentown, until 1816. They then removed to the residence of their son, at Brandon, Kentucky. Both died within a few hours of each other, and were buried together on the estate, one funeral service being said for both. Their son, Samuel Wilson Sayre, died at the same place in December, 1824.

Hannah Sayre, sister of Stephen Sayre, married Captain Stephen Rogers of Southampton, Long Island, N. Y. They had among other children, a daughter, Mehitabel, who married Captain Oliver Howell, whose son, Captain Charles Howell, was during his long life, a very prominent citizen of Southampton.

The portrait of Stephen Sayre is taken from a miniature formerly in possession of the family of Captain Oliver Howell.

History of the Mormon Church

BY BRIGHAM H. ROBERTS, Assistant Historian of the Church

CHAPTER LXV

THE MARCH OF THE MORMON BATTALION

IT is not intended here to give a history of the march of the Mormon Battalion, except in very general outline. The history of that march has been very worthily written by one of its members, Sergeant Daniel Tyler, of Company C, who in addition to being a member of the Battalion, also had full access to every source of information to be found in the journals of his comrades and the compilation of data on the subject made by the Historians of the Church.¹

At Fort Leavenworth the Battalion received its equipment of 100 tents, one for every 6 privates; also their arms and camp accoutrements. When drawing the checks for clothing, paid one year in advance, the paymaster expressed great surprise to find that every man was able to sign his own name to the pay roll, whereas of the Missouri Volunteers, who drew their pay but a

1. The full title of the book is "A Concise History of the Mormon Battalion in the Mexican War, 1846-7, by Sargent Daniel Tyler." Bancroft referring to it in his "History of Utah," says: "We have a most valuable book, and one that forms the leading authority of the subject. . . . And no doubt speaks the truth when he says in the preface that neither labor, pains, nor expense has been spared in the effort to make this a just and authentic history." (p. 245 note). Referring again to this book in his History of California, Bancroft quotes Tyler as saying: "The author has not aimed at sensational effect, nor made any attempt at literary embellishment, but rather endeavored to offer a plain statement of facts, and give due credit to all concerned." To which the historian of the Pacific States adds—"and the result shows that no better man could have undertaken the task. Naturally his narrative is marked by that display of faith which is characteristic of all religious writers; but this while it adds a charm, detracts in no respect from the value of the record" (Hist. Cal., Vol. v, p. 477 note). The book by Sargent Tyler as a history of the march of the Battalion is worthy of all that is here said of it; though in relating the Battalion to larger movements connected therewith, it in some respects falls below its general excellence.

short time previously, not more than one in three could sign his name to the roll.

At Fort Leavenworth Col. Allen was taken ill, and on the 12th of August ordered the Battalion to start on its western march, while he would remain a few days, recuperate and overtake them. He died on the 23rd, much lamented by the Battalion, which had become warmly attached to him.²

On his death the question of succession in command was considered. It appears that this subject was mooted at the time the companies of the Battalion were enlisted; and "Col. Allen repeatedly stated to us," says Brigham Young, "that there would be no officer in the Battalion, except himself, only from among our people; that if he fell in battle, or was sick, or disabled by any means, the command would devolve on the ranking officer, which would be the Captain of Company 'A' and 'B,' and so on according to letter."³ The Battalion appears to have had the same understanding, for at a council meeting of the officers it was agreed by them that Captain Jefferson Hunt, of Company "A," should assume command, which decision was afterwards sustained by the unanimous vote of the men. Meantime, however, Major Horton, in command at Fort Leavenworth, sent Lieutenant A. J. Smith of the regular army to take command of the Battalion. This led to a threatened complication; for an appeal to such written military authorities as were available to the officers of the Battalion, left them hopelessly divided in their conclusions. On the arrival of Lieutenant Smith a council of officers was held in which the Battalion officers demanded to know what reasons existed for their acceptance of him as commander rather than Captain Hunt. To which it was answered that the government property in possession of the Battalion was not yet receipted for, but that Lieutenant Smith could receipt for it, and being a commissioned officer of the regular army, he would be known at Washington, and his actions and orders

2. "Thus died Lieutenant Colonel Allen, of the first U. S. dragoons in the midst of a career of usefulness, under the favoring smiles of fortune, beloved while living, regretted after death by all who knew him, both among the volunteers and troops." Doniphan's Expedition—Hughes—p. 259. For Allen's Testimony as to his treatment among the Mormon camps, etc., see note 1 end of chapters.

3. President Young's letters to General Kearney, *Hist. B. Y. Ms. Bk. 2*, pp. 216-7; also *Ibid.*, p. 387.

recognized; whereas the officers of the Battalion had not yet received their commissions, and it would be doubtful if their selection of a commander would be approved. Moreover the Battalion would be in part dependent upon the supplies carried by the command of Col. Stirling Price.⁴ who was a few days' march ahead of them with the mounted volunteers of Missouri. Enemy as he was known to be of the "Mormons," might not the provisions fall into other hands? Captain Hunt called the attention of Lieut. Smith to the fact that they had about twelve or fifteen families along and that certain promises had been made by Col. Allen with reference to them, that they should be protected, and have the privilege of traveling with the Battalion to California. The Lieutenant replied that all the promises which Col. Allen had made would be faithfully carried out, and that he would do all in his power for their comfort.

After this discussion Captain Hunt submitted the matter to the officers, and all but three voted in favor of accepting Lieutenant Smith as the commander of the Battalion.⁵

With Lieutenant Smith had come Dr. George B. Sanderson, whom Col. Allen, at Leavenworth, had appointed a surgeon in the U. S. army, to serve with the Mormon Battalion.⁶ According to the historian of the Battalion, the volunteers suffered much because of the "arrogance, inefficiency and petty oppressions" of these two officers, much of which, however, is to be accounted for by the volunteers being suddenly brought under the enforced discipline of the U. S. army regulations. The heat of the season was excessive, the men were much exhausted by the strenuous labors and exposure during the journey through Iowa, earlier in the season, and as a result many of them fell a prey to the malaria prevalent in the country and at this season of the year. For this Dr. Sanderson prescribed calomel and arsenic, and as the men were averse to taking medicines, pleading even religious

4. This was Col. afterwards General Stirling Price, of Chariton county, Mo., who was connected with the mob movements against the Saints in Missouri, 1838-9. He it was who had charge of the Prophet Joseph Smith and fellow prisoners at Richmond, Mo., and under whose custody they suffered so much abuse. Documentary Hist. Ch., Vol. III., p. 208 and note; and introduction to the same, p. 2.

5. Hist. of B. Y. Ms., pp. 211-12. The movements of the Battalion are followed throughout in this compilation by the Church Historians. See also Tyler's Battalion, pp. 143-4.

6. Tyler's Battalion, p. 135.

scruples against the drugs,⁷ the matter gave rise to much unpleasantness between the Battalion physician and the command, involving therein Lieutenant Smith, who in the interest of what he no doubt regarded as discipline sided with the physician.

The Battalion's line of march, after crossing the Kaw or Kansas river, followed that of the first Missouri Dragoons, led by Col. Doniphan, *via* of Council Grove, thence some distance up the Arkansas River to a little beyond Fort Mann, where they crossed it in order to take what was known as the "Cimмерon Route"—because it crossed Cimмерon river and followed some distance up the south branch of that stream, called Cimмерon Creek. The last crossing of the Arkansas they reached on the 16th of September, and here the commanding officer insisted that the families which had so far accompanied the Battalion should be detached and sent under a guard of ten men up the Arkansas to Pueblo, which nestles at the east base of the Rocky mountain range. There were stout protests against this "division of the Battalion;" as it was held to be a violation of the "promise" that the Battalion would not be divided, also that these families should be permitted to travel with the Battalion to California. Unquestionably, however, the arrangement was in the best interests both of the families and of the Battalion, and accordingly the detachment was made up as proposed, and marched to Pueblo under command of Captain Nelson Higgins.

The main body of the command continued its march south westward to San Miguel, thence turning the point of a mountain range marched north westward to Santa Fe, where they arrived in two detachments on the 9th and 12th of October, respectively. Upon the arrival of the first detachment the Battalion was re-

7. The Church of Christ in the New Dispensation and revived the neglected and even forgotten doctrine of healing by faith—"Is any sick among you? let him call for the elders of the church; and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil, in the name of the Lord, and the prayer of faith shall save the sick and God shall raise him up." (St. James, V. 14, 15). And to this it was added, in the modern revelation reinstating the above law—"and whosoever among you are sick and have not faith to be healed, but believe, shall be nourished with all tenderness with herbs and mild food" (Doc. & Cov., sec. 42). President Young also in a letter to the Battalion, under date of August 19, 1846, had given a word of counsel in harmony with the foregoing principles: "If you are sick, live by faith, and let surgeon's medicine alone if you want to live, using only such herbs and mild food as are at your disposal." (Tyler's Battalion, p. 146). Dr. Sanderson had no sympathy with all this, of course, hence the conflict between the men and physician.

ceived by a salute of one hundred guns by order of Col. Doniphan,⁸ then in command both as civil and military head of the department of New Mexico; but making ready for what was to be his great and historic march upon Chihuahua. Col. Doniphan will be remembered as the steadfast friend of Joseph Smith and the Mormon people during their troubles in Missouri.⁹

On the arrival of the Battalion at Santa Fe it was learned that General Kearney, previous to his departure for California, had designated Col. P. St. George Cooke¹⁰ to take command of the Battalion and to follow on his trail with wagons to California. The appointment of Cooke to the command of the Battalion was another disappointment to the Mormon Volunteers, who hoped that they would have marched from Santa Fe under command of one of their own number, which would have been the result of the promise by Col. Allen. It is questionable, however, if Allen had any right to make such a promise. President Young had written a very courteous letter to General Kearney, at Santa Fe, acquainting him with the promises made by Col. Allen at the time of the enlistment of the Mormon Volunteers;¹¹ but Kearney had left Santa Fe before it arrived; and hence Cooke was appointed to the command; and in all likelihood Kearney would not have held himself bound by Allen's promises, even had he been informed of them. It appears also that the officers of the Battalion wrote President Polk in relation to the appointment of a successor to Col. Allen. "The President informed them that was not his privilege," says Brigham Young, "that the command de-

8. Col. Doniphan had come to Santa Fe with Kearney, commanding the first Missouri regiment; and after the departure of the General for California, he was left in command at Santa Fe until the arrival of Col. Sterling Price, when he was under orders to march to Chihuahua and report to General Wool; while Price was to take command at Santa Fe, (Doniphan's expedition, Connelley, 1907, pp. 250-1-3). The historian of the Mormon Battalion notes that the command of Col. Price, numbering about 1,200 men, received no such marked honor on their arrival in Santa Fe as was accorded to the Battalion. (Tyler's Battalion, p. 164).

9. See this History *ante* Chs. XXVIII-XXX.

10. The Colonel was born in Virginia in 1809. Graduated from West Point in 1827; was in the Black Hawk war in Illinois—1832, and at the Battle of Bad Ax, fought in July of that year. In 1833 he was made a Lieutenant; saw service on the plains principally in what is now Kansas, before the Mexican war; in this war he took a prominent part in the affairs at Santa Fe and marched the Mormon Battalion to California. "During the fifties, in the border troubles in Kansas he saw much service; in the Civil War he was for the Union. He was retired in 1873, having served in the army continuously for forty-six years. He died March 20, 1895." "Doniphan's Expedition," p. 264.

11. Hist. of Brigham Young *Ms.* Bk. 2, p. 384.

volved on the rank [i. e. on the ranking officer in the Battalion]; but inasmuch as they had made the request he dispatched Captain Thompson from the Jefferson barracks to take command if the Battalion wished it." (Letter of Brigham Young and Willard Richards in behalf of the Council to Elders Hyde Pratt and Taylor in England, Jan. 6th, 1847, *Mill. Star*, Vol. IX, p. 99). Captain Thompson was met *en route* to Santa Fe by the agents of the Camp of Israel returning from that place to Council Bluffs with the checks paid to the Battalion. Captain Thompson informed them of his appointment and they encouraged him to go on as they were favorably impressed with the Captain, and were of opinion that the Battalion would be benefited by the change, "and the choice would be with the Battalion and not with the officers alone." (*Ibid*, also Hist. of Brigham Young, *Ms. Bk. 2*, p. 424). Evidently Capt. Thompson did not reach Santa Fe until after the departure of the Battalion, and nothing came of his appointment.

At a council of officers of the Battalion with Colonels Doniphan and Cooke, these two officers "proffered to send all the sick, together with the remaining women and children belonging to the Battalion, to Pueblo to winter, with an escort, and with the privilege in the spring of intersecting the main body of the Church, *and going westward with them at government expense*, which was considered a fair and liberal proposal, as neither the sick, nor the women and children could stand the fatigue and exposures of the prospective journey."¹²

Accordingly eighty-six men were invalided,¹³ and under two officers (Captain Brown and Lieutenant Luddington), were detached from the main body of the command, and together with all the laundresses and all the wives of members of the Battalion

12. Hist. of B. Y. Ms. Bk. 2, p. 387; Tyler fails to relate this consultation of officers, and these provisions so much to the advantage of the Battalion.

13. During the inspection to designate the invalids to be marched to Pueblo (October 15th), Dr. Sanderson after naming about thirty "discharged them without pay or means to procure conveyance to the states" (Hist. of B. Y. Ms. Bk. 2, p. 389); whereupon the matter being reported to Col. Doniphan, that officer "went to Col. Cooke and countermanded the order, saying General Kearney would never discharge a man under such circumstances, and ordered the men to be sent to Pueblo with the laundresses and others ordered there, and to draw pay for the time of their enlistment. He said if the President of the U. S. wished to discharge them he might when he learned their situation (Hist. of B. Y. Ms. Bk. 2, pp. 391-2).

(except the wives of five of the officers, who were reluctantly allowed to accompany the march—but with the understanding that they would furnish their own transportation) were conducted to Pueblo, a distance of nearly two hundred miles where they arrived on the 17th of November and went into winter quarters near the encampment of Captain Higgins, who had preceded them to that point.

Speaking of the Battalion in general, and particularly of its unfitness to undertake a march from Santa Fe to California, Col. Cooke says:

“Everything conspired to discourage the extraordinary undertaking of marching this Battalion eleven hundred miles, for the much greater part through an unknown wilderness, without road or trail, and with a wagon train.

“It was enlisted too much by families; some were too old and feeble, and some too young; it was embarrassed by many women; it was undisciplined; it was much worn by traveling on foot, and marching from Nauvoo, Illinois; their clothing was very scant; there was no money to pay them, or clothing to issue; their mules were utterly broken down; the quartermaster department was without funds, and its credit bad; and animals were scarce. Those procured were very inferior, and were deteriorating every hour for lack of forage or grazing.”¹⁴ * * *

“By special arrangement and consent, the Battalion was paid in checks—not very available at Santa Fe.

“With every effort, the quartermaster could only undertake to furnish rations for sixty days; and, in fact, full rations, of only flour, sugar, coffee and salt; salt pork only for thirty days, and soap for twenty. To venture without pack-saddles would be grossly imprudent, and so that burden was added.”¹⁵

The Battalion began its march from Santa Fe on the 19th of

14. Later, Col. Cooke again complains of his teams, in the following passage: “I have brought road tools and have determined to take through my wagons; but the experiment is not a fair one, as the mules are broken down at the outset. The only good ones, about twenty, which I bought near Albuquerque, were taken for the express for Fremont’s mail—the General’s order requiring the twenty-one best in Santa Fe.” (Cooke’s Conquest, p. 93). To this Sargent Tyler adds: “It is but justice to the Col. to state here that with few exceptions, the mule and ox teams used from Santa Fe to California were the same worn out and broken down animals that we had driven all the way from Council Bluffs and Fort Leavenworth; indeed, some of them had been driven all the way from Nauvoo, the same season.” (Tyler’s Battalion, p. 175).

15. Conquest of New Mexico and California. An Historical and Personal Narrative by P. St. George Cooke, G. P. Putnam and Sons, N. Y. 1878: pp. 91-2.

October, Col. Cooke in command. Lieutenant A. J. Smith,¹⁶ who had led the Battalion to Santa Fe, became the acting commissary of subsistence, and Lieutenant George Stoneman, acting quartermaster, instead of Lieutenant Samuel E. Gully, who had resigned.¹⁷ Both Smith and Stoneman were of the regular army. Dr. Sanderson was continued as Physician-surgeon to the command. The guides to the expedition were Weaver, Charbonneau, and Leroux, and Stephen C. Foster, called "Dr." in all the narratives, was employed as interpreter.

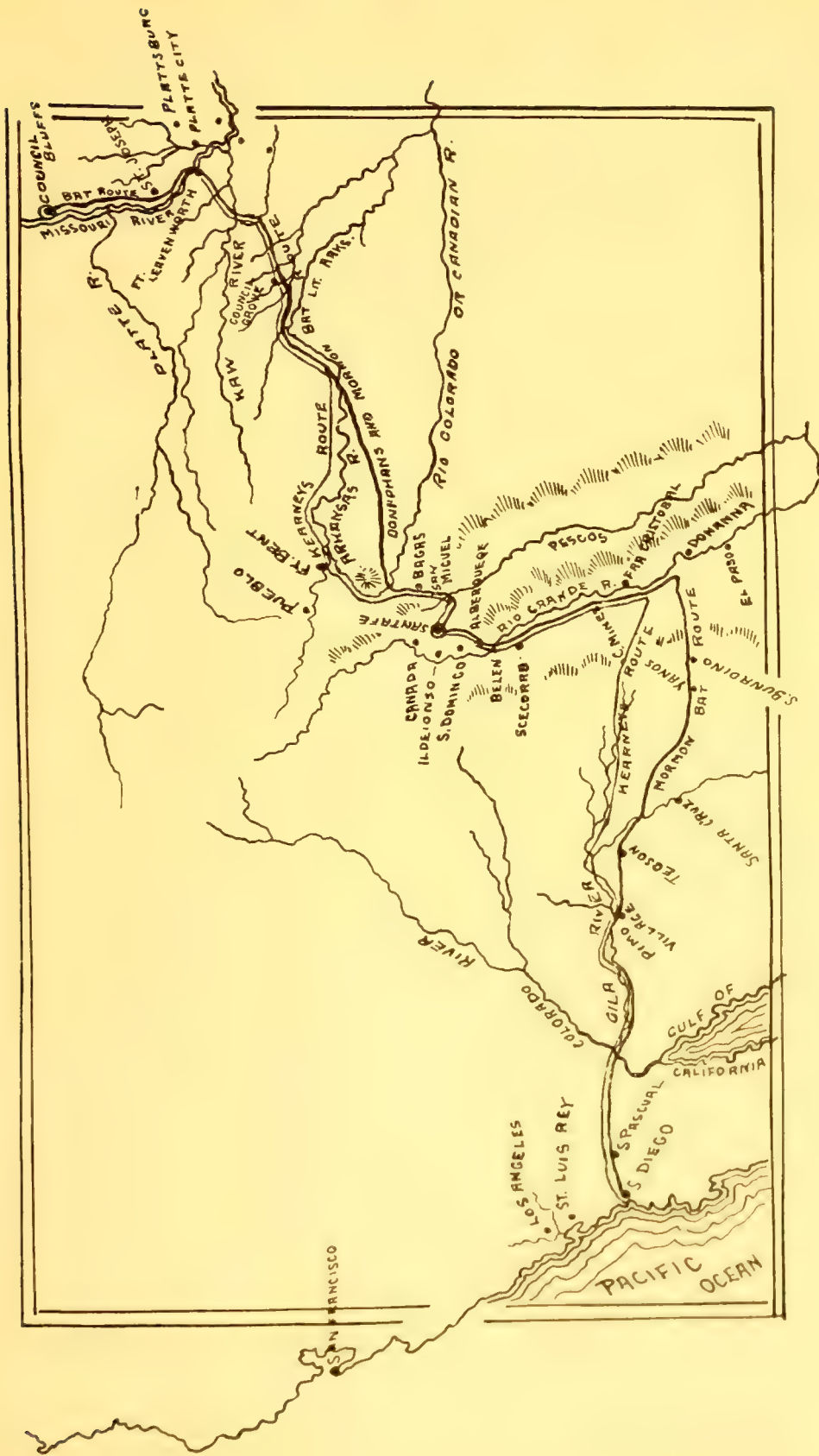
The course of march for some time was southward down the valley of the Rio Grande. On the 10th of November, fifty-five more men were declared physically unable through sickness to continue the march, and accordingly were detached, and under Lieutenant W. W. Willis were ordered back to Pueblo to join the other detachments that had been sent there. After much suffering from the hardships of the journey—weak teams, scant supplies of food, illy clad, general sickness among the men, the fall of December snows in the mountain ranges north of Santa Fe, excessive cold, and several deaths occurring, this detachment finally arrived at Pueblo between the 20th and 24th of December, in a most pitiable condition; but they were warmly received by members of the Battalion already quartered there,¹⁸ numbering, now, all told, about one hundred and fifty.

As the command in its southward movement down the Rio Grande reached the point where General Kearney left the valley for a direct march westward—228 miles south of Santa Fe—and where, too, Kearney had abandoned his wagons; the guides declared it impossible to follow the Gila route proper with the wagons; and hence a circuit to the south through Sonora *via* of Janos and Fronteras was proposed and determined upon at a council of officers.

16. Cooke states that A. J. Smith afterwards "became a very distinguished Major General," *Conquest of New Mexico and California*, p. 90, and note.

17. Gully had taken sides with the men in their controversies with the commanding officer, Dr. Sanderson, and Adjutant, Geo. P. Dykes; and as he had incurred the displeasure of the non-Mormon officers, it was thought best that he resign. He returned to Council Bluffs this same fall, and started for Salt Lake Valley the next year, but died en route. (Tyler's Battalion, p. 175).

18. See Tyler's Battalion Ch. XX. Lieutenant Willis gives the date of arrival 24th of December, Captains Brown and Higgins stationed at Pueblo, give the 20th. The latter kept a daily journal.



Route of the Mormon Battalion from Council Bluffs, Iowa, to San Diego, California—1846

In the first stages of this changed course, however, the road bore to the southeast, and this was not to the liking of either the Battalion or its commander. It was not to the liking of the latter, because it possibly would carry his command within hailing distance of General Wool, who might incorporate it in the "Army of the Centre,"—as that General's division of the invading forces against Mexico was called—to operate against Chiluahua. In that event, as the Colonel himself expressed it, he would lose his trip to California. To bear to the southeast was not to the liking of the Battalion, as that was not in the direction of California, but one which might lead them within the sphere of the "Army of direction of the road, then to the southwest, then west, saying: the Centre," and they would find themselves discharged in Old Mexico instead of California, at the end of their term of enlistment. The entire command was thrown into gloom by this change in the line of march: "All of our hopes, conversation and songs," says the historian of the Battalion, "were centered on California. Somewhere on that broad domain we expected to join our families and friends."¹⁹

In this crisis of the Battalion's experience, giving the date as the 20th of November, Sergeant Tyler records the following:

"In this critical moment, Brother David Pettegrew, better known as Father Pettegrew, owing to his silver locks and fatherly counsels, and Brother Levi W. Hancock, went from tent to tent, and in a low tone of voice counseled the men to pray to the Lord to change the Colonel's mind. Then they invited a few to accompany them to a secret place where they could offer up their petitions and not be seen by those in camp. That night over three hundred fervent prayers ascended to the throne of grace for that one favor. * * *

"On the morning of the 21st, the command resumed its journey, marching in a southern direction for about two miles, when it was found that the road began to bear southeast instead of southwest, as stated by the guides. The Colonel looked in the 'I don't want to get under General Wool, and lose my trip to California.' He arose in his saddle and ordered a halt. He then said with firmness: 'This is not my course. I was ordered

19. Tyler's Battalion, p. 206.

to California, and,' he added with an oath, 'I will go there or die in the attempt!' Then turning to the bugler, he said, 'Blow the right.'

"At this juncture Father Pettegrew involuntarily exclaimed, '*God bless the Colonel!*' The Colonel's head turned and his keen, penetrating eyes glanced around to discern whence the voice came, and then his grave, stern face, for once, softened and showed signs of satisfaction."²⁰

Turning westward at this point, 32° 41' north latitude, and but a short distance north of the present city of El Paso, the course of march was westward to San Bunadino rancho, thence to Yanos and so to the San Pedro river where the command arrived on the 9th of December. Here occurred the only fighting the Battalion engaged in on its expedition, a battle with wild bulls. This section of the country seemed to abound with herds of wild cattle, and the males among them were much more bold and ferocious than among the buffalos. Attracted by curiosity these herds gathered along the line of march, alternately scampering away and approaching; and some of the bolder ones, as if in resentment of the Battalion's invasion, attacked the column. Several mules were gored to death by them, both in the teams and among the pack animals; and Colonel Cooke records how some of the wagons were thrown about by the mad charge of these furious beasts. The troops had been ordered to march with guns unloaded, but in the presence of such a danger the men loaded their muskets without waiting for an order to that effect, and when attacked would fire upon the charging beasts, so that the rattle of musketry was for once heard all along the line. The bulls were very tenacious of life, however, and more desperate and dangerous when wounded than before.²¹ The

20. Tyler's Battalion, pp. 206-7.

21. Tyler speaks of one fight between Dr. William Spencer and a bull which was shot five times, twice through the lungs, twice through the heart, and once through the head, and yet would alternately rise and fall and rush upon the Doctor until a sixth ball between the eyes, and near the curl of the pate, proved fatal. (Tyler's Battalion, pp. 219, 220). Colonel Cooke confirms Tyler's narrative and adds: "I have seen the heart" (Cooke's Conquest, pp. 145-6). Cooke also relates the feat of Corporal Frost in bringing down one of these ferocious animals: "I was very near Corporal Frost, when an immense coal-black bull came charging upon us, a hundred yards distant. Frost aimed his musket, a flint-lock, very deliberately, and only fired when the beast was within six paces; it fell headlong, almost at our feet." (Cooke's Conquest, pp. 145-6). Tyler adds: "The Corporal was on

number of the wild bovine enemy killed in the engagement is variously reported as from twenty to sixty, and by one writer as high as eighty-one.

Leaving the San Pedro the command marched northeasterly to Tucson, a Mexican town of between four and five hundred inhabitants. It was garrisoned at the time by a Mexican force two hundred strong, according to Cooke, commanded by Captain Comaduran, who was under order from the Governor of Sanora, Don Mannuel Gandara, not to allow an armed force to pass through the town without resistance. The guides furnished the Battalion by General Kearney, however, declared it was for the command either to march through Tucson, or make a detour which would mean a hundred miles out of the way over a trackless wilderness and mountains. Cooke determined to march through Tucson. Foster, the interpreter, went into the town in advance and was put under guard; a Corporal, son of the Mexican commander, with three Mexican soldiers was met by the command and questioned about Foster, and on admitting that he was under guard, the Corporal and his escort were immediately placed under arrest by Cooke, to be held as hostages for the safety of the interpreter. One Mexican, however, was released, who with two of the Battalion guides carried a note demanding Foster's release. This was complied with, and about midnight Foster was brought to camp, attended by two officers authorized "to make a special armistice." Cooke proposed that the Mexican command deliver up a few arms as a guarantee of surrender, and a token that the inhabitants of Tucson would not fight against the United States unless they were exchanged as prisoners of war; the Mexican prisoners were also released.²² These events occurred while the Battalion was about sixteen miles from Tucson.

foot, while, of course, the Colonel and staff were mounted. On the first appearance of the bull, the Colonel, with his usual firm manner of speech, ordered the Corporal to load his gun, supposing, of course, that he had observed the previous order of prohibition. To this command he (the Corporal) paid no attention. Thinking him either stupefied or, dumbfounded, with much warmth and a foul epithet he next ordered him to run, but this mandate was as little heeded as the other. Doubtless Cooke thought one man's 'ignorance with some stubbornness' was about to receive a terrible retribution, but when he saw the monster lifeless at his feet, through the well-directed aim of the brave and fearless Corporal, how changed must have been his feelings!" (Tyler's Battalion, p. 219).

22. Cooke's Conquest, p. 149.

The next day, when on the march, Cooke received a message from Captain Comaduru declining the proposition to surrender. The Battalion were ordered to load their guns with ball. Before reaching the town, however, another message was received saying that the garrison had retreated taking two brass cannons and forcing most of the inhabitants to accompany them. About a dozen armed Mexicans met the American force to escort them into the town. Before passing through the gates, the commander of the Battalion addressed the soldiers saying, in effect, that the garrison and citizens had fled leaving their property behind; but they had not come to make war upon Sonora, and there must be no interference with the private property of the citizens.²³ The Battalion marched through Tucson and went into camp about half a mile beyond on a small stream.

Before leaving the vicinity Cooke with a party of fifty reconnoitered the country above the town towards a village and church, where, it was supposed, the garrison and main body of the people had taken refuge. As the nature of the country, however, afforded excellent opportunities for ambush, if the Mexicans should choose to make resistance, the company of fifty returned. However the movement was not without its value since, according to Col. Cooke, and as was afterwards ascertained, it caused the Mexicans who had fled to the aforesaid village to still further retreat, and the reinforcements which had come from the presidios of Fronteras, Santa Cruz and Tubac, to return to their posts.²⁴

23. Previous to this the Colonel had issued the following order:

"Head Quarters Mormon Battalion,
"Camp on the San Pedro,
"December 13th, 1846.

"Thus far on our course we have followed the guides furnished us by the General (Kearney). These guides now point to Tucson, a garrison town, as our road, and assert that any other course is a hundred miles out of the way and over a trackless wilderness of mountains, rivers and hills. We will march, then, to Tucson. We came not to make war on Sonora, and less still to destroy an important outpost of defense against Indians; but we will take the straight road before us, and overcome all resistance. But shall I remind you that the American soldier ever shows justice and kindness to the unarmed and unresisting? The property of individuals you will hold sacred. The people of Sonora are not our enemies.

"By order of

"Lieut. Col. Cooke,
"(Signed) P. C. Merrill,
"Adjutant."

24. See Cooke's Conquest, p. 151; also Tyler's Battalion, pp. 228, 230.

Renewing its journey the command in the course of three days, by hard marching, reached the Gila river and intersected the route followed by General Kearney, 474 miles from the point at which they left it in the valley of the Rio Grande.²⁵

The Battalion was now among the Pima and Maricopia Indian villages, and found them a rather superior people inhabiting a fertile country. While passing through their settlements Col. Cooke took occasion to suggest to Captain Jefferson Hunt that this might be a good place for the settlement of the exiled Mormons, to which Hunt assented and asked permission to talk to the chief on the subject, and the Colonel approved of his doing so.²⁶ Tyler says that "a proposition for the settlement of the Saints among them was favorably received by the Indians."²⁷ This fertile region was not destined to receive the exiled Saints however, but strangely enough, both in the valley of the San Pedro and of the Gila, and upon the lands formerly occupied by the Pima and Maricopia Indians, through which the Battalion Marched, many and populous prosperous settlements have been founded by the Church of the Latter-day Saints, grouped now into two flourishing stakes of Zion—the outcome, doubtless, of this march of the Battalion through that region, and the knowledge they obtained of the desirability of that country for habitation.²⁸

Following more or less the windings of the Gila, the way made

25. The Southern Pacific Railroad traverses practically the route of the Battalion. Colonel Cooke made a map of this part of the Battalion's journey, and referring to it, in connection with the Southern Pacific Railroad, he says: "A new administration, in which Southern interests prevailed, with the great problem of the practicability and best location of a Pacific Railroad under investigation, had the map of this wagon route before them with its continuance to the west, and perceived that it gave exactly the solution of its unknown element, that a southern route would avoid both the Rocky Mountains and Sierra Nevada, with their snows, and would meet no obstacle in this great interval. The new 'Gadsden Treaty' was the result; it was signed, December 30, 1853." (*Conquest of New Mexico and California*—Cooke—p. 159).

26. Cooke's *Conquest*, p. 161.

27. Tyler's *Battalion*, p. 236.

28. The stakes of Zion which occupy the San Pedro valley, and the Gila valley, eastward of the mouth of the San Pedro, are comprised of the following organized wards: Bisbee, Bryce, Central, Eden, Franklin, Graham, Hubbard, Layton, Lebanon, Matthews, Pima, San Pedro, St. David, and Thatcher. Branches: Artesia Clifton, and Douglas. Maricopa stake, further down the Gila, in the vicinity of Phoenix, is comprised of the following wards: Lehi, Mesa, Pine and Papago. The two stakes now (1912), have a population of between six and seven thousand Latter-day Saints.

difficult from alternating stretches of deep sand and miry clay, the command arrived at the mouth of that river on the 8th of January, and on the 9th crossed the Colorado, into which it empties, and continued the march under great difficulties—teams weak and worn out, men on very scant rations and constantly being reduced, and all but naked withal, suffering alternately from heat and cold, “from a tropical sun in the day time to a December cold atmosphere at night—* * * very hurtful and weakening both to man and beast.”²⁹ At last, however, the coast range of mountains was crossed and the Battalion descended the Pacific slope to the town of San Diego, and went into encampment on the 29th of January, 1847. “Our camp,” says Sergeant Tyler, “was located a mile below the Catholic mission and some four or five miles from the seaport town of San Diego, where General Kearney was quartered. The Colonel rode down in the evening and reported to the General.”³⁰

On the 30th of January the following Bulletin was written by the Lieutenant-Colonel Commander, though not read to the Battalion until the 4th of February. It tells in studied military brevity the achievements and faithfulness of the Battalion; its service to the country and is an imperishable monument in the literature of the nation and of the Church, which this Battalion represented in the splendid march from the Missouri to the Pacific Ocean—a march of infantry of more than two thousand miles. Read the epitome of the History of the march of the Battalion in the Bulletin of its commander:

“Head Quarters Mormon Battalion,
Mission of San Diego,
January 30, 1847.

(Orders No. 1).

“The Lieutenant-Colonel commanding, congratulates the Battalion on their safe arrival on the shore of the Pacific Ocean, and the conclusion of their march of over two thousand miles.

“History may be searched in vain for an equal march of infantry. Half of it has been through a wilderness, where nothing but savages and wild beasts are found, or deserts where, for want of water, there is no living creature. There, with almost

29. Tyler's Battalion, p. 244.

30. Tyler's Battalion, p. 254.

hopeless labor, we have dug deep wells, which the future traveler will enjoy. Without a guide who had traversed them we have ventured into trackless table-lands where water was not found for several marches. With crowbar and pick and axe in hand, we have worked our way over mountains, which seemed to defy aught save the wild goat, and hewed a pass through a chasm of living rock more narrow than our wagons. To bring these first wagons to the Pacific, we have preserved the strength of our mules by herding them over large tracts, which you have laboriously guarded without loss. The garrison of four presidios of Sonora concentrated within the walls of Tucson, gave us no pause. We drove them out, with their artillery, but our intercourse with the citizens was unmarked by a single act of injustice. Thus, marching half naked and half fed, and living upon wild animals, we have discovered and made a road of great value to our country.

"Arrived at the first settlements of California, after a single day's rest, you cheerfully turned off from the route to this point of promised repose, to enter upon a campaign, and meet, as we supposed, the approach of an enemy; and this too, without even salt to season your sole subsistence of fresh meat.

"Lieutenants A. J. Smith and George Stoneman, of the First Dragoons, have shared and given invaluable aid in all these labors.

"Thus volunteers, you have exhibited some high and essential qualities of veterans. But much remains undone. Soon, you will turn your attention to the drill, to system and order, to forms also, which are all necessary to the soldier.

"By order

"Lieut. Colonel P. St. George Cooke.

"P. C. Merrill, Adjutant."³¹

Small wonder, though the reading of this Bulletin to the Battalion was unaccountably delayed, that the Mormon volunteers received this official announcement of their achievements with cheers.³²

NOTE 1: COL. ALLEN ON HIS TREATMENT WHILE IN THE CAMPS OF ISRAEL—CHARACTER OF MORMON PEOPLE:

31. Cooke's Conquest, p. 197. Subsequently, viz, on the 9th of May, on the occasion of General Kearney visiting the Battalion at Los Angeles, he is reported to have said that history would be searched in vain for an infantry march equal to the Battalion's, and added: "Bonaparte crossed the Alps, but these men have crossed a continent." Tyler's Battalion, p. 282.

32. Cooke gives the following introduction to the above Bulletin: "The Battalion seemed to have deserved and cheered heartily the following order." Cooke's Conquest, p. 196.

“Headquarters, Mormon Battalion,

“Council Bluffs, July 20th, 1846.

“Dear Sir—Colonel Kane has informed me of your intended departure for the east, and of your desire that I would express to you my opinion concerning the character of the Mormon people, as derived from my observation among them on my present duties.

“I have been intimately associated with this people since the 26th ult., as my duty required in raising the battalion of volunteers now under my command.

“In the hurry of business connected with my immediate march from this place I have only time to say, that in all of my intercourse with the Mormons I have found them civil, polite and honest as a people. There appears to be much intelligence among them, and particularly with their principal men or leaders, to whom I feel much indebted for their active and zealous exertions to raise the volunteer force that I was authorized to ask for, for the service of the United States.

“The President of the Council, Mr. Brigham Young, is entitled to my particular thanks, all of this people are entirely patriotic and they have come not only with cheerfulness, but under circumstances of great difficulty to them, to enlist themselves in the services of their country.

“In my official report to the War Department, which I shall make on my arrival at Fort Leavenworth, I will speak more fully of the community of the Mormon people or Mormon church, and will here say to you that I think them as a community and in their circumstances deserving of a high consideration from our government.

“Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

“J. Allen,

To J. C. Little, Esq.

“Lieutenant. Col. Commanding Mormon Battalion.” (Hist. B. Y. Ms. Bk. 2, pp. 96-7).

CHAPTER LXVI

WINNING GOLDEN OPINIONS—THE PART OF THE MORMONS IN THE DISCOVERY OF GOLD—DUTY ABOVE MAMMON—EFFORTS TO RAISE A SECOND MORMON BATTALION

The Battalion had arrived too late to participate in the Conquest of California, but was useful in the performance of garrison duty at San Diego, San Luis Rey and Los Angeles; and in



STEPHEN SAYRE
High Sheriff of London

connection, of course, with the New York volunteers, who arrived *via* of Cape Horn in March, and the constantly increasing naval forces along the coast, assisted in making secure the conquests achieved.¹

While in garrison many members of the Battalion obtained permission to accept employment of the inhabitants of the towns at which they were stationed, such as making adobes, digging wells, building houses, and making bricks. The first bricks in San Diego, and for matter of that in California, were made and burned by members of Mormon Battalion.² The Battalion no less than other divisions of the camps of modern Israel kept up the reputation of the Mormon people for industry and frugality. They won golden opinions among the Californians for industry, honesty, and sobriety, notwithstanding the efforts of Missourians among Fremont's command to prejudice the people against them.⁴

As the expiration of the term of the Battalion's enlistment drew near, strong efforts were made for their re-enlistment by General Kearney, before departing for the east in May;⁵ by Col.

1. See note I. End of chapter.

2. See ante, this History, ch. LXII.

3. Tyler's Battalion, p. 286-7.

4. "Many of the latter [Fremont's troops] immigrants from the western states, were hostile and circulated among the Californians damaging reports on Mormon character; but it is probable that this enmity, especially that of Fremont himself, and the rumored threats to attack the camp and wipe the Saints 'out of existence,' were seen through the glasses of prejudice. It is true that the Californians had formed in advance a very unfavorable opinion of the Mormons, but equally true that the latter by their conduct succeeded in almost entirely removing this feeling. In morals and general deportment they were far superior to other troops in the province, being largely under the control of their religious teachers. Church meetings were held often, and sermons were preached by Captain Hunt, the spiritual guardians Pettegrew and Hancock, or by Hyde, Tyler and others." (Bancroft's Hist. Cal., Vol. V, p. 488). Tyler refers to the vindictiveness of the men of Fremont's command and reports that the Mexicans were told that cannibalism was common among the Mormons. (Hist. Battalion, p. 276).

5. "On the 4th of May, an order was read from Col. Cooke, giving the Battalion the privilege of being discharged on condition of being re-enlisted for three years as U. S. Dragons; but under the circumstances the generous proposition could not consistently be accepted." (Tyler's Battalion, p. 280). General Kearney addressed the Battalion on the 10th of May; "He sympathized with us in the unsettled condition of our people, but thought, as their final destination was not definitely settled, [in this of course his information was defective] we had better re-enlist for another year, by which time the war would doubtless be ended, and our families settled in some permanent location. In conclusion he said he would take pleasure in representing our patriotism to the President, and in the halls of congress, and give us the justice our praiseworthy conduct had merited." (Tyler's Battalion, pp. 282-3).

Jonathan D. Stevenson, of the New York Volunteers, who succeeded Col. Cooke in command of the Battalion, by being given command of the southern district of California, Cooke having accompanied Gen. Kearney on his return to the east. Stevenson's efforts for the Battalion's re-enlistment were prompted by Governor Mason's instructions.⁶

Stevenson represented among the advantages of the Battalion's re-enlistment, the privilege of choosing their own officers, "with the fact that the Mormon Commander would be the third in rank among the officers of California, and might become first."⁷ The close of Stevenson's speech was most unfortunate, and gave offense. It is reported as follows: "Your patriotism and obedience to your officers have done much towards removing the prejudice of the government and the community at large, and I am satisfied that another year's service would place you on a level with other communities!"⁸ Very properly the remark was resented as an insult.⁹

The Battalion's officers quite generally favored re-enlistment, as the best means of aiding the work of the Lord and their absent families; but not so the men, who, under the leadership of Father Pettegrew, William Hyde, and Sargent Tyler, were in favor of returning to their families and the body of the Church.

The result was that a company of eighty-one, officers and men, re-enlisted for six months, and performed garrison service at San Diego; while the rest of the Battalion, on being mustered out of service, in July, began their march for the Great Basin of the Rocky Mountains, going *via*, of Sutter's Fort, at the juncture of the American and Sacramento rivers, northeastward from San Francisco about seventy-five miles, and now the site of Sacramento, capital of the state. About one-half of these returning volunteers arrived in Salt Lake val-

6. Col. Richard B. Mason had been appointed Governor and Commander-in-Chief of U. S. forces in California by order of the President. (Bancroft's Hist. Cal. Vol. V., p. 583). That Stevenson acted under Governor Mason's instruction, see Bancroft's Hist. Cal., Vol. V., p. 490. Also History of the Church-Cannon-Juvenile Instructor, Vol. XIX, p. 133.

7. *Ibid.*

8. Bancroft's Hist. Cal., Vol. V., p. 491.

9. Tyler's Battalion, p. 294.

ley on the first of October. The reason for not more than one-half of this number reaching Salt Lake valley that fall—they numbered about 240 when leaving Los Angeles—arose from the following circumstances: Arriving at Sutter's Fort, and finding opportunity for employment at good wages there, a number desired to take advantage of that opportunity, and accordingly, with the consent and approval of their associates, "a few" remained. On the sixth of September, when the returning volunteers were leaving the basin of Lake Tahoe, they met Samuel Brannan, leader of the Brooklyn colony, returning to California from his visit to Brigham Young. He gave them a doleful account of the semi-desert region where the Church was settling, and predicted the final removal of the Saints to California. He urged all, except those known to have families in Salt Lake valley, to return to California and work until spring; but without avail. The next day, however, the volunteers met Captain James Brown, ranking officer of the Pueblo detachment of the Battalion, and a small party enroute for California. He brought with him letters from many of the families of the Battalion; also an epistle from the Twelve Apostles advising those who had no means of subsistence to remain in California and labor during the winter, and make their way to Salt Lake valley in the spring, bringing their earnings with them. About one-half of the volunteers accepted this suggestion and returned to Sutter's Fort where they found employment.¹⁰

10. I am following Tyler in the matter of the number that returned; his language is—"probably over half of the company returned, in accordance with the instructions from the Twelve, to spend the winter in California" (Tyler's Battalion, p. 316). The number as given by others is forty. But if the number leaving Los Angeles for Salt Lake valley in July was 240, as stated by Bancroft (Hist. Cal., Vol. V., p. 493), and only "a few" from this number remained at Sutter's Fort, when the main body resumed its journey over the mountains, and one-half of these returned to Sutter's Fort, the number returning must have been more than forty. The distribution of the Battalion roughly stated, and that is all that may be done, is as follows: 150 in various detachments were sent to winter at Pueblo; 81 re-enlisted at Los Angeles, in July, 1847 (Tylers, p. 326-7); 3 from each of the companies were detailed to accompany General Kearney to Fort Leavenworth (Tyler's Bat., p. 283 of Bancroft Hist. of Cal., Vol. V., p. 489); 3 were discharged or resigned, and 7 died. The following note from Bancroft's Hist. Cal. (Vol. V., p. 477), shows that some slight discrepancies exist as to the exact numbers of the Battalion: "An official report, U. S. Govt. Doc., 31st Cong., 1st Sess., H. Ex. Doc., 24, p. 228, gives the number mustered in as 15 officers and 468 men. There is apparently some error here, to say nothing of the fact that about 150 men did not reach California. Tyler gives the names of 506 men, including officers and the men left behind [516 men, and officers, see list of officers and men, Mor-

The rest of the company continued their journey to Salt Lake valley where they arrived at the time already stated.

Captain Brown brought with him the muster rolls of the Pueblo detachment of the Battalion, and also had a power of attorney from all its members to draw their pay. The Pueblo detachment had drawn its pay per Captain Brown up to May at Santa Fe, at which time he received orders to resume the march to California, *via* of Fort Laramie. The detachment arrived in Salt Lake valley on the 27th of July, where they were disbanded, since the term of their enlistment had expired on the 16th of that month.¹¹ On the presentation of the claims for pay of this detachment to Governor Mason of California, they were allowed. "Paymaster Rich," says the Governor, "paid to Captain Brown the money due to the (Pueblo) detachment up to that date, according to the rank they bore upon the muster rolls upon which the Battalion had been mustered out of the service."¹²

One thing more remains to be mentioned in connection with the Mormon Battalion—the part its discharged members took in the discovery of gold in California. As already stated a number of the Mormon Battalion members found employment at Sutter's Fort, with Mr. John Sutter himself, in fact, who was a rather enterprising Swiss; one "who had houses and land, flocks and herds, mills and machinery." "He counted his skilled artisans by the score," says the account I am following, "and his savage retainers by the hundred. He was, moreover, a man of progress."¹³ Among his pressing needs and the needs of the country at large, was a saw mill. The flour mills he then had in course of construction needed timbers, and there would be large profit in shipping lumber to San Francisco. Accordingly his foreman,

mon Battalion, pp. 118-125]. Kane says there were 520 men. Other authorities speak of the number as about 500." In addition to these there were about fifteen families that expected to leave with the Battalion, and a number of wives and children belonging to members of the command (see Tyler's Battalion, pp. 125-6). Which justified the remark of Col. Cooke, that it was enlisted too much by families for effective soldiering. See *ante* this chapter.

11. Tyler's Battalion, Chs. XVI, XVII.

12. This circumstance is noted in Governor Mason's report of October 7th, 1846, *Cal. and New Mexico Messages and Documents 1850*, p. 355; quoted by Bancroft, *Hist. Cal.*, Vol. V., p. 494 and note 25.

13. Bancroft *Hist. Cal.*, Vol. VI., p. 26.

a Mr. James William Marshall, a native of New Jersey, and then about thirty-three years of age, and a carpenter, took in hand the task of building a saw mill. After considerable exploration the requisite combination of water power, timber, and the possibility of easy access to the Fort, was found in the Coloma valley, on the south fork of the American River, and about forty-five miles due east of the Fort.

In the latter part of August, or the first of September, Mr. Marshall with a party of about a dozen white men, nine of whom were discharged members of the Mormon Battalion,¹⁴ and about as many Indians, went to Coloma valley and began the construction of the proposed mill. A brush dam was built in the river and a mill race constructed along a dry channel, to economize labor. The largest stones were thrown out of this and during the night the water would be turned in to carry off the dirt and sand. On the 24th of January "while sauntering along the tail race inspecting the work, Mr. Marshall noticed yellow particles mingled with the excavated earth, which had been washed by late rains."¹⁵ Sending an Indian to his cabin for a tin plate Marshall washed out some of the soil and obtained a small quantity of yellow metal. During the evening he remarked to his associates of the camp that he believed he had found gold, which was received with some doubts, the expressions being, "I reckon not;" and, "no such luck!" But Henry W. Bigler, one of the Battalion members, made the following entry in his journal that day:

"Monday 24 [January]: This day some kind of metal was found in the tail race that looks like gold."

"Jan. 30th: Clear, and has been all the last week. Our metal has been tried and proves to be gold. It is thought to be rich. We have picked up more than a hundred dollars worth this week."

14. Their names given by Bancroft are as follows—I add the given names: Henry W. Bigler, Alexander Stephens, James S. Brown, James Barger, William Johnson, Azariah Smith, William Ira Willis, Sidney Willis, [Brothers] William Kountze (History of California, Vol. VI., p. 31, note). The brothers Willis and Kountz returned September to work on Sutter's flour mill, so were not in the Coloma valley at the time of the gold discovery. (Hist. Cal., Vol. V., p. 31, note).

15. Bancroft Hist. Cal., Vol. VI., p. 33.

That is the historical record of the event that turned the eyes of the civilized world to California. Which within a year started that mighty wave of western emigration from all parts of the United States, many parts of Europe, and even from Asia.¹⁶ It was to be a subject of the President's message to congress before the close of the year;¹⁷ within two years it would make California one of the sovereign states of the American Union, with a population of nearly one hundred thousand; in seven years it would result in adding nearly five hundred million dollars to the world's store of gold;¹⁸ and then as the gold from soil and sand was exhausted, and costly operations upon gold-bearing quartz ledges, and delving into the earth were required to secure the precious metal, many men who came to the mines turned their attention to agriculture and to horticulture and found in the grain fields vineyards and orchards of the Pacific slope, even a greater source of wealth than in the gold mines.

It is the Mormon's journal which determines the date of the event which started all this. Usually the 19th of January is given as the date, but in his History of California, Bancroft discusses the subject as follows:

The 19th of January is the date usually given; but I am satisfied it is incorrect. There are but two authorities to choose between, Marshall, the discoverer, and one Henry W. Bigler, a Mormon engaged upon the work at the time. Besides confusion of mind in other respects, Marshall admits that he does not know the date. "On or about the 19th of January," he says (*Hutchings' Magazine*, ii. 200); "I am not quite certain to a day, but it was between the 18th and 20th." Whereupon the 19th has been generally accepted. Bigler, on the other hand,

16. The following is a brief discription of that great movement from a standard History of the U. S.

"*The 'Gold Fever'*":—When tidings of the discovery reached the East a rapid emmigration to California began. From all parts of the United States and from Europe men hastened to the gold fields. Some crossed the continent, some made their way across the Isthmus of Panama, some sailed around Cape Horn. Many died on the Isthmus route. Many perished in the long journey over the plains, where the line of march was indicated by the skeletons of animals. But thousands reached California, whose population rapidly increased. The growth of San Francisco was a marvel. In a short time its population rose to twenty thousand, while a far greater number had flocked to the mining region." (*Hist. U. S.*, Morrison, p. 328).

17. *Lossing's Hist. of U. S.*, p. 497; also *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, Vol. IV., p. 636.

18. *Hist. U. S.*, Morris, p. —.

was a cool, clear-headed, methodical man; moreover he kept a journal, in which he entered occurrences on the spot, and it is from this journal I get my date. If further evidence be wanting, we have it. Marshall states that four days after the discovery he proceeded to New Helvetia [Indetical as to location with Sutter's Fort] with specimens. Now, by reference to another journal, *New Helvetia Diary*, we find that Marshall arrived at the Fort on the evening of the 28th. If we reckon the day of discovery as one of the four days, allow Marshall one night on the way, which Parsons gives him, and count the 28th one day, we have the 24th as the date of discovery trebly proved.¹⁹

Later of Bigler and his journal Bancroft says:

"To me * * * he [Bigler] kindly presented an abstract of the diary which he kept at the time, with elaborations and comments and which I esteem as one of the most valuable original manuscripts in my possession. The version given in this diary I have mainly followed in the text [i. e., of his History of California] as the most complete and accurate account. The others wrote from memory, long after the event; and it is to be feared, too often from a memory distorted by a desire to exalt their respective claims to an important share in the discovery. But Bigler has no claims of this kind to support."²⁰

For a time an effort was made to keep the discovery quiet, but gradually it became known, and the secret of the Sierras was revealed to the world, with the result already noted. San Francisco, however, was indifferent for some time, the final conversion of that town did not take place until Samuel Brannan, the leader of the Brooklyn Colony of Latter-Day Saints to California, came down from Sutter's Fort—where he had a store—to San Francisco in company with a number of others who had with them specimens of collected gold in both dust and nuggets. Brannan, holding in one hand a bottle of yellow dust, and with the other swinging his hat, passed down the street shouting, "Gold! Gold! Gold, from the American River!" This in May; and soon afterwards San Francisco was nearly deserted for the goldfields.

The spare time of the Mormons at Sutter's saw-mill was de-

19. Bancroft's California, Vol. VI., p. 32, note.

20. Bancroft's Hist. Cal., Vol. VI., p. 34.

voted to washing out gold in the millrace and from the deposits of the sand bars along the river. Henry Bigler on the 21st of February wrote to members of the Battalion at Sutter's Fort, telling them of the discovery of gold, but cautioned them to impart the information only to those who could be relied upon to keep the secret. They entrusted it to three other members of the Battalion. Six days later three of the number, Sidney Willis, Levi Fifield and Wilford Hudson, came up to the sawmill, and frankly told Mr. Sutter they had come to search for gold, and he gave them permission to mine in the tail of the millrace. The next day they began work and were fairly successful. Hudson picked out one piece of gold worth six dollars. After a few days, however, these men felt under obligations to return to the Fort as they had given it out that they were merely going to the saw-mill on a visit and a few days' shooting. Returning, Willis and Hudson followed down the stream for the purpose of prospecting. Fifield, accompanied by Bigler, followed the wagon road. About half way between the saw-mill and the Fort Hudson Willis, on a bar opposite a little island in the river, found a small quantity of gold, not more than half a dollar in value; and while the smallness of the find filled the two prospectors with disgust, the other Battalion members at the fort insisted upon being taken to the point where the gold had been found, that "together they might examine the place." "It was with difficulty that they prevailed upon them to do so," remarks Bancroft; but finally Willis and Hudson consented, "and the so lately slighted spot," continues the historian of California, "presently became famous as the rich 'Mormon Diggins;' the island, 'Mormon Island,' taking its name from these Battalion boys who had first found gold there."²¹ But notwithstanding this new discovery by these members of the Battalion, and notwithstanding their development of the discovery of Mr. Marshall, and the huge excitement which followed, and the fact that whenever they could get released a day from their duty to their employer they could usually obtain in gold several times over their day's wages, history has to record that they were true to their engagement to Mr. Sutter. "They had promised Sut-

21. Bancroft's Hist. Cal., Vol. VI., p. 49.

~~S~~ Monday th 24th This day
" some kind of nettle was
177
~~discovered~~ was found in the tail race that
that looks like gold first discovered
by ~~James~~ ~~ganga~~ ~~mattia~~ ~~the~~ ~~Bob~~ ~~the~~ ~~mill~~.
Sunday 30th Clear & has been
all the last week our metal
has been tried and proves to
be gold it is thought to be
rich we have picked up more than
a hundred dollars worth last
week

February. 1848
Sun 6th the weather has been clear

Facsimile of Henry W. Bigler's Journal, from a photograph

ter," says Bancroft, "to stand by him and finish the saw mill, this they did, starting it running on the 11th of March. Henry Bigler was still there. On the 7th of April Bigler, Stephens and Brown presented themselves at the fort to settle accounts with Sutter."²²

The call of duty was also pressing upon them from another direction. And here it is the pleasure of the historian to record an incident of which in behalf of his people and their religion, he is truly proud. The instructions from the Twelve, to the members of the Battalion, as we have seen, was that they should remain in California during the winter, but make their way to the Salt Lake valley in the spring, bringing their earnings with them. Hence when settling with Sutter on the 7th of April, the preliminaries were arranged for this prospective journey to the Great Basin of the Rocky Mountains. The 1st of June was fixed upon as the time of their departure. Notice was given to Sutter accordingly, so that by that time he could replace the Mormon workmen in his employ by others. Horses, cattle and the seeds they intended taking with them were to be bought of him; also two brass cannons to be a defense against possible Indian attacks en route, and for defensive use against a like foe in Salt Lake valley. At first a company of eight went into the mountains to explore a route, but found the snow too deep for passage at that time. The constantly growing gold excitement, also, in consequence of its general unsettling of things delayed their departure a month beyond the time fixed upon for starting. Meantime many of the Battalion members availed themselves of the opportunity to search for gold. Bigler and two others of the Battalion followed up the American river from the Fort about fifteen miles, finding gold as they went. Arriving at Mormon Island they came upon the seven members of the Battalion mining there who that day had taken out \$250.²³ Bigler and his associates mined for two months about one mile below the saw mill, dividing with Sutter and Marshall, who furnished tools and provisions. The land owners demanded one-half the product for a time; this was finally reduced to one-third.²⁴ Brannan, as ex-

22. Bancroft's Cal. Vol. VI., p. 50.

23. Bancroft's Hist. Cal., Vol. VI., p. 50.

24. Bancroft's Hist. Cal., Vol. VI., p. 51, note.

exercising a sort of presidency over the Saints in California, urged the payment of ten per cent. for tithing.

In the midst of this prosperous mining venture, and the daily growing gold fever, the mad rush from San Francisco and other parts of California, the members of the Battalion sought out a rendezvous for the gathering of the Saints preparatory to their journey across the mountains. The place of rendezvous was called by them Pleasant Valley, near the present site of Placerville, a short distance up the south fork of the American river, and not far from the place where gold was first discovered on that stream. Parties came in one after another until the 3rd of July, when about forty-five men and one woman, the wife of one of the party, had assembled, bringing with them wagons, horses, cattle, and other effects. On the 3rd a start was made. "As the wagons rolled up along the divide between the American river and the Cosumnes, on the national 4th, their cannon thundered independence before the high Sierras."²⁵ Thus, as further remarked by the author here followed, "amidst the scenes now every day becoming more and more absorbing, bringing to the front the strongest passions in man's nature, * * * at the call of what they deemed duty, these devotees of their religion unhesitatingly laid down their wealth-winning implements, turned their back on what all the world was just then making ready with hot haste and mustered strength to grasp at, and struggle for, and marched through new toils and dangers to meet their exiled brethren in the desert."²⁶

And this is the event to which the writer alluded to a moment since, as being proud of in behalf of his people—this placing of duty above gold by members of the Mormon Battalion, and of the "Mormon" Church. The fame of having discovered gold may not be claimed for members of the Mormon Battalion, that belongs to Mr. Marshall, unquestionably, though the Mormons in camp when it was found, of white men were in large majority, and the shovels in their industrious hands it was which threw up the gold-laden soil; and they were the first to extend the discovery and enlarge upon it; and theirs the honor

25. Bancroft's Hist. Cal., Vol. VI., p. 51.

26. Bancroft's Hist. Cal., Vol. VI., p. 49.

to first chronicle the date and fact of the event that was to mean so much to the Pacific coast of America, and to the world. But while the honor of making the mere discovery of gold may not be claimed for them, nor the honor of making the conquest of California, that which is infinitely better than either of these achievements, or both of them combined may be claimed for them, the honor of writing into the annals of California and of the world's history this example of fidelity to duty, detailed above, which is not over-matched in any of the records written by men.

It was a difficult task to cut a wagon road through the lofty Sierras that faced them. A task of infinite toil and in the presence of great danger from the lurking savages. Three pioneers who had insisted upon going in advance to blaze the route for the main company had been murdered by the Indians. These pioneers were named Daniel Browett, Ezra H. Allen, and Henderson Cox. The main camp came upon their mutilated bodies at a spring which, because of this event, still bears the name "Tragedy Spring." What numbers of these savages the main company would encounter, what their mood would be—murderous or friendly—of course could not be conjectured, it was of the dangers they must risk. By almost incredible toil and patience, however, this company of Mormon Battalion men conquered the ascent of the Sierras from the western side, hewing a roadway for their seventeen wagons through stony heights, and in like manner down steep declivities and narrow gorges, until the eastern sloping deserts beyond were reached and finally the valley of the Great Salt Lake,—about the first of October—to them, for the time, the place to which duty had called them.

The company that re-enlisted at Los Angeles for six months beyond the Battalion's original term of enlistment, served eight and then were mustered out of the service. Some of these on being disbanded went by way of the coast to the mines or engaged in other industries in California for a time, but most of them finally made their way to Salt Lake valley in the course of one or two years, though a few remained permanently in California. A squad of twenty-five from this company, how-

ever, on being mustered out of the service, organized at once for the journey to Salt Lake valley, taking with them one wagon and a band of 135 mules. They went by way of what was called the "southern route;" hitherto, however, traveled only by packers, and the wagon of this Battalion company was the first to make the journey over the pack trail. This company reached Salt Lake valley on the 5th of June.²⁷

The best evidence that the service of the Mormon Battalion was honorable and appreciated by both the people of California and the U. S. government exists in the fact of the efforts that were made on the part of both the people and the government to prolong their service, some of which efforts have already been noted in these pages. As the time approached for the company to be mustered out of service that had re-enlisted, and was called the "Company of Mormon Volunteers," the people of San Diego drafted a petition, begging the Governor to use his influence to keep the company in the service. The petition was signed by every citizen in town and Governor Mason tried hard to induce the company to remain in the service another year; failing in that, then to stay six months longer.²⁸

When the Battalion proper was mustered out of service in July 1847, efforts were set on foot to raise a second "Mormon Battalion" of which Captain Jefferson Hunt was to be given the command, with the office of Lieutenant Colonel, the office held by its first commander, Allen, and later by Col. Cooke. It is learned from a report made by Governor Mason that the war department, and hence the national administration, sought the enlistment of this second Battalion.

In his report to the Adjutant General of September 18th, 1847, Governor Mason says:

"Of the service of this battalion, of their patience, subordination, and general good conduct, you have already heard; and I take great pleasure in adding that as a body of men they have religiously respected the rights and feelings of these conquered people, and not a syllable of complaint has reached my

²⁷. Tyler's Battalion, Ch. XL.

²⁸. Tyler's Mormon Battalion, excerpt from Bigler's journal, pp. 330-1. Bancroft follows Tyler as authority Hist. Cal., Vol. V., p. 495-6.

ears of a single insult offered or outrage done by a Mormon volunteer. So high an opinion did I entertain of the battalion and of their special fitness for the duties now performed by the garrisons in this country, that I made strenuous efforts to engage their service for another year.’²⁹

The month following, after Governor Mason had met Captain Brown of the Pueblo detachment, and received his report, and paid off that division of the command; also after Captain Hunt, who had been for some time acting as Indian agent at Luis del Rey, was well on his way to Salt Lake valley to raise the proposed 2nd Battalion of Mormon Volunteers, Governor Mason wrote to Washington:

“Captain Brown [after making his report and receiving the pay of the Pueblo detachment] started immediately for Fort Hall, at which place and in the valley of Bear River he said the whole Mormon emigration intended to pass the winter. He reported that he had met Captain Hunt, late of the Mormon battalion, who was on his way to meet the emigrants and bring into the country this winter, if possible, a battalion, according to the terms offered in my letter to him of the 16th of August, a copy of which you will find among the military correspondence of the department. In my letter I offered Captain Hunt the command of the battalion, with the rank of Lieutenant Colonel, with an adjutant; but I find, by the orders lately received, that a battalion of four companies is only entitled to a Major and acting adjutant. I will notify Captain Hunt of this change at as early a moment as I can communicate with him. *I am pleased to find by the despatches that in this matter I have anticipated the wish of the department.*”³⁰

When, however, the subject of raising a 2nd Battalion was presented to Brigham Young, both through Col. J. D. Stevenson, formerly of the New York regiment of volunteers, prompted by Governor Mason, also through Captain Hunt in person, the proposition was declined. Regarding the first enlistment from the standpoint alone of the sacrifices it involved,

29. Cal. and New Mexico Mess. and Doc. 1850; also quoted by Bancroft Hist. Cal., Vol. V., p. 492.

30. Cal. and New Mex. Mess. and Doc. 1850, p. 355. Also quoted by Bancroft Hist. Cal., Vol. V., p. 494, note.

President Young saw no occasion to make like sacrifices a second time.³¹

NOTE 1. THE CONQUEST OF CALIFORNIA: The conquest of California was easily achieved. Fremont in the north with a company of but sixty Americans, with whom he had been sent to explore portions of New Mexico and California, was opposed in the vicinity of Monterey by a force under General Castro in June, 1846. With the aid of American settlers in the vicinity of San Francisco, Fremont defeated the Mexicans in two engagements and on the 5th of July, the American Californians declared themselves independent, and placed Fremont at the head of their affairs.³² On the 7th of the same month Commodore Sloat, then in the command of the U. S. squadron in the Pacific bombarded and captured Monterey. On the 9th Commodore Montgomery took possession of San Francisco. Commodore Stockton arrived on the 15th of July and in co-operation with Colonel Fremont took possession of the city of Los Angeles on the 17th of August. There was, however, a subsequent uprising in the south, an attempt of the Mexicans to regain possession of the country. The attempt, however, proved abortive, and was chiefly noteworthy as occurring at such time as to allow General Kearney's troop of one hundred soldiers, who had marched from Santa Fe, to participate in some of the last engagements—December 16th, 1846, Jan. 8th, 1847—that ended in the conquest and pacification of California.

A question of authority arose between Col. Fremont and General Kearney. The former had acted in the self appointed capacity of "Military Commandant of California." General Kearney refused to recognize him in that capacity since in addition to being Fremont's superior military officer, Kearney also had been instructed himself to establish civil government in California (see Letter of Secretary of War to Kearney, Executive Document No. 60, of June 3rd, 1846, delivered to Kearney by Col. Kane). Fremont refused to obey the orders of his superior, and was ordered home to be tried for his disobedience. He was deprived of his commission; but in consideration of previous service, it was offered to him again, but refused; and Fremont "went again to the wilderness and engaged in Exploration." (Lossing's Hist. U. S., p. 487. Bancroft's Hist. of Cal., Vol. V, *passim*, but especially pp. 411-468).

31. Tyler's Battalion, Ch. XLIV. Also "Hist. of the Church" Cannon-Juvenile Instructor, Vol. XIX, 133.

32. The exact date is in controversy, some hold the declaration to have been made on the fourth of July. Lossing gives the 5th (Hist. U. S., p. 487); and Bancroft the 5th, though mentioning the claims for the fourth (Hist. Cal., Vol. V, pp. 178-9).

Interesting Letters of Hon. Gideon Welles

INTRODUCTORY NOTE BY DUANE MOWRY

THE letters of the Hon. Gideon Welles, Presidents Lincoln's and Johnson's Secretary of the Navy, which follow, are valuable contributions to the political history of the country of the period to which they particularly relate. They are valuable, as it seems to the writer, because they undoubtedly reflect the true sentiment of the author of them, a gentleman of large, intelligent and patriotic vision, in so far, at least, as that vision concerned the public men and measures of the hour. They are valuable, also, because they were written for private view, only, passing from one patriotic friend to another, and indicate the high esteem in which the late ex-Senator James R. Doolittle, of Wisconsin, was held by Secretary Welles, his colleague and co-worker during the civil war times and the years immediately following, an opinion which was held also, we are assured by Mr. Lincoln's son, by President Lincoln himself.

It is quite significant that so many of President Lincoln's nearest and dearest friends and personal advisors were so thoroughly in accord with the policies opposed by Charles Sumner, Thaddeus Stevens, and others, at a later date. They include, practically, all of Lincoln's cabinet officers. Letters in the writer's possession from most of them amply sustain that view.

It is worthy of comment, too, that the reconstruction policies of President Johnson called forth the approval of Secretary Welles. And the discussion of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Federal Constitution is especially significant and something out of the ordinary.

Possibly, Mr. Welles would not have sought publicity as to his estimate of President Grant. But it can do no harm to let it stand for what it is worth at this late day. Human judgments

are never perfect. And it is not to be claimed that this implied criticism of Mr. Grant and his administration is correct.

The letters are also interesting as indicating that the much-abused and greatly-maligned Judge Doolittle was beginning to be understood; he was coming into the public opinion which was justly and properly his. A great statesman and patriot was coming into his own.

The letters have never been published.

DUANE MOWRY.

HARTFORD, 10th June, 1871.

MY DEAR SIR:—I was very glad to get your letter of the 26th ulto which, with its enclosure was duly received. Mr. Burr, whose health is somewhat impaired left a day or two before its receipt for the Virginia springs whither his physician advised him to go for a short period. He will be absent, I suppose, two or three weeks from this time.

On the subject matter of your letter I have had not a word of conversation with him or any one else. There seems to be no concentration on candidates, but a general disposition to unite, I think on almost any one in preference to the wretched occupant, who now so unworthily has the place. I have no doubt that Mr. Burr would feel gratified were you nominated, and would cheerfully and gladly support you. But, as I have remarked, nothing is at present being done—at least I am aware of nothing. I suppose such schemers as Pendleton and Seymour will again press forward to the injury of great principles, and the sacrifice of the cause which they profess to regard. If they and others would stand aside who were wrong-headed during the war, there might be an opportunity to accomplish something in 1872, but they were ready to support secession in 1860, and to sacrifice their party and its chances in 1868, and I expect little of them in 1872.

All could unite on you if selfish and aspiring leaders would acquiesce,—they have not yet learned to humble themselves that they may be exalted. I am a quiet looker-on, taking no active part in current politics, but were you, or some one as acceptable in the field I could enlist with earnest zeal.

I am not one of Valandigham's disciples, nor an admirer of the platform, or "new departure" recently put forth in Ohio. In fact I see no necessity for saying anything *pro* or *con* on the subject of the constitutional amendments. We must submit to them for the time being. As to the green-back theory, it belongs to the school of demagogues and tricksters for whom no one can have respect. It is neither democratic nor honest. We want no amendments of the constitution by congressional usurpation and fraud-passed through a fragment of congress which excluded ten states from their inherent and guaranteed right of representation. But, we must submit to this as we submit to other radical usurpations of this pitiful administration. It is not necessary to indorse those usurpations and amendments. As regards our public debt, I am for its payment, full, fair and honest, without trick or equivocation—or any attempt to repudiate our engagements and government promises, under the pretext that our vicious legal tenders and greenback currency are not what they profess.

I do not take "departure" with Valandigham, Pendleton & Co. There is no necessity for unwise and unprincipled commitments to usurpations and fraud, in order to beat the radicals. It may not be expedient to make issue with or join the Radicals, or go beyond them, in folly. We can be silent and submissive.

I am glad to hear from you—should be more glad to see you and talk over, as we were accustomed to, measures and men. Do you not sometimes get East? My son said he met you in New York. Make my regards to Mrs. Doolittle and your daughters. Write me as you have leisure.

What wretched work this man Grant and his radical congress are making. They are tearing the government to pieces,—breaking down all constitutional barriers—centralizing power—hurrying on to empire.

Wishing you success and health, I am very truly,

Your Friend,

GIDEON WELLES.

HONORABLE JAMES R. DOOLITTLE.

HARTFORD, 29th Aug., 1871.

MY DEAR SIR:—I congratulate you on the proceedings of the democratic convention of Wisconsin, both in the nominations which they have made and the resolutions they have adopted. For one, I should prefer to say nothing on the 14th and 15th amendments. They have the superficial forms prescribed for amendments, but you and I both know that in their very inception they are usurpations—that had all the states been represented in congress as they should have been—had no state been excluded by arbitrary and unconstitutional authority—those amendments, as they are called, could never have got through congress in the first instance. As it is we must, for the time at least, submit to these usurpations, but I cannot adopt or sanction them, and, under the circumstances would say nothing about them. Galileo was compelled to renounce a great truth, publicly, but he could not change his convictions or the fact. Knowing these amendments are not *legitimately* a part of the constitution, I cannot say that they are a part of the fundamental law, or that I so consider them. Yet I must submit to this, as to any other tyranny, which I cannot throw off.

Were the amendments correct in principle, which they are not in some respects, they are not a part of the constitution. But it would be useless to make an issue in regard to them at this time. To adopt them would be a “new departure” indeed. If congress were to declare Grant president for life, and the people were to sustain congress in the usurpation, we should be compelled to submit for the time, or resort to armed resistance. So with the 14th and 15th amendments.

Our friends should be extremely cautious in giving them any countenance whatever.

I sincerely hope you may be elected. The majority for the radicals has not been so large in Wisconsin as some of the states, and if it can be overcome, it will be an important step towards redeeming the country. Our best wishes are with you.

Please present my kind regards to Mrs. Doolittle and your family.

Yours truly,

GIDEON WELLES.

HON. J. R. DOOLITTLE,
Racine.

A Dreadful Battle

BY EDGAR WHITE

SOME two years ago I was commissioned by a large publishing house of Chicago to get up the general history part of a work the firm was getting out for North Missouri. Other men looked after the "biographical sketches of prominent personages," a feature of the work that supplied the wherewithal to meet the Saturday night pay-roll. All I had to do was to find out things that had happened from the time of the Red Man down.

While knocking about the Chariton valley a pioneer asked me if I had "writ" anything about the battle of Painter Creek.

"No," I said; "never heard of it."

"Well," he remarked, "you don't want to leave that out if you're going to print a history, for it was shore some battle."

"Were you here then?"

"Yes, but I didn't see it. I was living t'other side the hills. We could hear the cannon, though, roaring clear on till sundown. It was awful!"

He mentioned some man living further down the valley who might have been there, and after making careful note of the direction. I left. The first thing I did when I got to town was to hunt up an old history of that section that had been printed some 25 years before. From cover to cover there was not a hint of the sanguinary struggle on Painter Creek. By this I judged my pioneer friend had been mistaken or he had overrated the action. It couldn't be possible that I'd have the luck to run on such an important piece of history that had never been printed before. I made some inquiries at the county seat. Several knew there was a stream called Painter Creek, but no one ever heard of a battle being fought there.

I dropped the subject until a few weeks later, when I was in the valley again, and then hunted up the man to whom I had been directed. His eyes glistened, and hope returned to me.

"There was such a battle," he said, "I never saw it, but there's an old gentleman living acrost the creek that did. We call him Uncle Charley Coleman. He piloted the rebel—I mean the southern forces up against the federals. I'll show you where Charley lives."

My good-natured friend, who didn't seem to be very busy that day, volunteered to accompany me to Uncle Charley's house. We found the eye-witness at home, entirely unoccupied and glad to see us. He was naturally getting along in years, but was as active and animated as a youngster. Time had whitened his hair and mustache and ornamented his eyes with many little wrinkles; still the eyes were young, and sparked with interest when I mentioned the subject of our call.

"The Painter Creek battle!" he exclaimed. "Sure, I saw it from start to finish. I was only a boy then—it was in August, 1862—but I remember same as if 'twas yesterday. What say we go down to it?"

That was just what I wanted. Inside half an hour Uncle Charley had his spring wagon hitched up and we were on the way down the beautiful valley road, going at a brisk gait. My first acquaintance, Thomas Jobson, accompanied us, saying he had never been on the field himself, but had always been anxious to see it. As we drove along Uncle Charley gave us the initial details of the battle.

It seems General Joseph Porter of Price's army had been up in Northern Missouri on a recruiting expedition, and was in command of about 2,000 men. Of these less than 500 had had experience on the battle line. The national forces had been instructed to do everything in their power to keep Porter from getting South with his recruits. There had been a battle at Kirksville, but Porter had managed to withdraw his men. Then the commandant at Kirksville telegraphed the department at Macon that Porter was hurrying southward down the Chariton Valley and to send as many regiments as possible over to intercept him.

These regiments, all militia, were under command of General Wolfolk.

"Here's Painter Creek," said Uncle Charley, stopping the team. "We'll hitch here and walk over the field. We can see it better thataway."

A thick hedge of willows bordered the little stream. There was water here and there in pools, but Uncle Charley explained that sometimes it was bank full, and even flowed out over the bottom. Our guide showed us the position of the forces, where the cannons were placed, the hill on which General Porter stood, and the bluffs under which some of the raw recruits took refuge to keep from getting hit.

As one looked across the wide stretching bottom the sad thought occurred that many a poor fellow's bones had long since enriched the soil, and brought with it the words of that beautiful poem:

"On fame's eternal camping ground
Their silent tents are spread,
And glory guards with solemn round
The bivouac of the dead."

I took out my note-book and the guide began:

"General Porter's men had been in a sharp skirmish at Kirksville. Many wore bandages around their heads, and some had their arms in slings. Mart and John Souther and I went up to meet them. I never saw so many soldiers in all my days. The prairie seemed to be covered with 'em. There were only about 2,000, but in my boyish imagination there were a million or more. We met General Porter, and he said he was glad to see us and to have us pilot him down the valley. When we reached my stepfather's farm the women folks, who knew the army was coming, were all busy cooking things for the soldiers to eat. You bet they were hungry! Some were so nearly starved they grabbed the meat before it was cooked.

"There was no attempt at discipline. The soldiers scattered all over the place and just made themselves at home. I guess they didn't think there was a blue coat within a hundred miles,

when all of a sudden a man came galloping up on a horse covered with sweat and shouted:

“ ‘The Yankees is coming!’ ”

“It was worse than if he had said, ‘Look out for the earthquake.’ You never saw such yelling and scampering about in all your life! Men run around hunting their guns and things, falling over each other and cussin’. Some of the recruits didn’t try to get their guns, but took out for tall timber. They could see Yankees raining from the clouds. Everything looked blue to ’em. I’m talking about the youngsters who had just joined. Porter and his officers, and some 500 men of the line would stand all right, and they formed up on them bald knobs you see over there to the northwest.

“Us boys laid low on the hills to the west, watching the fight until the valley was so covered with smoke you couldn’t see. Porter had some cannon and now and then we could see the red flashes bursting through the smoke. Of course we was some ways out of range, but we had a pretty good idea of the movements. The Yankees was in that ravine down there, strung out in a sort of semi-circle. There was a good deal more of ’em than Porter had in action. They fired steadily, like trained men. Now and then we could hear cheering from one side or the other. A courier came up and frantically announced that Porter and the rebels had all ‘been cut to pieces!’ We felt awful bad, because our folks were all friends of the ‘rebels.’ The women in the house got armsful of bandages and liniment, and had ’em ready for the wounded.

“The fight commenced before dinner, and continued till dark, without cessation. Then it began to slacken and finally it stopped altogether. Some one come up and said a truce had been agreed upon between the commanders to bury the dead and look after the wounded.

The old gentleman paused.

“Did you go down to the battlefield that night, Mr. Coleman?” I asked.

“Oh, yes, all of us went down,” he said.

“Pretty bad sight?”

“Somewhat bad—yes. Cornstalks knocked down, fences bust-

ed, fields plowed up by cannon balls. Yes, it was a pretty bad sight."

I stopped writing and waited expectantly.

"Were the dead and wounded counted?"

"Yes—that is—there wasn't any dead and wounded," said Uncle Charley, somewhat bashfully.

"Fighting all day long and no dead and wounded!" I exclaimed. "How could that happen, Mr. Coleman?"

"Why, you see—er—they never got close enough to each other to hit!"

Well, history was history, whether grotesque or tragic, and I wrote up the battle of Painter Creek as Uncle Charley had described it. A few months later I met him over in the county seat.

"Are them histories printed?" he asked anxiously.

"Yes," I said; "printed and delivered."

"Did you put the battle of Painter Creek in?"

"To be sure. It was all right, wasn't it?"

"Yes—er—I guess so. But since you was there I got to thinking about it, and it's come back clearer than it was that day. You know I told you there wasn't any dead and wounded. Well, I was mistaken."

He looked so sorry over the matter that I smiled.

"It can't be helped now," I said. "The history's printed. I thought it funny those two big forces, well armed with muskets and plenty of ammunition, should be shooting at each other all day and no killed or wounded. It would certainly have been the most remarkable battle of the war. Do you recall now how many were killed?"

"Yes," replied Uncle Charley with the confidence that comes from an accurate memory. "One of them young recruits, when he heard the Yankees was coming, started to swim his horse across the creek. He was drowned."

Historic Views and Reviews

MONMOUTH CAVE TO BE AMUSEMENT RESORT

BEFORE the United States Committee on Military Affairs the trustee of the heirs who own the Mammoth Cave in Kentucky, A. A. Janin, has announced that the owners have received a number of offers from corporations to take over and operate the cave property as a resort or amusement park. One offer is said to come from a New Yorker, born in Kentucky, who will agree to pay the heirs the first \$18,000 profits and 6 per cent. on the investment thereafter. With this unknown purchaser a tentative agreement has been made.

The matter is of especial interest to the Committee at this time because of the Thomas bill for the acquisition of the cave property by the Government, which has come up. This measure plans the expenditure of a million dollars for the Mammoth Cave site, \$600,000 for purchase and \$400,000 for improvement, landscape gardening, etc. It proposes that the site shall thus be preserved as a national military park.

Five elderly women, of whom the youngest is more than seventy and the oldest four-score, are the owners of the cave. They are the descendants of Gen. Thomas S. Jesup, who was quartermaster-general of the army for forty-two years, and of a Col. Groghan. Their trustee has informed the Committee on Military Affairs that they were indifferent as to the action which the Government might take toward the property, as private interests were more than ready to take it over. He put the market value of the tract at \$600,000.



TABLET FOR COBBLER

Recognition of the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Henry Wilson, "the Natick Cobbler," was made by the New

England Shoe and Leather Association in Boston on February 16. It placed on its building a temporary tablet bearing an effigy of the American shoe industry's patron saint and a few of the salient facts regarding his career. The inscription reads:

Henry Wilson
"The Natick Cobbler"
Born in Farmington, N. H.
Feby. 16, 1812
Shoemaker
United States Senator
Vice-President of the United States
Public Spirited Citizen

Mr. Wilson walked from Farmington, N. H., his birthplace, to Newburyport and thence to Natick, where in 1833 he began as a shoemaker.

Later he became prominent in Massachusetts politics, eventually rose to be United States Senator from this State, and afterward was chosen Vice-President of the United States with President Grant.



MRS. SURRETT EXONERATED

Almost fifty years after the assassination of Abraham Lincoln the pen of Ben Pitman, pioneer of stenography, who acted as official stenographer at the trial of the conspirators, has revealed facts supporting his belief that Mrs. Mary Surratt, the woman hanged with the three other conspirators, was innocent of the crime for which she was executed.

The statement was written by Pitman just before his death here a year ago. He says in part:

"That Mrs. Surratt, who was hanged with three male conspirations concerned in a plot to assassinate President Lincoln and other government officials, was entirely innocent of any prior knowledge of or participation in those crimes is, to my mind, beyond question."

INDIAN MAIDEN VISITS EAST

Pe-ahm-e-squeet, or Floating Cloud, is a real Indian maiden who is now visiting in eastern Massachusetts.

She is devoting her time there to making speeches, dancing Indian dances and playing the Indian songs which were taught her when she romped about the Western camps with other little Indian girls.

"Perhaps, after all, the white man is not to blame for not knowing the true talent of the Indian," said Pe-ahm-e-squeet, "for the Indian never sings when the white man is within hearing distance.

"Last summer I returned home to pay my people a visit and all the words of greetings were uttered with sincerity. The Indian maidens are very modest. They do everything conservatively, and are much unlike white girls. Even when they greet one there is a strange contrast between the hugging of the white girls and the quiet joy of the Indian girl, who almost speaks gladness with her eyes.

"Indian maidens are very healthy, for they have everything to make them so. White women are not careful of their feet, their forms or their speech as are the Indian women. We are trained, when mere babies, to develop keen eyesight and acute hearing. Our ability to hear and see so well is not instinct, as many think, it is careful training.

"We are not instructed in school, but we are taught while doing our work, or while out shooting, running or walking. Perhaps a group of ten will be walking, when suddenly in the distance an object will appear on the horizon. We are told by the older woman or man to suggest what the object is. Some say it is a cow, others declare it to be a man on horseback. Those that are at fault are teased for days to come. Hearing the rustling of the leaves and being able to tell whether the sound is caused by the swaying of the trees or the stepping of man or beast is a training that is very valuable to us in years to come. Such training makes us keen."

"DAWG" DITTY REVIVED

The "dawg song" has now been accepted as the official anthem of the Democratic-State Convention, which will meet in this city next Tuesday. Copies of the words and music have been printed and every delegate and spectator at the Convention will receive one. All are expected to join in the chorus when the Convention band strikes up the strains that have been loved in the Ozarks ever since the days when "Heck was a pup."

It is expected that the next session of the Legislature will pass the necessary measure to make the song official in Missouri. A committee was appointed several months ago to report on a State song and this was the cause of the revival of the "dawg" ditty, which dates back to Daniel Boone's time.

It seems that the song has also survived in Texas, but in the process of being handed down from pioneer to son and also in the process of revision by country dance troubadours its wording has been changed. The coon hunters of the Ozarks, however, are said to have preserved the original text.

There are two stanzas in the version printed for the use of the Democratic State Convention, as follows:—

"Every time I come to town
The boys keep a-kickin' my dog aroun'.
Makes no difference if he is a houn',
They gotta quit kickin' my dawg aroun'."

The chorus is sung by the natives with much gusto and with vigorous expenditure of breath at every rhythmic pause:—

"Chaw de meat and save de bone;
Ol' Blue Neck lives on Tallyhone.
Makes no difference if he is a houn',
You gotta quit a-kickin' my dawg aroun'."



WHEN U. S. PAID WINE BILLS

That the members of the old Continental Congress had much more leeway than the lawmakers of the present day was proved recently, when the renovators of Independence Hall revealed

the contents of some of the old papers found yesterday, one of them being a receipt for \$100 paid for a case of wine purchased for a certain member of the Continental Congress. Just who the tippler was—the historians in charge of the work refuse to reveal at the present time.

The receipt bears the date of 1785, and with it are many old account books, many of which contain entries showing items for “extraordinary expenses.” That’s what the wine was. The officials refuse to make public the contents of these mysterious books, but admit startling developments will follow the publication of some of the items.

Another interesting discovery was the notebook of one of the members of the Constitutional Convention of 1787. This notebook contains extracts from speeches made during secret deliberations of the body. This is the first record of this kind in existence, and it also shows that the wine bills of the members were passed during executive sessions of the body, the members apparently, even at that early day, fearing the cry of “graft.”

Other old records brought to light are account books used by the Federal Government during its abode in Philadelphia. These bear upon the departmental expenses. In this record is shown how one of the members of the Continental Congress even charged a bill for intoxicating drinks to the United States. He obtained the intoxicants at the City Tavern, which formerly stood on South Second Street, near Walnut Street. There is no record to show this bill was paid.



REUNION OF BLUE AND GRAY

It is practically certain that all the States of the South will send commissions to attend the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the battle of Gettysburg next year and will provide transportation for their Confederate veterans. This was announced at a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Pennsylvania Commission in this city by Col. Louis T. Beitler, the Field Secretary of the commission. Col. Beitler, with Gen. Irvine C. Walker of South Carolina, commander of the United

Confederate Veterans, traveled together through South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi, Kentucky, Virginia, and Maryland and appeared before the Legislature in each State except Georgia, where the Legislature was not sitting. They explained the nature and purpose of the celebration.

In his report to the commission Col. Beitler said he found the people in the South more than ready to meet him half way and usually the project of which the commission has charge was received enthusiastically.

As it is the desire of the commission to make observance of the anniversary of the battle of Gettysburg Nation wide, this news was pleasing. The result of Col. Beitler's efforts assures the attendance of an army of Southern as well as Northern veterans. While Col. Beitler and Gen. Walker were not able to reach every Southern State during their tour, arrangements have been made to have the question taken up by the Legislatures of States not reached.



PROPHECY OF GENERAL GRANT'S FATHER

R. R. Maltby tells the following story of a father's faith in his son's future:

"In September, 1862, when the Confederate forces under General Kirby Smith threatened Cincinnati and the Squirrel Hunters were hurrying to its defence, the writer was going down Madison street in Covington, Ky. Just ahead of me, walking leisurely along the pavement, was a tall, slender old man. As I passed I saluted him. He returned the salute and said:

" 'One moment, please; what regiment is that?'

"I replied: 'The Tenth Kentucky Volunteer Cavalry.'

"He said: 'A fine regiment, and well mounted.' He then asked: 'Do you know my son?'

I replied: 'Since I do not know your name, I cannot say whether or not I know your son.'

"He answered: 'My name is Grant, Jesse R. Grant. U. S. Grant is my son. I recommend you to know him' and he spoke

as an inspired prophet would speak, 'for he will command the United States army at the close of this war.'

"I replied: 'I wish he was in command now,' saluted and rode on. I recite this incident to show the sublime faith the father had in the ability and success of his distinguished son."



FIRST MONUMENT TO A WOMAN

The first monument ever erected to a woman in the United States stands in a little square in New Orleans, and was raised many years ago to the memory of Margaret Haughery, a baker woman, who could neither read nor write, but who devoted her life to charity. She was not a native of the South, but went to the Crescent City as a servant, and saw so many pitiful cases of destitution all around her that she soon set apart a small sum out of her wages every month to buy bread for those poorer than herself. She soon found the pittance she was able to spare was altogether inadequate to the demands made on it, so by rigid economy she saved money enough to open a small bakeshop. There she sold only enough to pay the rent and provide herself with the plainest of clothes and scantiest of fare; all the rest she gave away every day at noon to the poor children of the quarter, who flocked to her door.

When she found she could no longer provide loaves for her constantly increasing army of pensioners she appealed to wealthy men and women, who were greatly impressed by her generosity and gave freely to maintain her unique charity. Her little shop soon expanded to a steam bakery, giving away thousands of loaves daily, but she continued to live in the same frugal fashion to the day of her death. "Margaret's" bread was literally the staff of life for many a destitute family, and many a starving man and woman blessed her name. Before she died she built four asylums and homes for the friendless poor.

The statue represents a motherly woman seated on an ornate pedestal holding a loaf of bread in one hand, while with the other she draws a ragged waif to her breast.

GALA DAYS IN 1737

Here is a programme observed in the celebration of St. Andrew's day in an old Virginia town in 1737:—

That a fiddle be played for by twenty fiddlers, every person to bring his own fiddle. After the prize won they are all to play together, and each one a different tune, and then be treated by the company.

That twelve boys of twelve years of age do run for 112 yards for a hat at the cost of twelve shillings.

That a flag be flying on said day thirty feet high.

That after dinner the Royal Health, His Honor the Governor's are to be drunk.

That a quire of ballads be sung by a number of songsters, and all of them to have liquor sufficient to clear their windpipes.

That a pair of silver buckles be wrestled for by a number of brisk young men.

That a pair of handsome shoes be danced for.

That a pair of handsome silk stockings of one pistole value be given to the handsomest young maid that appears in the field.

It is probable, says the *Ohio State Journal*, our tastes are too much changed to enjoy such a list of attractions, but one may imagine what fun they must have caused.



PRESIDENT CLEVELAND'S BIRTHPLACE

Chauncey L. C. Ditmars, of New York tells the following of President Cleveland's experience when visiting his birthplace.

"I have been told a story by a relative of the Rev. Charles T. Berry, who was the occupant of the house during Mr. Cleveland's presidential campaign of 1884, that the latter spoke at a meeting in Newark, and that during the early evening a party of Democrats took Mr. Cleveland in a carriage to visit his birthplace, which was only a few miles away. It was the first and last time he ever visited it.

As he entered the parlor Mr. Berry greeted him cordially, and upon approaching the little room in which Mr. Cleveland was

born, Mr. Berry, a Republican, dryly remarked that he hesitated at showing the room to him inasmuch as there was hanging on the wall a picture of James G. Blaine, Mr. Cleveland's rival in the race for President. Mr. Cleveland enjoyed the remark keenly and was still eager to enter.

On leaving the house to return to Newark Mr. Cleveland shook hands with all those residing under its roof and expressed his appreciation for seeing the old homestead that he had left when a mere child."



OLD CANNON HAS WRONG DATES

Like a jaunty little watchdog at the right hand of the God of War there stands at one of the entrances to the War Department a trim little cannon. It is a pigmy among the giant trophies of mighty guns that surround the building, but it has some history of its own.

It was the first cannon captured by the Americans from the British in the Revolutionary War, though it has not been so officially placed upon the records. It was captured by the great patriot-traitor general, Benedict Arnold.

It has, in a dozen years been passed by more army and navy officers and other notables of high mark and distinction than any gun in the United States. Yet in all this time that little gun has borne a marked error of history that it flaunted boldly on a large name plate—an error so plain that it should have been detected immediately by any passing high school cadet.

The gun is a bronze six-pounder, built in Holland in 1747 for King George of England. It is a little under six feet long and is about three and a half inches in calibre.

Deeply cut along the barrel near the muzzle end is the following:—"Surrendered by the Capitulation of St. Johns, 1775." But on a large metal plate sunk in the national shield, on which the gun is mounted, is this conflicting statement:—"Revolutionary Trophy; Surrendered at Yorktown, 1775."

Thus the little gun appears to have been captured twice—and, further, it would appear to have been captured at Yorktown six

years before there was any fighting at that point. The error remained for twelve years undetected.

Captain U. S. Grant, third superintendent of the building, has corrected the error at last.

"Beyond doubt," said Captain Grant, "the gun was captured on some of the adventurous expeditions made by the early revolutionists in 1775.

A few days after Ethan Allen captured Ticonderoga, which had no real cannon, he and Benedict Arnold, then the most adventurous of the American patriots, had a quarrel. Arnold took a band of riflemen who adhered to him and, going down Lake Champlain, invaded Canada and captured as his first triumph the town of St. John's.



STATUE OF NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE

Bela L. Pratt is busy in his Boston studio making a plaster model for a bronze statue of Nathaniel Hawthorne. The commission for the Hawthorne statue came from the Hawthorne Memorial Association, Salem, Mass., which proposes to erect somewhere in that city, either on the Common or on a site overlooking the sea, this memorial to the man who brought literary fame to the old shipping town and to all New England. The bronze will cost, with its site, something like \$50,000, and of this sum something like \$10,000 is already subscribed. The committee is preparing an appeal to all Americans to contribute.

Mr. Pratt's conception of Hawthorne is taken partly from old photographs of the author. The three foot model shows Hawthorne seated upon a rock in one of his familiar poses. He wears a long great-coat, which has been thrown open, revealing the tightly buttoned and high collared frock coat which was Hawthorne's favorite garment when in or out of doors. He partly supports himself upon his stick, clasped in his left hand, in which is also the comfortable soft felt hat he was accustomed to wear.

The figure is that of a man who would be somewhat more than nine feet tall were he standing, but sitting in repose the memor-

ial in bronze will measure an even nine feet from the bottom of the base. It will be mounted upon a stone foundation.

The idea of a monument of Hawthorne has been entertained in Salem for some years. The matter was discussed in the Civic League, and the question arose whether it would be best for that organization to attempt to carry the idea through or to form a distinct body having no other purpose. This latter plan was eventually decided upon and the Hawthorne Memorial Association was formed. A charter was secured from the Secretary on May 25, 1910.



OLD-TIME MAKERS OF MEDICINE

In his new book, "Old-Time Makers of Medicine" (Fordham University Press), Dr. James J. Walsh traces the medical thought and accomplishment of the thousand years and more from the fall of Rome to the discovery of America. And again, as in his book, "The Thirteenth Greatest of Centuries," he carries amazement with his revelations of how old are many things we call new. For instance:

"Until comparatively recent years we have been quite confident in our assurance that antisepsis and asepsis were entirely modern developments of surgery. More knowledge, however, of the history of surgery has given a serious setback to this self-complacency, and now we know that the later mediaeval surgeons understood practical antisepsis very well, and applied it successfully.

"They used strong wine as a dressing for their wounds, insisted on keeping them clean and not allowing any extraneous material of any kind, ointments or the like, to be used on them. As a consequence they were able to secure excellent results in the healing of wounds, and they were inclined to boast of the fact that their incisions healed by first intention and that, indeed, the scar left after them was scarcely noticeable."

And again: "We are so accustomed to think that anaesthesia was discovered about the middle of the nineteenth century in America that we forget that literature is full of references in

Tom Middleton's (seventeenth century) phrase to the 'mercies of old surgeons who put their patients to sleep before they cut them.' "

"Anaesthetics were experimented with almost as zealously, during the latter half of the thirteenth century at least, as during the latter half of the nineteenth century. They were probably not as successful as we are, but they did succeed in producing insensibility to pain, otherwise they could never have operated to the extent they did. Moreover, the traditions show that the Da Luccas particularly had invented a method that left very little to be desired in this matter of anaesthesia."

Dr. Walsh refers to Christ's healing of the sick and to St. Luke as a physician. Very early, Christianity began to interest itself in the care of the ailing and establishment of hospitals.

"A very interesting chapter in the story of the early Christian physician is to be found in what we know of the existence of women physicians in the fourth and fifth centuries. Theodosia, the mother of St. Procopius the martyr, was, according to Carptzovius, looked upon as an excellent physician in Rome in the early part of the fourth century. She suffered martyrdom under Diocletian.

"There was also a Nicerata who practised at Constantinople under the Emperor Arcadius. It is said that to her St. John Chrysostom owed the cure of a serious illness. From the very beginning Christian women acted as nurses, and deaconesses were put in charge of hospitals.



CHURCH 225 YEARS OLD DESTROYED

The St. Francis Xavier Roman Catholic Church at Warwick, Md., near the Delaware State line, a historic landmark of the Maryland-Delaware peninsula, was destroyed by fire sometime ago. It was built 225 years ago in the time of Lord Baltimore.

The blaze started from a defective flue. There being no fire apparatus in the town, the structure was soon consumed. The loss is \$15,000, partly insured.

The pastor, the Rev. Father Charles A. Crowley, was cele-

brating mass at Middletown, Del., when notified of the disaster. He dismissed the congregation at once and hurried to the scene, several miles distant.

The church was of brick, two stories in height. A strong wind was blowing, and the whole building soon fell in. Some of the altar vestments and chalices were saved.



BARRY REAL FOUNDER OF U. S. NAVY

Within the next few years there will rise in Washington, in one of its most beautiful parks, a statue of Commodore John Barry, who, judging by his services and the eminent creative qualities of his long and patriotic career, was the real father of the American navy. It is more than a century since Commodore Barry, who occupies a prominent place in American history, passed to the great beyond. These pages of history recite the deeds which alone are a monument to that grand naval hero, but the American government has seen fit, after a long delay, to erect in the national capital an imposing bronze monument as a fitting memorial to the commodore who made the early naval history of this country.



PETRIFIED HAM

With the finding of a perfectly petrified ham, embedded in the soil of Big Foot trail near the point where it crosses White River, east of here, the scenes of the Wounded Knee Indian massacre twenty years ago are recalled.

The ham was found by Lisle Bennett, a ranchman, who brought it to town. It is in a state of perfect preservation, the rind, fat, meat and bone all being distinctly visible.

The ham is supposed to have been dropped or jolted out of one of the wagons of Gen. Carr's commissary department of the Seventh Cavalry when he was pursuing Big Foot, the Cheyenne chief who caused the Wounded Knee fight.

Animal matter petrifies easily in the Bad Lands and the ham is thought to have turned to stone soon after it fell.

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Par Kratini, Paris

VICTOR HUGO DURAS

AMERICANA

May, 1912

The United States and Movement for International Arbitration and Peace*

VICTOR HUGO DURAS

AUTHOR OF UNIVERSAL PEACE BY INTERNATIONAL GOVERNMENT,
AND LA PAIX UNIVERSALLE PAR L'ORGANIZATION INTERNATIONALE, ETC.

“Some powerful and enlightened republic, making perpetual peace as its policy,
Will furnish a center of federative union, for other states to attach themselves to;
And such a union will extend wider and wider, securing coincidently the conditions,
Of liberty and international justice among all states.”

IMMANUEL KANT.

THE part which the United States has already taken in the peace and arbitration movement is very important indeed, but I venture to say that the part which this republic is destined to take in the future will be of far greater significance than that which has in the past been accomplished by it for the establishment of organized world peace.

After the defeat of Napoleon at Waterloo, the nations of Europe,—struck by the horror of a war which devastated the continent, destroyed millions of lives and billions of wealth, were ready to come to any sort of agreement which would prevent the re-occurrence of another general conflict,—and it was under these conditions that Alexander I, of Russia, an Emperor with a big heart and broad mind, suggested that the Nations of Europe form a Christian Alliance against war.

On the fourteenth day of September, 1816, a treaty known as

*This article was written before a vote was taken on the Arbitration treaties.
(423)

the Holy Alliance was signed at Paris, between Prussia, Austria and Russia, which asserted, "in the face of the universe their unalterable determination to take as their rule of conduct, both in the administration of their respective states and in their political relations with every other government, only the precepts of the Christian religion, precepts of justice, charity and peace." In the first article they bound themselves to, "regard each other as brethren," considering themselves, "delegated by Providence to govern three branches of one and the same family, (Prussia, Austria and Russia,) to form but one Christian nation, which should have its sovereign, Him to whom all power belongs as His possession, because in him are found all treasures of love, knowledge and of infinite wisdom." The real progenitor, however, of the Holy Alliance was Madam de Krudener the wife of Baron de Krudener, a Russian diplomat. Madam de Krudener's drawing rooms in Paris were costly and brilliant, and her guests were of the most distinguished, not the least of whom was her friend Alexander I, Czar of Russia. The principal topic of conversation at her levees was the restoration of *peace* and the terms upon which Protestant France should be permitted to resume her place among the States of Europe. Madam de Krudener advocated a liberal policy toward France at the instance, influence and importunities of Madam Recamier, the Duchess de Duras, and Benjamin Constant.

She surrounded the Czar with the most brilliant and cultured personages of whom France could boast, and placed before the impressible Alexander the exalted ideas of absolute justice, greatness of soul and forgiveness of offenses, the universal brotherhood of man and the fraternal relation of States.

Religion and politics were blended, and the written instrument, the Holy Alliance, was a mere digest of their views, which was written by Alexander and is said to have been submitted to her for revision. Her optimistic views concerning the brotherhood of States as well as of man, did not, however, have a happy outcome in the Holy Alliance, for it resolved itself into an attempt to establish a universal despotic empire and became in substance a conspiracy against the liberties of mankind. (The Monroe Doctrine, Edgington p. 4-5.)

Amidst this reaction one ruler, and one alone, stood out as the earnest friend of liberal ideas. Alexander of Russia restored the Duchy of Warsaw to independence as the Kingdom of Poland, gave it a constitution and representative assembly, and in the spring of 1818 summoned the Diet. The speech which he addressed to it marked him out as one of the most advanced of Liberals. Yet before the Diet ended its sessions a great change came over him. What caused it no one seems to know. (The History of the American People, McMaster p. 35.) The leading principle of the Alliance was the preservation of the existing order of things and the maintenance of the international status quo upon the doctrine of Christianity. One article of the compact provided that no member of the Bonaparte family should ever occupy a European throne. Another article bound the parties to maintain and defend the various dynasties, and to combine for the suppression of rebellions and revolutions. (The Monroe Doctrine, Edgington, p. 2). They bound themselves to maintain the government they had just set up in France. They held a congress at Aix-la-Chapelle in 1818; Alexander I. virtually presided. In 1820 another congress or convention was held at Troppan, another at Larbach in 1821 and another at Verona in 1822.

The treaty of Verona read in part as follows:

Article I. The high contracting parties being convinced that the system of representative government is equally incompatible with the monarchical principles, as the maxim of the sovereignty of the people with the divine right, engage mutually, and in most solemn manner, *to use all their efforts to put an end to the system of representative governments*, in whatever country it may exist in Europe, and to prevent it from being introduced in those countries where it is not yet known. (Diplomatic Relations of the United States and Spanish America, Latane, p. 69).

It is very evident that the treaty of Verona placed monarchical institutions upon the offensive and representative institutions upon the defensive of an issue which has not as yet been completely settled, for the ultimate success of the former principle would mean the establishment of a universal despotic empire

while the success of the latter will mean the creation or development of an international democratic commonwealth. In July, 1822, a few months before the United States recognized their independence, Chili and Columbia negotiated a treaty in which a convention of a congress of the new republics was contemplated. "The construction of a continental system for America" which should "resemble the one already constructed in Europe" was the apparent project of these two powers. (Reports of Committees and Discussions in relation to International American Conferences at Panama, 1826, Vol. iv., p. 7.)

The authorship of this idea of a solidarity of the interests of all America, resting not only upon the geographical proximity of States, but mainly, indeed, upon the identity of their fundamental political principles, belongs, not exclusively, but chiefly, to the then Secretary of State, Henry Clay. According to his plan this solidarity of interests was to assume concrete form in the Panama Congress. It would there be legally adopted so far as this fundamental political principle had obtained practical recognition. From this firm standpoint he hoped to see the great plan he had announced as early as 1820 realized—that is, the establishment of a "human freedom league in America," in which "all the nations from the Hudson's Bay to Cape Horn should be united, but not simply for the sake of remaining in permanent contrast to Europe, but "he declared that through the power of example, through its moral influence, the American System would ever extend farther and farther, so that a point of union, a haven of freedom and lovers of freedom, would be found upon the soil that was wet with the blood of the revolutionary forefathers." (Reports of the Committees and Discussions in relation to International American Conferences at Panama, 1826, Vol. iv., p. 11). Abbe de Pradt, a French political writer, championed the idea in his book, "Congress de Panama," in which he said: "The Congress of Panama will be one of the greatest events of our times, and its effects will be felt to the remotest posterity." (Bancroft's History of Central America, p. 510.) In a letter to the President, Bolivar, of Columbia, Vice-President Santander said: "The proposed work of the Panama Congress is the most stupendous that has ever been

conceived since the fall of the Roman Empire." (29 Niles Register, p. 184.) There was, however, great opposition in the United States Senate to the sending of delegates, and after much heated debate, which resulted in a duel between Clay and Randolph, two representatives were sent to the Congress, but one of them, the Minister to Columbia, died of yellow fever at Cartagena on his way to Panama. Great hopes indeed were placed in this first American Conference, but like all initial conferences the results fell far short of the expectations, and yet it may be regarded as one of the most important gatherings in the history of the world, as it initiated the development of an inter-continental American system, even though it was a total failure, as practically nothing was accomplished at the few meetings, and it never re-convened at the suburb city of Mexico, to where it adjourned to escape from the yellow plague.

THE MONROE DOCTRINE

On the 20th of August, 1823, Canning, in a confidential letter to Richard Rush, then minister of the United States to Great Britain, proposed concerted action. The most material paragraphs of which are as follows: "Is not the moment come when our governments might understand each other as to the Spanish American colonies? And if we can arrive at such an understanding, would it not be expedient for ourselves and beneficial for all the world that the principle of it should be clearly settled and plainly avowed?"

"For ourselves we have no disguise.

"1. We conceive the recovery of the colonies by Spain to be hopeless. 2. We conceive the question of the recognition of them, as independent states, to be one of time and circumstances. 3. We are, however, by no means disposed to throw any impediment in the way of any arrangement between them and the mother country by amenable mediation.

"4. We aim not at the possession of any portion of them ourselves. 5. *We would not see any portion of them transferred to any power with indifference.* If these opinions and feelings are, as I firmly believe them to be, common to your

Government with ours, why should we hesitate mutually to confide them to each other, and to declare them in the face of the world? If there be any European Power which cherishes other projects, which looks to a formidable enterprise for reducing the colonies to subjugation on the behalf or in the name of Spain, or which meditates the acquisition of any part of them to itself, by cession or by conquest; *such a declaration on the part of your Government and ours would be at once the most effectual mode of intimating our joint disapprobation of such projects.*" (Century Magazine, The Monroe Doctrine, by Sir Frederick Pollock, Bart., p. 538.)

The constitutional government of Spain was crushed by the French royal army, and flushed with this exploit the Alliance now turned its attention to Spanish America. A new conference was proposed to be held, in order, as it was emphatically said "to aid Spain in adjusting the affairs of the revolted countries of America" (Annual Register, 1824, p. 501) "which had been in 'revolt' for several years, in consequence, it would seem, not so much of any definite misgovernment as of the incompetence of Spanish authority to perform any function of government at all while occupied at home with the Peninsular war. The predecessor of Canning favored the Holy Alliance, and the American Minister could not quite comprehend such a sudden change of policy on the part of England so that by the reason of much skepticism but little progress was made, and Canning, perceiving that something ought to be done promptly, and that a joint and identic declaration could not be arranged in time, acted in his own way. On the 9th of October he made the following statement in a conference with Prince de Polignac, then French Ambassador at St. James:

"That the British Government was of the opinion that any attempt to bring Spanish America again under its ancient submission to Spain must be utterly hopeless; that all negotiations for that purpose would be unsuccessful, and that the prolongation or renewal of war for the same object would be only waste of human life, and an infliction of calamity on both parties to no end." (Annual Register, 1824, p. 496.)

And now, while Rush was temporizing and suspecting in Lon-

don, Jefferson, whom Monroe consulted in the matter, wrote these memorable words, which really constitute the gist of the *Doctrine*. "*Our first and fundamental maxim should be, never to entangle ourselves in the turmoils of Europe. Our second, never to suffer Europe to intermeddle with cis-Atlantic affairs.* America, North and South, has a set of interests distinct from those of Europe, and particularly her own. She should, therefore, have a system of her own, separate and apart from that of Europe. While the last is laboring to become the domicile of despotism, our endeavors should surely be to make our hemisphere that of freedom. One nation, most of all, could not disturb us in this pursuit, she now offers to lead, aid and accompany us in it. By acceding to her proposition we detach her from the bands, bring her mighty weight into the scales of free government, and emancipate a continent at one stroke. * * * Great Britain is the nation which can do us the harm of any one or all on earth, and with her on our side we need not fear the whole world. With her, then, we should most zealously cherish a cordial friendship, and nothing would tend more to knit our affections than to be fighting once more side by side in the same cause."

The famous message of President James Monroe to the Congress of the United States on December the 2d, 1823, was a natural and logical outcome and consequence to the conditions and circumstances that were heretofore depicted. It reads in part as follows:

"The citizens of the United States cherish sentiments most friendly in favor of the liberty and happiness of their fellow-men on that side of the Atlantic. In the wars of the European Powers, in matters relating to themselves, we have never taken any part, nor does it comport with our policy to do so. It is only when our rights are invaded or seriously menaced that we resent injuries or make preparation for our defense. With the movements in this hemisphere we are, of necessity, more immediately connected, and by causes which must be obvious to all enlightened and impartial observers. The political system of the allied Powers (i. e. the Holy Alliance) is essentially different in this respect from that of America. This difference pro-

ceeds from that which exists in their respective Governments. And to the defense of our own, which has been achieved by the loss of so much blood and treasure, and matured by the wisdom of their most enlightened citizens, and under which we have enjoyed unexampled felicity, this whole nation is devoted. We owe it, therefore, to candor and to the amiable relations existing between the United States and these Powers to declare that we should consider it an attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere (i. e. to force monarchical Government on any American community) as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European Power we have not interfered, and shall not interfere. But with the Governments which have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration and on just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destinies, by any European Power, in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition towards the United States. In the war between those new Governments (the Spanish-American Republics) and Spain we declared our neutrality at the time of their reorganization, and to this we have adhered, and shall continue to adhere, provided no change shall occur which, in the judgment of the competent authorities of the Government, shall make a corresponding change on the part of the United States indispensable to their security.

“The late events in Spain and Portugal show that Europe is still unsettled. * * * Our policy in regard to Europe, which was adopted at an early stage of the wars (i. e. the wars of the French Revolution), which have so long agitated that quarter of the globe, nevertheless remains the same, which is, not to interfere in the internal concerns of any of its Powers; to consider the Governments *de facto* as the legitimate Government for us, to cultivate friendly relations by a frank, firm and manly policy, meeting, in all instances, the just claims of every Power, submitting to injuries from none. But in regard to these continents, circumstances are eminently and conspicuously different. *It is impossible that the allied powers should extend their political*

system to any portion of either continent without endangering our peace and happiness, nor can any one believe that our southern brethren, if left to themselves, would adopt it of their own accord. It is equally impossible, therefore, that we should behold such interposition, in any form, with indifference."

It is very clear that the Monroe message was directed against the plan of the Holy Alliance to aid Spain, by moral or, perhaps, material pressure, to recover sovereignty over her American colonies—a task which was clearly beyond her unaided power. And the character and resources of the Alliance were such as to give fair warrant to the apprehension of many thoughtful Americans that nothing less was afoot than a scheme for the establishment of a universal despotism—that the danger was substantial and that it was necessary "to secure the united liberties of the New World," is today very manifest.

The Monroe Doctrine was not intended to constitute a protectorate, as the term is known in international law, and although its scope and limits are not as yet well defined, it is generally conceded by the best authorities and the most eminent juriconsults, to be an absolute guarantee on the part of the United States to protect the American Continent from whatever attempt of foreign conquest or territorial aggrandisement.

THE PAN-AMERICAN CONFERENCES

The idea of a union of the South American continent had been considered and contemplated by Simon Bolivar, as early in the struggle of these Spanish colonies as 1821. But no attempt to do so was made, while Mexico was in the grasp of her self-created Emperor Iturbide, and Peru was still struggling for independence. However, when the power of old Spain was completely overthrown and her colonies became free and independent states, having been recognized as such by the United States; the great unrest caused by the apparent motives of the Holy Alliance, caused the great Liberator of Spanish-America to invite Mexico, Peru, Argentina, and Chili to send delegates to the City of Panama with power to establish a confederacy. Mexico and Peru promptly accepted, but Argentina

and Chili held back, and in 1824 Bolivar again sent a circular to all the republics, and once more urged that representatives should be immediately sent to Panama. (History of the American People, McMaster, V. p. 433.)

According to the official Gazette of Columbia the conference was called "to form a solemn compact or league by which states whose representatives are present will be bound to wage war against Spain or any other power that attempts to assist her; to consider the expediency of uniting to free Cuba and Porto Rico; to discuss the wisdom of joining in a war at sea and on the coast of Spain; to consider what should be done to give effect to the declaration of Monroe that the American continents are closed to European colonization; and to decide what should be done to resist foreign interference in the domestic affairs of American Governments." (History of the American People, McMaster, p. 441.)

Plenipotentiaries were sent to meet at Panama on June 22, 1826, for the purpose of considering the problems, however, but few delegates gathered, as the enemies of Bolivar asserted that he really aimed at the creation of the whole of South America into one federated republic, with himself as dictator. (The Monroe Doctrine, Edgington, pp. 56.) John Quincy Adams, then president of the United States, became enthusiastically in favor of sending ambassadors to the Panama Congress, and accordingly on December 26, 1825, sent a message to Congress suggesting the sending of representatives, using the following language: "*An agreement between all the parties represented at the meeting, that each will guard by its own means against the establishment of any future European colony within its borders, may be found advisable.* This was more than two years since announced by my predecessor to the world as a principle resulting from the emancipation of both the American continents. It may be developed to the new Southern nations that they will all feel it as an essential appendage to their independence." (Messages of Presidents, Vol. ii, p. 339.)

In 1888 during the Presidency of James A. Garfield, the Secretary of State, James G. Blaine invited the South American Republics to send delegates to a conference which was held in

Washington, D. C., and is now known as the first Pan-American Conference. Many important matters for the good and welfare of the American Continents were discussed and the Pan-American Bureau of the International Union of American Republics was established. The second Pan-American Conference was held in Mexico City, convening on October 22, 1901, and the good and welfare of the American Republics were the general topics of discussion, while the third conference met in Rio de Janeiro, and the fourth in Buenos Ayres in 1910. The last conference changed the title of the International Union of American Republics to the Pan-American Union, so that Canada as a colony might become a member and all other non-republican governments of the continent, and, it is quite apparent that in time the title will be still further simplified to the American Union, bringing into existence the united nations of America. The Secretary of State of the United States is the Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Union, which board consists of the foreign American diplomatic representatives accredited to Washington, and the Bureau, which is lodged in the beautiful American Peace Temple, is in effect the embryo of an administrative system of the united American republics, which is governed by a Director General, who is selected by the Board of Directors and is hence directly responsible to the Presidents of the American Republics.

The future Pan-American conferences have to perfect that which has yet been left undone, but they can only go so far in the perfection of the international system as the governments may desire, for we are already finding serious objections to the important position the United States is taking to effect a more perfect and complete international American organization, and our sister republics are quite naturally and reasonably afraid that the evolution of the American system will give the United States, their big brother, the hegemony and make him a bore to the entire family. Any danger of this tendency, can, however, be overcome by the equitable segregation of the three functions of government between geographically separated nations, and as the executive system is being developed at Washington, the capital of the United States of North America, the Pan-Ameri-

can Congresses, or the embryo of the Parliamentary system, which at present meet at divers places, can be most logically located permanently at their original seat in Panama, in Central America, or at Havana, Cuba, which points are the most proximate centers for the sessions of the most numerous branch of government; while the judiciary system will most naturally fall to South America, and should be located at Buenos Ayres, Argentina; thus decentralizing these separate functions of government so that one cannot have influence over the other, and in order to prevent the centralization of power in one state. In the study of comparative history we can readily see in this tendency of modern times, towards a world movement for international organization, a striking resemblance between the international relations of our day, and those which existed just before the Grecian democracies, and the Latin republics finally merged into united world empires. The Grecian democracies, with their art, culture and science, are quite comparable to the European nations of today, from which modern civilization sprang, and in many respects these nations are quite as democratic as were the Greek states, while the American nations, with their new territory, undeveloped natural resources and an intuitive desire for power, wealth and influence in international affairs, make these republics comparable to the Latin states; and we can see that as Europe shall, in all probability, evolve into the united nations of Europe as a modern Athenian Empire, so shall the American republics bring forth the united nations as a modern Roman Empire. The problem of international organization is already dissolving itself from the abstract to the concrete, and statesmen and diplomats are beginning to consider and discuss, not only the ways and means of organization, but are seeking for the most just principles as a foundation upon which the structure can be erected so that it will endure, and we can see the division of the pacifists of the world into two parties; those who favor the centralization of the international political organization into an international judiciary to be located at The Hague, and those who advocate the decentralization of governmental powers, by the perfection of a complete international organization with the co-equal, co-ordinate and separate func-

tions of government. There is, however, one fundamental difference in the comparison I have just made between Rome and America, and that is that the governments of the American Republics have been founded upon democratic principles through the example of the United States, which are against conquest aggrandisement, or even the spreading of the sphere of influence over other states, which should in any way interfere with their rights, freedom and independence; that is, while Roman institutions were based upon force, American institutions are based upon justice, and on the other hand while Greek institutions were founded upon law, European institutions are based upon power by reason of the militaristic idea.

The political organization of the American Republics is the most phenomenal and auspicious tendency of the times, for while The Hague conferences are organizing an international judicial system as the first branch of a world government, the Pan-American conferences are organizing the international executive system of an American government, and it evidences that fact, that if the American nations can commence the international system by the organization of the executive functions, the world system can and will be completed by the perfection of a similar executive or administrative system. It is, of course, understood that as law has within itself the functions of legislation, adjudication and execution, any international body which sets down laws, rules or regulations for international relations, has in part within itself, the essential functions of a complete government in embryo, because no regulation is a law if it cannot be enforced, and it is quite reasonable to believe that the other branches of government will grow out of The Hague conferences, to complete the world's political organization, and out of the Pan-American conferences to complete the American political organization.

It is hence a most urgent necessity that a bill be presented to the United States Congress providing for the more complete organization of the American Republics by the convocation of an intercontinental Pan-American congress of a certain percentage of duly elected representatives of the national parliaments of the American Republics, to meet in joint session as a

constitutional convention in the city of Havana, Cuba, for the consideration of ways and means of creating an international constitutional government which will prevent the centralization of power in any one state and assure to each and all equal rights and privileges with absolute local autonomy.

THE HAGUE CONFERENCES

The most practical step in behalf of the international movement for world peace was taken by the convocation of the first conference at The Hague, which convened on the 18th of May, 1899, upon the invitation of Nicholas II, Emperor of Russia.

It was an epoch-making venture, for at no time since the fall of the Roman Empire did states come together before the existence of a war to negotiate for peace—it having always been a post-bellum instead of an ante-bellum diagnosis—and we know that the fatality of a disease can be more easily prevented by an ante-mortem examination than by a post-mortem one.

Thus the nations have begun to scientifically study the causes of war, a social disease, a plague to humanity, or “the foulest blot upon civilization,” as Andrew Carnegie has very aptly branded it, and we can rest assured that each day brings forth greater security of peace and each year far less possibility of war.

From the very first conference it was manifest that the United States was destined to take an important part in the organization of the world for peace, as the standard of our representatives stood well in the esteem of the conference on account of their high-minded, square, frank and fair dealings, which not only won them great confidence, but placed them upon the highest plane of statesmanship. At the first conference the United States was represented by the Hon. Andrew D. White, Hon. Seth Low, Hon. Stewart Newell, Captain Alford T. Mahan, U. S. N., Captain William Crozier, U. S. A., and Mr. Frederick W. Holls, Esquire, who was the secretary to the delegation, while the plenipotentiaries representing the United States at the second conference were the Hon. Joseph H. Choate, Hon. Horace Porter, Hon. Uriah M. Rose, Hon. David Jayne Hill, Hon. Wil-

liam I. Buchanan, Colonel George B. Davis, U. S. A., Admiral Charles S. Sperry, U. S. N., and Dr. James Brown Scott, as technical delegate.

For the purpose of facilitating the work of the conference, three commissions were appointed at the first conference.

The first commission had for consideration the subject of the "Limitation of Armaments." Colonel Gilinsky, the technical delegate of Russia, submitted the texts of the Russian proposition as follows: 1. An international agreement for the term of five years, stipulating for the non-augmentation of the present number of troops kept in time of peace.

2. The determination in case of such an agreement, if it is possible, of the number of troops to be kept in time of peace, by all the powers, not including colonial troops.

3. The maintenance, for a term of five years, of the *amount of the military budget* in force at the present time.

Captain Scheine, Russian naval delegate, presented the following proposition: "The acceptance in principle of fixing for a term of three years the *amount of the naval budget*, and an agreement not to increase the total amount for this triennial period, and the obligation to publish during this period in advance.

1. The total tonnage of men-of-war which it is proposed to construct, without giving in detail the types of ships.

2. The number of officers and crews in the navy.

3. The expenses of coast fortifications, including fortresses, docks, arsenals, etc.

(The Hague Peace Conferences, Scott, pp. 54-56.)

The Final Act of the first conference adopted unanimously the following resolution.

"The conference is of the opinion that the *restrictions of military charges*, which are at present a heavy burden on the world, is extremely desirable for the increase of the material welfare of mankind." (The Hague Peace Conferences, Scott, p. 77.)

And yet absolutely nothing was done to reduce, to limit or even to regulate the building of armaments, in order to prevent their abnormal augmentation. The naval budgets have especially increased more rapidly since the first Hague conference

than ever before, because facilities for communication have increased so rapidly that greater defense is necessary to protect national independence. But still, if the national development of the defense of the powers is about proportionately equal they are not insured, one against the other, better than before, although it is costing each and every one several times the premium of the old standard.

Every statesman of modern times knows that the most dangerous tendency of this age is the *abnormal* development of armament by reason of the unorganized international relations which permit the free and unlimited competition in the building of armaments. One nation builds a dreadnaught, and every power must have one, two, three dreadnaughts, until another nation builds a super-dreadnaught, and all the powers strive to have a co-relatively equal number of super-dreadnaughts, so that they would not lose their former position in naval power, and so on it will go ad infinitum, increasing taxation without recompensation, upon the theory that "unless a navy is maintained at the highest possible state of efficiency it is a needless extravagance."

This was the evil that the Russian propositions tried to get at, but absolutely failed because the delegates to the conference were sent by the national executives whom they represented and hence had absolutely no legislative authority to consider the question of reduction, limitation or even the regulation of the building of armaments (for the conference was an organizing body with powers to enter into tentative agreements subject to the approval of the national governments), whereas the law-making power of almost every nation lies in the legislature which has control of the nation's purse strings and hence controls the naval and military budgets.

It is thus very evident that the question of armament can be authoritatively considered *only* by a conference of members of the national legislatures, or by a conference of delegates representing the various national parliaments, and it is therefore very important indeed that an international conference of parliamentarians be called for the purpose of considering ways and means of dealing with this most vital phase of the peace problem.

The League of Peace and international organization drafted and presented the following joint resolution to the House of Representatives on December 15, 1910, through the courtesy of Congressman Robinson:

House Joint Resolution, (250).

“Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

“That a cordial invitation be, and the same is, hereby extended to all the members of the national legislative bodies of the various nations of the world to assemble in the United States at such time and place as Congress may hereafter specify.”

And at the instance of Congressman Richard Bartholdt, Chairman of the United States group of the Interparliamentary Union (a non-official body of members of the various legislatures which hold an annual conference), three hundred and sixty members of the United States Congress have signed the following:

“The undersigned, a member of the Sixty-second Congress of the United States Senate (House of Representatives), hereby register myself as a member of the Interparliamentary Union, and join with my fellow members in approving an invitation to be presented by our Chairman, Richard Bartholdt, to the Interparliamentary Union, or direct to the different National Parliaments of the world by whatever name they may be called, to meet in North America as the guest of the United States and of Canada in 1912 or 1913, and we would also request that 1915 be reserved until California can be heard from with an invitation for San Francisco.”

During the first conference the United States delegates voted to have the question of the limitation of armaments referred to the governments for serious study, and at the second conference they insisted upon the right to introduce the subject for discussion, although it had not been mentioned in the program issued by the Russian government, and it also supported the proposal of the British delegates that the subject be brought again to the attention of the governments for serious study, in order to find some means of checking further increase in, and if possible reduce the present heavy burden of armaments, but the

subject was dropped for the reasons mentioned above, and the only way that the question had been approached at all, was by the development of the idea of the adjudication of international disputes by a court of arbitral justice, upon the theory that a complete system of international justice will grant *sufficient confidence* to the nations, in one another, to prevent any over-development of the national defenses.

The importance of this phase of the question again came to our attention by the presentation of the following House Joint Resolution (223), by Congressman Bennet, which was reported to the Senate by Mr. Lodge, chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, June 22, 1910, and was subsequently passed:

“Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

“That a commission of five be appointed by the President of the United States to consider the expediency of utilizing existing international agencies for the purpose of *limiting the armaments* of the nations of the world by international agreement, and of constituting the combined navies of the world an international force for the preservation of universal peace, and to consider and report upon any other means to *diminish the expenditures* of government for military purposes and to lessen the probabilities of war.”

Washington's Headquarters at Morristown,

IN THE TWO WINTERS OF

1777-78 AND 1779-80 AND SOME OF THE FAMOUS HISTORICAL FIG-
URES WHO WERE PRESENT THERE IN THE DAYS OF
THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

BY JOSIAH C. PUMPELLE, A. M., LL. B.

Historian Empire State Society Sons of the American Revolution

ALL Jerseymen, and especially all Morris County men, have every reason to be proud and grateful that one hundred and thirty-five years ago it was amid the sheltering hills of Morris that Washington found a safe retreat for his sorely tried and half-clad army. In the War of Independence, New Jersey was the pivotal state, the headquarters of American resistance, and it was Morris County, and in fact, Morristown itself, that was the center of this resistance. If, as historians say, the battle of Trenton saved the Revolution, so may it be truly said the two winters of 1777-78, 1779-80 that were passed in and about Morristown, saved our army from destruction at a time when its exigencies were the greatest. Here within the radius of less than a hundred miles was the arena upon which were enacted events which were to change the whole future of a nation. Fortunately for our cause, some of our English friends at this time had a lively sense of the true principles underlying the struggle, and thus at every opportunity they endeavored to get men into Parliament who were favorable to our cause.

Such being the state of affairs the British government was compelled to resort to the base use of mercenary soldiers called Hessians, the subjects of small states in Germany whom their

despotic proprietors sold to service. And it was these men who garrisoned Trenton on that fateful Christmas, 1776, under the command of General Rall.

Well we know how this force was captured by Washington and their general was killed, and how at this time our great leader revealed a power as a strategist and a sagacity as a leader of men which revived hope in the bosom of patriots and so electrified Congress that it vested Washington with supreme power.

He had, indeed, turned the tide and if any doubted they were fully convinced when at Princeton there was another victory by the "Old Fox," as Cornwallis called Washington. It was fitting that Princeton should then and there place its approval upon this mighty war for liberty. New Jersey on December 26th had by her great seal legalized the Revolution, and now Princeton and its college, in its turn, consecrated it by her learning, the patriotic fervor of her president and by the blood of her alumni.

On that battle, where Washington commanded in person, Mercer bled and Frelingsuysen did brave deeds, hinged in great measure the fate of our country's cause and thereafter was to be dated a change in human affairs and an alteration in the balance of human power.

But Washington's army must have a chance to recuperate and to conserve his forces for coming, and still more trying events, and this aid he found in the hills of Morris, where he had his headquarters, first in 1777, at the Arnold Tavern, and in 1779-80 in the old Ford mansion, about which I shall now proceed to give some details as to the house itself, its history, its contents, the famous persons who have been entertained there and its present owners.

The building, which stands on rising ground in the midst of a nine-acre plot, is situated but a few minutes' walk north from the railroad depot, and commands an extended and beautiful view.

This fine specimen of Colonial architecture, though now over 138 years old, is in perfect condition and looks for all the world like a grand dame of the olden time, full of sweet grace and dignified hospitality.

And this word fits well, for entrance to this mecca of patriots is free, and over ten thousand visit it annually.

Jacob Ford, Jr., Colonel of the Eastern Battalion of the Morris County Militia, which so successfully covered Washington's retreat after leaving New York in the "mud rounds" of 1776, built this house in 1774, and dying in 1777, his widow, Theodosia Ford, who was the daughter of Rev. Timothy Johnes, here received Washington as her guest, and here he had his headquarters from December, 1779, to June, 1780. After the death of Colonel Ford's grandson, Henry A. Ford, on July 1st, 1873, the house and its three acres were sold and bought in for \$25,000 by certain prominent public spirited and patriotic individuals who then founded a stock company called "The Washington Association of New Jersey," which has ever since preserved the building and its precious contents with unremitting, faithful devotion and care. The main building with its girders and beams of solid oak and its well carved cornices and woodwork is virtually as it was when General and Mrs. Washington and his military staff occupied it. Six acres in garden and lawns have been added, also a building which is used for meetings and luncheons, the main house being kept solely as a historic museum.

In 1780 Washington erected a log addition at each end of the house; the one on the east was used as a kitchen, and the one on the west contained the offices of Washington and his aides, Hamilton and Tilgham. These additions were removed many years ago, so today we see only the one structure which, like the great Commander himself, has a nobility of presence worthy of its history. It is pure colonial in style, the front entrance itself being considered so admirable in design that it has been taken as a model by artists and architects.

When a resident of Morristown I never entered the door of the mansion but that each footstep seemed to awaken the echo of some heroic memory, and all the surroundings, though themselves inanimate, reminded me in almost living tones of that one grand presence of whom Dryden has said: "Mark his majestic fabric; his a temple sacred by birth and built by hands divine."

On the left of the hall as you enter through the same old-fashioned door, divided in the center, with its massive knocker that has been used since the house was built is the parlor, and opposite is the dining room, while in the rear of the latter is the library and opposite this Washington's business office from which a door used to lead into the log headquarters where each day his officers made their reports.

As to the thousands of priceless relics and mementoes to be seen in this American Mecca of patriotism I have only space to mention some of the most interesting and valuable. In the parlor is a beautiful replica in marble of the Houdon bust of Washington, also a card table and three chairs all used by Washington.

In the room behind the parlor is "Washington's Despatch Table," upon which he wrote those remarkable letters which went with such conviction to the minds of a doubting Congress and the hearts of vascillating governors.

On this famous table or desk, the writer of this article was privileged, being a member of the Association, to complete the writing of his address on Washington, which he read before the Association, and which afterward was in pamphlet form sold in the headquarters with the mementoes made from wood taken in repairs from the mansion.

Also, in this room is a fac-simile of the Commission of the writer's great-grandfather, David Pixley, signed by Dr. Joseph Warren.

The dining room on the right of the hall as you enter contains not only the table and chairs used by General and Mrs. Washington and his military family, but a celebrated punch-bowl presented to an ancestor of Colonel Cadwalader by the General, and a case of knives and forks used by him during his campaigns, and many pictures on the wall, where also hangs the gem of the whole collection, the original commission on parchment of General Washington, as Commander-in-Chief of the Continental Forces, dated June 19, 1775, and signed by John Hancock, President.

This priceless document, for which it is said \$25,000 has been offered and which is the special care of the sentinel who sleeps



Washington's Headquarters, Morristown, N. J.--Front View



Parlor

in the building near it, has had a queer history. In 1822 when workmen were employed to repair the state capitol building at Richmond, Va., they were ordered to remove and destroy a large quantity of old papers found there. Out of this pile Mr. Parks, of Springfield, Va., rescued this valuable relic; he presented it to George W. Childs, who gave it to Ferdinand J. Dreer, of Philadelphia, whose collection of Americana filled six great safes, and this gentleman presented it to our Washington Association on February 22d, 1888.

The library in the rear of the dining room contains a remarkable collection of autograph letters of Washington and his generals during the war, including one from General Harmer, Washington's trusted friend, and I am proud to say, the ancestor of my present wife. Here are also numberless engravings of men prominent in the Revolution as well as important despatches and Congressional documents.

For much of this remarkable collection of Americana the Association is indebted to many devoted friends, but especially to our beloved president, Jonathan Roberts and his patriotic wife.

The kitchen in the size of its wide old-time fireplace and the variety of its colonial crockery-ware and cooking utensils will vie in attractiveness with that of any historic building in America.

Up from the main hall winds a curiously narrow stairway dividing at the second story so as to give two landings, one into a room over the office and the other into a hall which is the armory of the mansion, being filled with many kinds of guns, pistols and swords used by British and Continental soldiers; also a glass case full of old manuscripts and medals and other curious relics. Four rooms lead out from the hall; the two which General and Mrs. Washington occupied as bedrooms are full of interesting relics such as dressing tables, mirrors, bureaus, many of which were used by the illustrious occupants when here.

In the General's bedroom is a piece of the carpet which was on the floor when he occupied the room, and the gray silk coat, vest and short clothes, the sword, shoe-buckles and cane which

he wore and used at his first inauguration as President in 1789; also, his crimson Masonic scarf.

The affidavit of Martha D. Washington shows that these articles were given by Washington to Lawrence Augustus, son of his oldest full brother, Samuel Washington, of "Harewood," Virginia, and have never been out of the possession of the Washington family until their purchase by the Washington Association.

The sword was presented to the General by Major-General Wm. Darke, his comrade at the Braddock defeat and his personal friend up to the time of his death. Here are many oil portraits, hundreds of pictures of famous characters in the Revolution, a collection of pewter dishes—possibly one of the finest of its kind of any public collection known in America—and rare colonial china, and also a most interesting sketch of Margaret Shippen, made by Andre at a dinner given in 1778 by her father to Washington one year before she became Arnold's wife. All these, as well as scores of other mementoes and trophies from these, as well as scores of other mementoes and trophies from camp, field and fireside, combine to make this old Ford Mansion one of the most attractive and instructive object lessons in patriotism in the country. But to go back to the winter of 1779-80, we note that soon after his arrival Washington had erected 400 feet southeast of the Headquarters fifty log huts for the accommodation of "Washington's Life Guard," which numbered two hundred and fifty men under the command of General William Colfax. This was a distinctive corps of superior men, selected with special reference to their physical, moral and intellectual character, and it was considered a mark of peculiar distinction to belong to the Commander-in-Chief's guard. Their flag was of white satin, on which was the motto: "Conquer or Die." The uniforms of the Guard consisted of a blue coat with white facings, white waistcoat and breeches, black half gaiters and a cocked hat with a blue and white feather. Muskets and occasionally side arms were carried. Care was always taken to have all the states from which the Continental Army was supplied with troops represented in this corps.

At the "Headquarters," whenever an alarm was given, the Life Guard would immediately rush to the house of the General,

barricade the doors and throw up the windows. Five soldiers, with their muskets cocked and brought to a charge, were placed at each window, and there they would remain until the troops arrived and the cause of the alarm was ascertained. Such occasions were very annoying to the ladies of the household, for both Mrs. Washington and Mrs. Ford were obliged to lie in bed sometimes for hours with their room full of soldiers and the keen winter air from the open windows piercing through the drawn curtains of their bed. Caleb Gibbs was commandant of this guard until 1780, and he was succeeded by William Colfax.

A strong attachment was formed between Washington and this young subaltern, who often shared his tent and table and to whom he gave many tokens of his esteem; one of them, still in the possession of the Colfax family, is a silver shoe buckle set with paste brilliants. After Washington's army disbanded in 1783, Colfax settled at Pompton, N. J., where he married Hester Schuyler, a cousin of General Philip Schuyler.

In the year 1780, Usal Knapp, who died in 1856, the last surviving member of the Life Guard, received from Washington himself the commission of Sergeant, and, on being discharged, the badge of Military Merit, an order called the American "Legion of Honor," established by Washington. This distinction was conferred upon non-commissioned officers and soldiers who had served three years with fidelity, or upon any one who should perform a singularly meritorious action. The Badge entitled the recipient to "pass and repass all guards and military posts as fully and amply as any commissioned officer whatever." This veteran was buried at the age of ninety-six with civic and military honors at the foot of the flagstaff on the slope, near the Headquarters at Newburgh.

It may be said truly that within the walls of this old Headquarters building there have been gathered more famous persons connected with our war for independence than have ever assembled under any other roof in America. Generals, statesmen, foreign envoys and members of Congress, all gathered here to meet the great rebel chief of whom Gladstone says: "No nobler figure ever stood in the forefront of a nation's life."

There was Washington's private military secretary and cho-

sen counsellor, the brilliant and forceful Alexander Hamilton; the splendid fighting Quaker, General Nathaniel Greene; the great artillery officer Knox; the veteran disciplinarian Steuben, without whose infantry instruction at Valley Forge Monmouth's battle would never have been won; then the polished Kosciusko, the famous cavalry officer; the ever-ready General John Sullivan; Philip Schuyler, soldier and statesman; famous Light Horse Harry Lee; Generals William Maxwell and James Clinton, Israel Putnam, "Mad" Anthony Wayne and Count Casimis Pulaski, whose horsemanship was the admiration of the whole army; and those other famous leaders, William Alexander, Earl of Stirling, and John Stark, the hero of Bennington; brave General Lincoln, who received the surrender of Cornwallis; Major General Lillie, one of the heroes of Trenton and Monmouth; General John Glover, who, with his Marblehead fishermen, conveyed Washington's troops safely from Long Island to New York, and across the rushing, ice-choked Delaware; General Heath, of Concord fame, the first general officer of the American army, was there, and Colonel William Shepard, a hero of twenty-two engagements, and General Benjamin Tupper, and Colonel Timothy Bigelow, both famous on Monmouth's bloody field; also, Paul Dudley, sergeant, of Trenton and Princeton fame; Gamaliel Bradford and Jacob Bailey; Colonel Henry Jackson, who fought so bravely at Springfield, and Christopher Marshall, the patriotic chemist, who furnished our war-worn troops with medicine; also, the much-respected Surgeon General John Cochran, at whose quarters often came to visit Mrs. Cochran's niece, the daughter of Hon. Philip Schuyler, whom Alexander Hamilton soon after married.

Of Washington's staff there was Colonel Robert Hanson Harrison, of Virginia, called "old secretary," or the "little lion," and who succeeded Joseph Read as secretary, of whom Washington writes: "His pay is \$100 a month in Continental script, and no perquisites." Another excellent staff officer was Lieut-Colonel Tench Tilghman, who, Washington says: "Has been in every action in which the army was concerned, and has been my faithful assistant for nearly five years, a great part of which time he refused to receive pay." Of his loved com-

mander Tilghman writes this: "He is the most honest man that I believe ever adorned human nature, in prosperity and adversity I never knew him to utter a wish or drop an expression that did not tend to the good of his country regardless of his own interest. He is blessed wherever he goes, for the Tory is protected in person and property equally with the Whig, and, indeed, I often think more so, for it is a maxim of his to convert by good usage and not by severity."

Besides these, on the staff at different times was Richard K. Mead, Dr. James McHenry, afterwards one of the framers of the Constitution and Secretary of War; then, David Humphreys, of Connecticut, poet, diplomatist and soldier, who, when en route to the Headquarters, wrote to a lady in Boston:

"I go wherever the battle leads
Tomorrow—brief be then my story;
I go to Washington and glory—
His aide-de-camp."

He was afterwards Secretary of Legation to Jefferson in France and Minister to Spain; also, a successful manufacturer, editor and author. Then there was Washington's able Chief of Engineers, that brave and indefatigable soldier of France, Major General the Chevalier Duportail. He served all through the war, was thanked by Congress, and was afterwards made Minister of War in France.

The army's Adjutant General, Alexander Scammel, was one of the handsomest and bravest officers in the army. So thorough a patriot was he that when obliged to either relinquish the hand of the woman he dearly loved and was about to marry or leave the army he chose the former alternative. Unfortunately this heroic soldier was killed at Yorktown just before the surrender and thus was precluded from reaping the full reward of his heroic services.

Colonels Dayton, Livingston, Kline, Fullerton, Kinney, Craig, Little, Proctor, Hathaway, Ogden; Majors Eustic, Lee; Lieutenant Colonels Humphreys, Jackson, Doughty and Captains Keeler and Lockwood were also all of them in service here under Washington at Headquarters.

What with the trim array of sentinels around the house, the formal arrival and departure of the officers of the day, visits of generals and other high officers, sometimes on business but usually as a matter of respect and for the pleasure of conversation, the coming and going of messengers and express riders and visitors from a distance, the scene was one full of vigorous life and animation. And yet, at this date Washington wrote that "General Howe cannot have less than 10,000 men in the Jerseys. Our number does not exceed 4,000. His are well disciplined and officered and well appointed. Ours are raw militia badly officered and under no government."

There were the usual camp guards, and a chain of outposts was drawn closely around the British lines. On the heights at Short Hills, seven miles away, was the Alarm Gun, called the "Old Sow," and the officer commanding on the lines was directed to fire the same in case of any sudden movement of the enemy, and this was to be answered by the alarm gun in camp.

In relating the condition of the troops at this time, General Wayne writes: "Dec. 14. As Congress don't seem to think hats an essential or necessary part of uniform, they mean to leave us uniformly bareheaded as well as barefoot, and if they find we can bear it tolerably well in the two extremes perhaps they may try it in the center."

Washington gave a part of every day to private prayer and devotion, and to Rev. Dr. Johnes, pastor of the Presbyterian church, he said, when speaking of joining in their communion service: "Though a member of the Church of England, I have no exclusive partialities." (See Lossing's "Field Book" Vol. 1, page 315). S. F. Hotchkiss says in the *Church Cyclopaedia* that Washington was not then a member of the Church, because Virginia's first bishop, Madison—afterwards the President of William and Mary College] was not consecrated until 1790.

Mrs. Washington was a communicant, and the General was a vestryman in Patrick Church, Truro Parish, and in Christ Church, Alexandria, a few miles from Mt. Vernon. Colonel Temple says that often in the French and Indian war Washington read prayers and the scriptures with the soldiers when the chaplain was absent. (See Weem's "Washington," page 182).

He observed the Sabbath strictly, and was exemplary in his attendance on public worship. He was especially punctilious as to matters of personal honesty, as note how he inventoried all the articles Mrs. Ford loaned for his use, and when he left, finding one silver spoon missing, he saw to it that soon thereafter the article was returned to her.

His character as to mental balance and self control and his "genius for keeping tranquil when most perplexed was only paralleled by his precision in matters of detail."

"His irresistible magnetism disproves the notion that he was the cold, unsympathetic personage some historians have tried to make him appear. An esteemed acquaintance of the writer, John Bach McMaster, in his "History of the American People," says of Washington: "We shall know him as a cold and forbidden character with whom no fellowman ever ventured to live on close and familiar terms." The life led by the great commander with his military family at the Headquarters and his correspondence with Marquis Lafayette, the Chevalier Chastellux, Count William de Deux-Points, General Adams, Chevalier de la Luzerne, General Israel Putnam and many other famous men, all go to entirely disprove this statement.

As a business man he was the best of his age, as his continuous and successful control of all his agricultural interests throughout all his campaigning clearly shows.

When at Ford mansion, as General Cobb, one of the military family, says: "The daily routine of the commander's life was exact, orderly and punctual, and he appeared at the breakfast table each day exactly on time." With wheat at \$50 a bushel, and a captain's pay not sufficient to keep him in foot wear, or that of a Major General enough to compensate an express rider, much careful housekeeping was needed to keep the General and his military family supplied with food.

When the commissary was at the lowest the General said to his housekeeper, a Mrs. Thompson (the wife of a noted restaurant keeper in New York): "Well, you must cook the army rations, for I have not a farthing to give you." Salt was then \$8 a bushel. Mrs. Thompson obtained an order for a bushel "to preserve the fresh beef," and then exchanged the same for food,

and so the table was supplied. The General, thinking she was expending her own money for all this, said to her: "I owe you too much already to permit the debt being increased." "Dear sir," said the good lady, "it is always darkest just before day, and I trust your excellency will forgive my bartering the salt for the food you so sorely need."

In an address before the Washington Association by Frank Stockton, in which the author described in his own humorous way a visit he made in company with the Ghost of Washington to the Headquarters, the Ghost speaks of "Good Mrs. Thompson, who presided over my housekeeping department. She was an honorable woman of rare discretion." Before one of the paintings the spirit exclaims with enthusiasm: "What, my old aide and secretary, Colonel Varick! It delights my soul to gaze upon thy face. Who so appropriately could have bid me welcome to this house?" As to the old spinnet or harpsichord, he said: "T'was constructed, I see, by a Mr. Astor, of London; he was a good artisan; some members of his family came to this country, I believe. I hope they have prospered." To which Mr. Stockton replied: "The Astors have done very well, very well, indeed."

When Washington was corresponding with Lord Howe as to the treatment of prisoners, the latter shows a sense of humor he was not supposed to possess when he sent to Washington a copy of Watts' version of the 120th Psalm, the last verse of which runs:

"Oh, might I change my place
How would I choose to dwell
In some wide, lonesome wilderness
And leave these gates of hell!"

To which Washington replied from 101st Psalm:

"The impious crew, that factious band,
Shall hide their heads or quit this land;
And all who break the public rest
Where I have power shall be supprest."

General Cobb, who greatly enjoyed a good laugh, says that when Colonel Scammel dined at Headquarters he told so many ludicrous anecdotes, and in a manner so mirth inspiring, that even the gravity of the Commander-in-Chief relaxed and he laughed heartily. General John Doughty, of Morristown, says that the same thing occurred when a certain fellow who bragged of his horsemanship was at his own request allowed to mount a young and spirited horse Washington had just purchased. No sooner was the man seated than the horse made a stiff leap and cast the braggart over his head in a sort of elliptical curve. When Washington looked at the man, unhurt, but rolling in the dirt he laughed so heartily that the tears rolled down his cheeks.

Smithe's Journal, a Tory paper in New York, thus describes life at the Headquarters:

"Thirteen is a number peculiarly belonging to the rebels. A party of naval prisoners lately returned from Jersey say that the rations among the rebels are thirteen dried clams per day; the titular Lord Stirling takes thirteen glasses of grog every morning, has thirteen enormous rum blossoms on his nose and (when duly impregnated) he always makes thirteen attempts before he can walk; that Mr. Washington has thirteen toes on his feet (the extra ones having grown since the Declaration of Independence) and the same number of teeth in each jaw; that the Sachem Schuyler has a top-knot of thirteen stiff hairs which erect themselves on the crown of his head when he grows mad; that old Putnam had thirteen pounds of his posterior bit off in an encounter with a Connecticut bear and it was then he lost the balance of his mind; that it takes thirteen Congress paper dollars to equal our penny sterling; that Polly Wayne was just thirteen hours in subduing Stony Point and as many seconds in having it; that a well-organized rebel household has thirteen children all of whom expect to be generals and members of the High and Mighty Congress of the "Thirteen United States" when they attain thirteen years; that Mrs. Washington has a mottled tom cat (which she calls in a complimentary way "Hamilton") with thirteen yellow rings around his tail and that his flourishing it suggested to the Congress the adopting of the same number of stripes for the rebel flag." They called it

a rebel flag, but it is this flag of deeds and destiny which has inspired more unselfish patriotism and broader national enthusiasm and more of that sentiment that makes men love freedom than any other flag that ever floated in the breezes of heaven.

Mrs. Washington and her husband were sincerely attached to each other and so far as possible avoided long separations. "They are happy in each other," writes General Green to his wife.

She joined her husband in 1777 when the General had his headquarters at the tavern of Jacob Arnold, who commanded a troop of Morris light horse, the site now being occupied by the Marsh and Hoffman brick building on the west side of the village green.

The old tavern, much modernized, was removed and now stands on Kimball avenue, Morristown, N. J.

Each winter the Commander-in-Chief had one of his aide-de-camp escort Mrs. Washington to headquarters and her arrival in her plain chariot, with neat postilions in scarlet and white liveries, was always joyfully welcomed by the army. "After the war," says the author of "The Story of An Old Farm," "Mrs. Washington used to say that she nearly always had heard the first and last cannon firing of each campaign."

No warrior ever had a more devoted wife than did Washington. She was always with him in camp when it was possible, and on New Year's Day, 1780, she duly arrived at Headquarters. Uzal Knapp, the old Life Guardsman, says: "She was short, stout built, and a good little woman; we all loved her." Others say she was not beautiful, but a very engaging woman, agreeable in conversation, and in her manners simple, easy and dignified. Dr. Thatcher says she is "amiable in her temper and deportment and full of benignity and benevolence."

When passing through Trenton in the midst of a severe snow storm, certain gallant Virginia soldiers, very proud of her, paraded in her honor and escorted her on her way. She tarried a day and a night at Union Farms with the family of Colonel Charles Stewart, her body guard, Major Washington—the General's nephew—and ten dragoons being encamped in an outbuilding.

Colonel Stewart's daughter, Mrs. Martha Wilson, says that Mrs. Washington told her that she kept sixteen spinning wheels in constant operation in her Mt. Vernon home, and she showed her two dresses of cotton striped with silk, the latter made from ravellings of brown silk stockings and old crimson damask chair covers. These dresses were made by her domestics and were worn by herself. Her coachman, footman and waiting maid, who accompanied her, were all attired in domestic cloth, excepting the coachman's cuffs, which were imported before the war.

Immediately after the arrival of Mrs. Washington at Headquarters some of the principal ladies of Morristown together made her a formal visit, to welcome her to their society. Dressed in their most elegant attire, and wearing their jewels and other ornaments, they were ushered into the presence of the distinguished lady, by whom they were cordially received. They were surprised to find her habited in a very plain gown made of home-made stuff, a white kerchief covering her neck and bosom, a neat cap, and no ornament but a plain gold wedding ring. While with her right hand she gave each a kindly greeting, in her left hand she held a half-knit stocking, the ball of yarn lying in an outside pocket hanging at her side. They were still more surprised, when seated, to observe that the dignified little woman, while engaged in animated conversation with them, and making them feel at ease, plied her knitting needles incessantly, while they spent the hour in her presence with idle fingers.

It was the custom of General Washington during these winter encampments, where Mrs. Washington was with him, to cultivate a social spirit, and to accomplish this he invited a certain number of officers every day, excepting Sundays, to dine at his table; also the wives of officers who might be in camp, and sometimes ladies and gentlemen of the neighborhood. The General and Mrs. Washington usually sat at one side of the table, while his secretary, Colonel Hamilton (while he was in the military family of the Commander-in-Chief) performed the civilities on these occasions.

Before the guests sat down to dinner the general, standing, asked a blessing with solemn tones and closed eyes. Old Billy,

Washington's body servant, whose head appeared like a bunch of white sheep's wool, was the chief waiter on that occasion and "moved with great dignity."

According to de Chastellux, Washington was extremely fond of hickory nuts. Describing a dinner at Headquarters at which the Marquis "assisted," he wrote: "After this the cloth was taken off, and apples and a great quantity of nuts were served, which General Washington usually continued eating for two hours, toasting and conversing all the time. These nuts are small and dry, and have so hard a shell that they can only be broken by the hammer. They are served half open, and the company are never done picking and eating them."

The relieve the tedium and constant anxieties of these times when four months' pay of a private soldier would not procure one bushel of wheat, and hungry ruin stared the army in the face, the leaders subscribed \$13,600 (\$400 in specie) and started a dancing assembly. The subscription list was headed by the Commander-in-Chief and signed by Generals Greene, Knox, Sterling and Wilkinson; Colonels Hamilton, Erskine, Jackson, Hand, Baron de Kalb and others. This ball was held in the Arnold Tavern.

On May 1st, M. Gerard, the French Minister, and a Spanish gentleman, arrived at the camp, and on the 14th there was a picturesque review of the troops at which Mrs. Washington and many other ladies were present. The Commander-in-Chief on his beautiful white horse, followed by Billy, rode in front of the lines and received the salute. He was accompanied by a group of Indians, chiefs from Western Pennsylvania. They were dressed and decorated in the most fanciful manner. Eagle's plumes, bunches of gay feathers, strings of bear's claws and other rude things ornamented their persons. From their noses and ears hung large pendants. Some of them were half naked, others wore ragged shawls over their shoulders which fluttered in the wind. They were mounted on miserable horses, most of them without saddles, and ropes were used for bridles. They carried guns in all sorts of positions. Mrs. Washington wrote to her daughter-in-law the next morning: "Yesterday I saw the

funniest, at the same time, the most ridiculous review of the troops I ever heard of. Nearly all the troops were drawn up in order, and Mrs. Knox, Mrs. Greene and myself saw the whole performance from a carriage. The General and Billy, followed by a lot of mounted savages, rode along the line. Some of the Indians were fairly fine looking, but most of them appeared worse than Falstaff's gang. And such horses and trappings. The General says it was done to keep the Indians friendly towards us. They appeared like cut-throats, all."

Among the frequent callers at the Headquarters no one was more acceptable and helpful to Washington in matters of the sanitary care of Morristown and its people than was Rev. Jacob Green, who was not only a preacher, but a physician, and a miller and a distiller; he was also the legal adviser of his people, drawing their wills and settling their estates. He was a zealous patriot, and with Briarley, Dayton and Livingston, and Randolph, of Virginia, devised a plan for a confederation of the United States. He was a strong protectionist, and prepared his own molasses from the stalks of the Indian corn, the juice of which he obtained by grinding in a machine of his own invention.

Among Mrs. Washington's intimates was Mrs. Colonel Wilson, whose residence in New Brunswick was seized for the headquarters of General Howe, and so highly was she esteemed, her seat at the headquarters' table was always next to that of Mrs. Washington. And Mrs. Captain Robert Wilson, whose father, Charles Stewart, of Lansdown, had a fine mansion on the Raritan river, and to these devoted friends her ladyship would tell of her active home life where sixteen spinning wheels were kept going continually, and she showed them two morning dresses made in her own house from ravellings of an old set of satin chair covers, which were carded, spun and woven with cotton yarns in alternate stripes of white cotton and crimson silk. In this connection it is pleasant and encouraging in these days of haste and extravagance even in patriotic societies to read about the lately organized Illinois Colony Club, which is to be composed of thirteen times thirteen members, to be national in scope, and is to revive the old customs and household industries of our great-great-grandmothers' day, the women bringing

their knitting and darning and sewing to their meetings. In this wholesome reform we are reminded not only of Mrs. Washington, but of the days in Jersey in 1738, when there was the gossipy "spinning visit" and the festivity called the "infare," when the newly wedded wife was brought to her new home. Marriage in those days was a carefully regulated affair, the laws for the same being far more strict than they are in these days.

Then the banns had to be published three times or else the parties had to procure a license from the governor of the province, which was only granted when the would-be bridegroom appeared in person accompanied by two prominent citizens, who testified that they knew no lawful obstacle to the marriage and gave a bond making themselves answerable for any damage that might arise on account of any previous promise of marriage having been made or for any complaints against the contracting parties by their relatives, guardians or masters. £1 5s. for fees also had to be paid down before the delivery of the license.

But to return to the life at Headquarters and the winter of 1779-80.

The visit of Miss Betsey Schuyler, second daughter of General Schuyler, who had lately taken a seat in Congress, to her friend, the wife of the cheery and much loved Dr. Cochran, was also an event of importance. "She was a beauty and a belle," says my esteemed friend, Andrew Mellick, the historian, "very small and delicately formed, with an oval face and bewitching black eyes." "A brunette," writes Tench Tilghman, "with the most good-natured lively dark eyes, which threw a beam of good temper and benevolence over her entire countenance."

And no wonder is it that Tilghman's brother staff officer, Colonel Hamilton, Washington's famous secretary, succumbed at once to the attractions of this imperious little beauty and that soon afterwards she became his wife.

The exceptional honors granted to Chevalier de la Luzerns, minister from France and Don Juan de Miralles, the Spanish envoy, on their arrival April 19, 1780, was also a marked incident of this fateful winter. A review of the troops, fireworks and a grand ball, made this a great occasion, but sad to relate it was on this important day Don Juan de Miralles was lying seri-

ously ill with pulmonic fever in the second story of the Ford Mansion and died four days thereafter. His funeral was attended with much pomp and ceremony, the cortege being a mile long. General Washington and other general officers and members of Congress walking in the procession as chief mourners. A Spanish priest recited the Roman Catholic service for the dead at the grave in the Presbyterian burying ground, just behind where stands the present church on the park. The deceased when buried was arrayed in full regalia, a scarlet coat, embroidered with heavy gold lace, a three-cornered gold lace hat and well-curled wig were on his head, a costly gold watch set with diamonds in his pocket, diamond rings on his fingers and rich seals depended from his watch guard, while the coffin itself was covered with rich black velvet ornamented in a superb manner.

No wonder the soldiers protested inwardly against so much of value being buried with the dead when so many defenders of their country were then and there in sorest need of the merest necessities, with a military chest empty and the army unpaid for five months.

Oh, what a strange satire was all this show in the drama of that serious camp life in that bleak winter. And this strange show seemed to have had also a strange conclusion for there was another funeral for this Spanish envoy in Philadelphia, which is thus described in the *Rivington Gazette* of May 20, 1780: "When the procession arrived at the Roman Catholic chapel the priest presented the holy water to Monsieur Luzerne, who after sprinkling himself presented it to Mr. Huntington, President of Congress. The *Colonist* paused a considerable time, but at last his affection for the great and goodly ally conquered all scruples of conscience and he, too, besprinkled and sanctified himself with all the adroitness of veteran Catholic, which, brethren of the Congress perceiving, they all without hesitation followed the righteous example of their proselyted President."

But stranger still is yet to come. "When the company, which was numerous, left the chapel, curiosity induced some persons to uncover the bier, when they were highly enraged at finding the whole a sham, there being no corpse there under the cloth,

the body itself having been several days before interred at Morristown.

A short distance from Morristown, at the Norris tavern, in December, 1779, the court-martial of Benedict Arnold took place, Major General Robert Howe being president and Generals Maxwell, Knox and Gist members of the court.

Marbois in his account says: "Arnold repaired to camp and employed every artifice of intrigue and persuasion to draw out the members of the court to his interest.

"He avoided, at first, presenting himself before them; but the tribunal was as resolute as it was equitable and enlightened. In spite of numberless subterfuges, he was compelled to appear and answer on each head of accusation.

"Relying upon effrontery to bear him out, he steadily denied every fact which was incapable of direct proof, or vouched only by public notoriety. As to the charges proved, he alleged, in extenuation even the disorder of his finances; he compared his case to that of the best citizens, impoverished like him, by the Revolution."

Arnold made an elaborate defense, (see Lossing's "Field Book," page 143) in the course of which he magnified his services, assented his entire innocence of the criminal charges made against him; cast reproach, by imputation, upon some of the purest men in the army, and solemnly proclaimed his patriotic attachment to his country."

"The boastfulness and malignity of these declarations," says Sparks, "are obvious enough; but their consummate hypocrisy can be understood only by knowing the fact that at the moment they were uttered he had been eight months in secret correspondence with the enemy and was prepared, if not resolved, when the first opportunity should offer, to desert and destroy his country."

Arnold was found guilty upon two of the charges presented, though with mitigating circumstances, and he was sentenced to be reprimanded by Washington.

Colonel Philip Van Courtlandt, a member of the Court Martial, says: "Had all the court known of Arnold's former con-



Dining Room



Kitchen

duct as well as I myself did, he would have been dismissed the service." ("Field Book of the Revolution," Vol. II., page 143.)

R. Tones, in his "Battles of America," says: "Never was the sword of justice more delicately tempered, and a smother wound given to an irritable conscience, than when wielded by the hand of the Commander-in-Chief on this occasion. When Arnold appeared before him, Washington addressed him gravely, but kindly: "Our profession is the chastest of all. Even the shadow of a fault tarnishes the lustre of our finest achievements. The least inadvertence may rob us of the public favor, so hard to be acquired. I reprimand you for having forgotten that in proportion as you had rendered yourself formidable to your enemies, you should have been guarded and temperate in your deportment toward your fellow citizens. Exhibit anew those noble qualities which have placed you on the list of our most distinguished commanders. I will furnish you, as far as it may be in my power, with opportunities of regaining the esteem of your country."

Arnold was maddened to rage and spared no one, from the Commander-in-Chief to subaltern, all of whom he charged with envy of his own brilliant military fame.

His pride was too deeply wounded, or maybe his treasonable schemes were too far ripened, to allow him to take advantage of the favorable moment to regain the confidence of his countrymen.

He was already in correspondence with the enemy, but hesitated to take the last step, until he had exhausted every other resource to supply the demands of his greedy prodigality.

As to this last characteristic we may here mention that four years before Colonel Brown had denounced Arnold, in a handbill, in these words: "Money is this man's God, and to get enough of it he would sacrifice his country." (Irving's "Life of Washington," Vol. IV.)

After this Arnold wrote General Schuyler, at Morristown, asking the command at West Point, as he was disabled from field duty by wounds. In reply, the latter wrote, June 2, 1780, that Washington "desired to do whatever was agreeable to

Arnold and intimated that West Point would be given him." How he afterwards sold himself for British gold, we all know too well. And his fame was blasted in England as well as here. In London, later on, when the 23rd Lord Crawford, who had fought at Ticonderoga, met Arnold, he remarked: "Ah, the traitor," and put his hand behind his back. Arnold challenged him, thereupon, to a duel, and the encounter took place. Arnold fired and missed. Lord Crawford, who had refrained from firing, thereupon walked away.

"Why don't you fire?" cried out Arnold.

"At you?" exclaimed Lord Crawford over his shoulder. "No, sir, I leave you to the hangman."

At the approach of death he asked as he sat in his chair, to have his old Continental uniform brought—the same in which he had so bravely fought the battles of his native country. The coat was put upon his shoulders, and he looked around and surveyed his appearance with a strange mingling of emotions. While thus enveloped with the insigni of a glorious and successful Revolution, and no doubt smitten with remorse at the thought of the crimes for which he was answerable—alternately toying with the honored uniform and deploring the depth of infamy into which he had plunged himself—life took its departure and the soul of the traitor was in another world.

No sadder picture than this of Arnold, his life and death is portrayed in the whole history of the American Revolution and so much more vivid is it where put in contrast with that of our beloved Commander, Washington. Thackeray says: "To endure is greater than to dare, to tire our hostile fortune, to be taunted by no difficulty, to keep heart when all have lost it, to go through intrigues spotless and to forego even ambition when the end is gained, who can say this is not greatness?" Thus the great novelist described the Father of his Country. But it was Bret Harte in his delightful little love story, "Thankful Blossom," which he wrote when living near Morristown, who gives the most admirable pen picture of the great Commander as the heroine of his story saw him in the Ford Mansion in that dreary December midnight of 1780.

All who approach near Morristown, N. J., by the D. L. & W. R. R., from the East, can easily distinguish the location of the priceless historic building, "Washington's Headquarters," by the American flag that can be seen over at the right floating from the flag pole on the grounds.

The writer is proud in the possession of that one share in the Washington Association which makes him a part owner in this famous historic building, and whenever I enter it, each room pictures in imagination the personality of the great commander who once made this building the center of a strategic plan so wise and forceful that "By an army almost reduced to extremity Philadelphia was saved, Pennsylvania protected and a victorious army laid under the necessity of quitting all thought of acting offensively in order to defend itself." Proud indeed should be every Jerseyman and especially the men of Morris county when they tell to their children the story how here within a radius of hardly one hundred miles, was the arena upon which were enacted events which were to change the whole future of a nation destined to be the greatest in the world's history.

As one stands in the mansion's wide hall one may in imagination see that splendid figure, "the noblest," says Gladstone, "that ever stood in the forefront of a nation's life." At that date Washington was about 47 years of age, over six feet tall, perfectly erect and of marked bearing and nobility of presence, eyes gray, hair hazel brown, complexion light, his countenance severe and thoughtful and his whole deportment possessed an unaffected and indescribable dignity without haughtiness of which all who approached him were immediately sensible.

An English correspondent of the New Jersey Gazette of December, 1779, writes of Washington that he was "a tall well-made man, rather large, with features manly and bold, eyes of a bluish cast and very lively, face long and marked with small-pox, complexion sunburnt and countenance composed and thoughtful.

"About the man there is a remarkable air of dignity with a striking degree of gracefulness, his understanding is excellent, without much quickness, he is strictly just, vigilant and gener-

ous, an affectionate husband, a faithful friend and a father to the deserving soldier.

"He is a total stranger to religious prejudices, but in his morals irreproachable and he was never known to exceed the bounds of temperance. Candor, sincerity, affability and simplicity seem to be the striking features of his character until an occasion offers of displaying the most determined bravery and independence of spirit."

Such was an Englishman's opinion. Jefferson said he was a man of very strong passions and "showed himself on several occasions tremendous in his wrath." He also says he was "the best horseman of his age."

That he was in very truth a "father to the deserving soldier" was peculiarly illustrated when he and Mrs. Washington were the guests of Mrs. Ford, for so intense was his anxiety and sympathy for the suffering of his half-clad troops encamped at Kimble Hill he wrote Congress pleading for aid and supplies to keep his army from disbanding, saying: "We have never experienced a like extremity at any period of the war," and feelingly added, "the troops, both officers and men, have been almost perishing with want and they have borne their sufferings with a patience that merits the approbation and ought to excite the sympathies of their countrymen."

Such was our great commander and president, and to him and his heroic associates, rather than to Greek patriots, we should refer our children, that they may know how to value the priceless heritage they wrought out for us in our great war for Freedom and Independence.

Let us hold firmly to the representative republic their efforts have assured us. We want no socialistic democracy; development we need, but not a change of government. Those who after the Revolution established our government knew and studied the difference between the forms of government mentioned above, and we must not mistake temporary expediency for principle. If this principle of the recall had prevailed in the days of 1780 George Washington would have been recalled at the time of the Vicious Cabal, and also Abraham Lincoln in the dark days of 1862 and 1863. Let us beware of all would-be reformers

who disregard the lessons of history and patriotism. Whatever betide and in every peril let us remember Washington.

“Let his great example stand,
Colossal sun of every land

And keep the soldier firm, the statesman pure,
Till in all lands and through all human story,
The path of Duty be the way to Glory.”

New York, March 4, 1912.

History of the Mormon Church

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CHAPTER LXVII

AN APOSTOLIC MISSION SENT TO ENGLAND—"MORMON" CAMP
LIFE ON THE MISSOURI—SAINTS' OCCUPANCY OF INDIAN LANDS

THE Camp of Israel at Council Bluffs and vicinity again becomes the initial point of events to be chronicled.

No sooner had the Battalion taken its departure than an apostolic mission was designated and sent to England. Elders Orson Hyde, Parley P. Pratt, and John Taylor constituted the mission, and left Council Bluffs on the 31st of July. A party of Presbyterian missionaries with their families were returning to St. Joseph from the Loupe Fork of the Platte river where they had been laboring among the Pawnee Indians; and with these the three Apostles took a working passage down the Missouri. This method of travel was quite common in those days on the Western rivers. The flat boat was kept in the main channel of the stream by guide oars, and the speed increased beyond the movement of the current by rowing. At night the boat was tied up, an encampment made on the bank, and the journey renewed usually with the dawn of the next day.

At St. Joseph the three Apostles purchased the flat boat and continued their journey to Fort Leavenworth where they arrived about the time the Mormon Battalion was drawing the years' allowance for clothing. The Battalion brethren generously contributed several hundred dollars to aid the Apostles on their journey, and Elder Pratt volunteered to carry to the Camp of Israel at Council Bluffs the money the Battalion desired to send

to their families and to the Church. Accordingly Elder Pratt returned through Missouri and Iowa on that business; while Elders Hyde and Taylor continued their journey eastward. They arrived in England on the 3rd of October, and Elder Pratt about ten days later.

The reason for sending this special mission to England grew out of certain impressions experienced by President Young and the council of Apostles that all was not well with the Church in that land, and that its affairs required the counsel and regulating hand of members of the Apostles's quorum.¹

When Elder Woodruff left England in the latter part of January, 1846, that he might participate with his fellow Apostles in the exodus from the United States, Elder Reuben Hedlock was again appointed President of the church in the British Isles with Elder Thomas Ward and John Banks as his counselors.²

For some years the supervision of the emigration of the saints from the British Isles to the body of the Church in America had been an important duty of the Presidency of the British Mission. In 1844 President Hedlock had been instructed to enlarge this business into a general emigration agency, opening "a general shipping office;" and was urged to "show the world" that he could "do a better and more honorable business than anybody else, and more of it."³ The British Presidency enlarged

1. The circular letter issued by Elders Hyde and Taylor immediately upon their arrival in England stated that they had been "appointed a mission to visit the church in England by a special manifestation of the Spirit of God, through the council of the Twelve Apostles." (*Mill. Star*, Vol. VIII, p. 92). The editorial of the *Star* for October 15th, 1846, announcing this mission and signed by Orson Hyde, opens as follows: "During last winter, the Council of the Church in America under guidance of the Holy Spirit, deemed it necessary to send to you a number of fellow laborers in the gospel. * * * Since the above arrangements were made, and in some measure carried into effect, it hath pleased the Lord to direct the council by his Spirit to send unto you, in addition, a deputation of three of their own number, with instructions to regulate and set in order the various departments of the Church."

2. When Elder Woodruff arrived in England in January, 1845, he took the two brethren who had been presiding in the mission, Reuben Hedlock and Thomas Ward, as his counselors (*Mill. Star*, Vol. V, p. 142). And when he departed for America, as stated in the text, he reinstated these two in the presidency, and added Elder Banks as a counselor. With the interval of Woodruff's brief Presidency, Hedlock had presided in the British Isles since 1843 (see *Mill. Star* for Feb. 1st, 1846, Vol. VII. Communication of Wilford Woodruff "To the Saints in the British Isles;" also Elder Hedlock's statement, same number. See also *ante* this History, ch. LVII). The reappointment of Hedlock seems not to have been satisfactory to the Council of Apostles in America (*Mill. Star*, Vol. VII, p. 120).

3. Letter of Brigham Young and Willard Richards to Hedlock, May 3rd, 1844. Documentary Hist. of the Ch., Vol. VI, pp. 351-4.

their shipping agency accordingly, to include not only Latter-day Saints but all who were disposed to emigrate from the British Isles to America. At that time much encouragement was being given by the English government to emigration as a relief from trade and labor depression, and also from the famine that prevailed in Ireland. Elder Hedlock in this connection formed a partnership with a Mr. Hiram Shaw who had large interests in Ireland, and who, it was believed, would be able to give an impetus to the emigration business since it was chiefly from Ireland that emigration was encouraged as a means of relief from the famine. Elder Hedlock also formed business connections in the same line with what are called, in the correspondence upon the subject, "the rascally brokers of Liverpool;" and to this his associate Thomas Ward attributes his downfall.⁴

Soon after the departure of Elder Woodruff for America there was organized under the direction of Elders Hedlock and Ward a joint stock society for general trading and even manufacturing purposes,⁵ based upon British law, but its enterprises to be prosecuted in both England and America under the title of "The British and American Joint Stock Company." While necessarily a separate and independent concern under English law, the company, nevertheless, was improperly represented as an adjunct to the Church, and primarily organized to aid the Church in the accomplishment of some of her great purposes—the gathering of the Saints to the land of Zion (America), and the betterment of the condition of her membership by affording them opportunity for cooperative participation in the profits of trade. This sympathetic connection between the Church and the "Stock Company" was constantly urged through the columns of the *Star*, as also in public meetings and conferences of the church.⁶ The gathering of the poor and the

4. Letter of Thomas Ward to Brigham Young and the Council of Apostles, Hist. Brigham Young MS. Bk. 2, pp. 405-6.

5. "The deed of the company secures to us the privilege of trading as merchants between Great Britain and America, of hiring or purchasing ships, and of raising buildings wherein to manufacture the produce of those countries or either of them." (Editorial, *Mill. Star*, Vol. VII, p. 72).

6. "In partaking of the responsibilities of the Presidency of the churches in the British Islands, we are desirous to discharge our duty faithfully, and we are equally so in the connection with the 'Joint Stock Company;' indeed, so far as we are concerned, we do not separate the two, for if we had not been fully persuaded

deliverance of the Saints from "the grip of poverty," were the catch phrases of the concern. Considerable stock was purchased, a provisional registration, and then a final one, as required by the law, was obtained. High class offices were taken in the Stanely Buildings, Liverpool, but little business was ever done other than soliciting the purchase of stock and the paying of salaries and the traveling expenses of the officers of the company, although there was much talk of chartering and even of buying ships for trade and emigration purposes, also about starting a general merchandize store in Liverpool, etc., etc.

Elder Thomas Ward was made President of the Company and Samuel Downes, treasurer, and Thomas Wilson, secretary; but President Hedlock was earnest and active in the promotion of the company, and considerable of the company's capital was "loaned" to him without security, to assist in his emigration schemes.

The first act of the apostolic delegation from America was to declare that the "Joint Stock Company" was "an institution wholly independent of the Church;" and advised that the Saints "patronize the Joint Stock Company no more for the present." An accounting was demanded of the company; and the balance sheet finally worked out by the committee appointed by the Apostles disclosed the fact that—shillings and pence omitted—one thousand six hundred and forty-four pounds (\$8,220) had been received from the over sanguine shareholders; that out of this sum, representing the capital of the company, one thousand four hundred and eighteen pounds had been expended in pay-

that such an association would be of incalculable advantage to the Church of God, we would never have incurred the responsibility of our connection with it." Editorial in *Mill. Star*, Vol. VII, p. 72). Later, in an address over his own signature, Elder Hedlock declared the object in organizing the company to be "to promote the interests of the whole Church, and at the same time repay the shareholders." (Ibid, p. 126).

7. The whole paragraph containing these instructions is admirable: "We would advise the Saints, of whose rights and interests Providence has, to a certain extent, made us the guardians, to patronize Joint Stock Company no more for the present. That is an institution wholly independent of the Church, and we do not wish to see a religious influence enforced upon the Saints to draw money from them, with the ostensible design of conveying them to another country, when indeed that money is applied to purposes other than those for which it was subscribed. There are two ways of transacting business—one is with prudence and economy, and another is with wasteful prodigality. At our conference, proper instructions will be given to the Saints upon all these matters."

ment of traveling expenses, for legal counsel in effecting the organization, and office rent, leaving but two hundred and twenty-six pounds (\$1,130) of the capital for investment, and much of this was due to creditors. In their report the committee after presenting a detailed statement of the conditions said:

“The officers are blameable before God and the authorities of this church, because, when they knew that this company was not answering the purposes intended, they did not rise up like honest men and stop the growing evils, but were content to continue till nearly all the funds were devoured; and have thus rendered themselves unworthy of the future confidence of the Saints, and of any responsible trust hereafter in this kingdom.”

The amount of loss, of course, is trivial in comparison of defalcations common in the world; but this one was peculiarly distressing because the money was taken from the hard earnings of many poor people, struggling in the midst of depressed industrial conditions, and was obtained by the application of the pressure of religious influence upon them.

Elder Hedlock foreseeing the approaching calamity deserted his post as President of the British mission, as early as August, 1846,⁸ and went to London where he lived in seclusion.⁹ At the general conference of the British mission that was held in Manchester, on October 17th, under the presidency of the Apostolic delegation from America, President Hedlock was excommunicated. Elder Ward, whatever had been his errors in judgment at least faced the situation manfully, and while he stood disfellowshipped by act of the council of the Twelve in America,¹⁰ and hence under requirement to report himself to that council, the delegation of Apostles in England testified that he had “manifested a good feeling and a good spirit since their arrival,” and had followed their counsel “in every particular since that

8. The fact of his leaving his station in the church in August was stated by Thomas Ward at a conference held in Clithero, August 30th. *Mill. Star*, Vol. VIII, pp. 52-3.

9. Parley P. Pratt's Autobiography, p. 386. Life of John Taylor, p. 177. Also minutes of a General Conference of the Church in England at Manchester, *Mill. Star*, Vol. VIII, p. 120.

10. So satisfied were the Twelve at the Camp of Israel in the wilderness of the irregularities of both Hedlock and Ward that they disfellowshipped both of them “until they shall appear before the Council and make satisfaction for their repeated disregard of Council.” The official act bears date of July 16th, 1846. (See *Mill. Star*, Vol. VIII, p. 103).

time.”¹¹ He did not long survive the shock his errors brought upon him, however, as he died in England five months later.¹²

The fate of Hedlock is unknown. Other officers of the company, Samuel Downes, the treasurer, and Thomas Wilson, secretary, made all the satisfaction to the committee that acted as receivers for the company within their power; as also all the restitution that was possible under the circumstances. “This is all we can ask,” said the Editor of the *Star* (Orson Hyde); “and we say, let the yoke be taken off their necks, and let them go free, with the fellowship of the church, and let them make their calling and election sure, if they will.”¹³

The Joint Stock Company at meetings of the stockholders during the conference at Manchester—on the 17th and 19th of October respectively—by *resolution* dissolved, forthwith, that company, “the members present, and votes taken, being superabundant to warrant its dissolution.”¹³ Ultimately it was found that the company’s receivers could pay “one shilling and three pence on the pound of monies actually paid in.” Thus ended the Joint Stock Company scheme for the temporal and rapid enrichment of the Saints; which, however good the intentions that prompted its inception, became a means of robbing the worthy poor, to minister to the folly and vanity of men, some unwise, and some wicked.

Aside from this unpleasant episode of the “Joint Stock Company” the visit of the Apostolic Delegation to England was of a most pleasant character. The British Saints were blessed by it; the church strengthened and a new impetus given to the work in that land for the future. Elder Hyde was recognized as the president of the Delegation, and became for the time, President of the mission, and Editor of the *Millennial Star*, leaving Elders Pratt and Taylor free to visit all the conferences and most of the branches of the Church. Finally, the object of their

11. *Mill. Star*, Vol. VIII, p. III—*Notice*.

12. March 4th, 1847. Dropsy and an affection of the liver is assigned as the cause of death. The notice of his demise is most sympathetic; and his one desire seems to have been to render full satisfaction to the Presidency of the Church in America. *Mill. Star*, Vol. IX, p. 96.

13. *Mill. Star*, Vol. IX, p. 22. For complete list of officers, *Ibid*, p. 11.

13. *Mill. Star*, Vol. IX, pp. 11 and 22.

mission being accomplished, the delegation made arrangements for returning to the body of the Church in the frontier wilderness of America. Elders Taylor and Pratt departed on the 7th of February,¹⁴ and Elder Hyde on the 23rd of the same month, having duly installed Elder Orson Spencer, sent by the Council of Apostles from the Camp of Israel in the wilderness to preside over the British Mission.

Elder Taylor in the course of his many activities while on this mission, obtained an interview with the Earl of Dartmouth, with a view of interesting him, and through him the British government, in some plan of emigration to the British possessions on the Pacific coast of America—Vancouver's Island being especially mentioned—of which the Saints in England might take advantage. To this end also a Memorial was drawn up to the Queen asking "relief by emigration for a portion of her subjects." The memorial was admirable both in form and spirit, and moderate in its suggestions, withal; and had the statesmen of England in that day possessed the practical knowledge of the possibilities in a people for self-support, even in a wilderness, when that wilderness would be either Vancouver's Island or British Oregon, as the men had who were promulgating that memorial—the Apostolic Delegation from the "Mormon Church"—they would have seen in the plan no such insurmountable obstacles as led them to be indifferent to it.¹⁵ But Eng-

14. Elders Pratt and Taylor left for America on the 19th of January with a company of Saints, but met contrary winds in the English channel against which they struggled for nine days without making more than fifty miles headway. The ship returned to port, and made a second start on the 7th of February, the date of the text.

15. After calling attention to the "unexampled amount of abject, helpless, and unmerited misery" prevailing among the laboring classes, the Memorial then states: "Your memorialists, without attempting to enumerate the many alleged causes of the present national distress and suffering, feel convinced that Emigration to some portion of your Majesty's vacant territories is the only permanent means of relief left to a rapidly increasing population, which, if retained here, must swell the aggregate amount of misery, wretchedness, and want.

"Your memorialists believe that, if a part of the poor and destitute portion of your majesty's loyal subjects were sent to the Island of Vancouver, or to the great territory of Oregon, through your Majesty's *gracious interference and Royal aid*, they might there find a field of labour and industry, in which, after a short period, they could not only benefit themselves, but open an effectual door for the interchange of commodities with the home country, having brought into cultivation the soil that now lies untenanted, and thus indirectly raise a revenue that would more than balance the expenditure of the present emigration."

This proposition was supplemented by the suggestion that government survey its American Pacific Coast possession to which prospective emigrants might go,

land at the time was sore distraught, almost in a state of revolution. Midsummer had witnessed a complete change in the kingdom's fiscal system; Lord John Russell's government was but newly installed, and the memorable famine in Ireland—1845-6, which reduced the population of that land by starvation and emigration from eight millions to six—in its effects still lingered to perplex the government; trade depression was general, political conditions were much complicated, and hence little heed was paid to the Saint's Memorial though it was sent to every member of parliament, and Lord John Russell politely acknowledged receipt of it.¹⁶

The "Camp of Israel," rapidly spreading out on both sides of, as well as up and down the Missouri river in the vicinity of Council Bluffs, during the summer of 1846, was doubtless a remarkable sight. The life of the people was full of interest and romance, the like of which was never seen before, and in all probability never will be possible again; and therefore we may be justified in contemplating it somewhat in detail. The community had no laws save such as were self-imposed; no officers save those provided in the Church organization, and their special appointees to exercise functions of a semi-civic nature such as a marshall of a camp and his aids to enforce order and prevent people from trespassing upon each other in regard to stock running at large, destroying gardens, or intruding into camp grounds; also to hold in check the thoughtless buoyancy of youth which had not yet learned the lessons of self-restraint, and ever grows somewhat impatient of discipline; also to guard the camps from the intrusion of strangers who would spy out their liberties and impose upon the unwary, and likewise to check by punishing promptly, the thieving propensities of the Indians

into townships to be subdivided into sections, on the even numbers of which the emigrants might settle, the government retaining the odd numbers until such time as the improvements of the settlers would give such advanced values to the retained government sections as would more than repay government for present expenditure in giving free passage by government aid to emigrants desirous of going to those lands.

16. See *Mill. Star*, Vol. IX, pp. 74-5. An interesting correspondence appears in the same number of the *Star*—No. 5—between Hon. John Browning, M. P., for burrough of Liverpool, and Elder Thomas D. Brown upon the subject of the memorial. The signed memorial measured 168 feet in length and contained nearly 1,300 names. (Hist. Brigham Young, *MS.*, Bk. 3, p. 50).

by whom they were surrounded. Their laws were edicts or regulations issued from the councils of their wisest men. It was literally the rule of Caryl's "can-ning, or able-men," voluntarily submitted to by the people with right willing loyalty and nothing doubting, because they recognized in the edicts promulgated "precisely the wisest, fittest" thing which in all ways behooved them to do.¹⁷

The necessity of frequent communication with the remnant of the community left at Nauvoo, and with the trustees there in charge of both such public and private property as could not be disposed of before the departure of the main body of the people; as also the necessity of communication with all the camps and traveling companies between Nauvoo and Council Bluffs, led them to establish an independent mail service since, of course, there was none established by government between those two points. Occasional mails also were carried between the Camp of Israel and the Battalion until the latter marched from Sante Fe. By this means the presiding council of the Church kept in touch with practically the whole people whose movements they were directing. It afforded also to separated families and friends the means of keeping informed of each other's movements—of knowing each others good or evil fortunes, of the need of help on the one hand, and of ability to give succor on the other, and thus bound them together in mutual sympathies and ability to be helpful. No other circumstances contributed so much to the unity of the Saints, or ministered so much to their mental peace as this postal service, except always, of course, that spiritual bond of their mutual faith and trust in God, constantly kept alive by frequent religious instructions, admonition and prayer—prompted by the felt need in their peculiar circumstances of the sustaining hand of Divine Providence.

The land they occupied was beautiful, consisting of alternating stretches of prairie and woodlands, the latter following streams which are numerous in that region, for among other natural advantages it was a well watered country. The great Missouri, hemmed in its meandering course by sharp, irregular

17. Hero Worship—The Hero as King.

bluffs, along its bottom lands afforded stretches of scenery unsurpassed in beauty.

The fact that the old Mormon encampments are now the site of such populous and prosperous commercial and manufacturing cities as Council Bluffs and Omaha,¹⁸ is evidence that the Mormon leaders had halted at a point where natural advantages and resources had so converged as to sustain a large population; all which their industrious energy and enterprise would have developed long before those cities rose to any importance if only they could have felt free to remain and apply labor force under intelligent leadership. But it is this region as it existed under the Mormon encampments with which I am here concerned, the environment and atmosphere that goes with the events I am chronicling that I would preserve; and perhaps the happiest and most detailed description of those encampments is the one given by Col. Thomas L. Kane when he came upon them *en route* from Fort Leavenworth to the east. He was seeking the Mormon camps when suddenly he came in view of them:

“They were collected a little distance above the Pottawattamie Agency. The hills of the ‘High Prairie’ crowding in upon the river at this point, and overhanging it, appear of an unusual and commanding elevation. They are called the Council Bluffs; a name given them with another meaning, but well illustrated by the picturesque congress of their high and mighty summits. To the south of them, a rich alluvial flat of considerable width follows down the Missouri, some eight miles, to where it is lost from view at a turn, which forms the site of an Indian town of Point aux Poules. Across the river from this spot the hills recur again, but are skirted at their base by as much low ground as suffices for a landing.

“This landing, and the large flat or bottom on the east side of the river, were crowded with covered carts and wagons; and each one of the Council Bluff hills opposite, was crowned with its own great camp gay with bright white canvas, and alive with busy stir of swarming occupants. In the clear blue morning air the smoke steamed up from more than a thousand cooking fires. Countless roads and by-paths checkered all manner of geometric figures on the hillsides. Herd boys were dozing upon the slopes; sheep and horses, cows and oxen, were feeding around them, and other herds in the luxuriant meadow of the then swollen river.

¹⁸. Council Bluffs' population, 1910, was 29,292; Omaha's, 124,096.

From a single point I counted four thousand head of cattle in view at one time. As I approached it seemed to me the children there were to prove still more numerous. Along a little creek I had to cross were women in greater force than blanchisseuses upon the Seine, washing and rinsing all manner of white muslins, red flannels, and particolored calicoes, and hanging them to bleach upon a greater area of grass and bushes than we can display in all our Washington Square.

"Hastening by these, I saluted a group of noisy boys, whose purely vernacular cries had for me an invincible home-savoring attraction. It was one of them a bright-faced lad, who, hurrying on his jacket and trousers, fresh from bathing in the creek, first assured me I was at my right destination. He was a mere child; but he told me of his own accord where I had best go and seek my welcome, and took my horses's bridle to help me pass a morass, the bridge over which he alleged to be unsafe.

"There was something joyous for me in my rambles about this vast body of pilgrims. I could range the wild country wherever I listed, under safeguard of their moving host. Not only in the main camps was all stir and life, but in every direction, it seemed to me I could follow 'Mormon roads,' and find them beaten hard, and even dusty, by the tread and wear of the cattle and vehicles of emigrants laboring over them. By day, I would overtake and pass, one after another, what amounted to an army train of them; and at night, if I encamped at the places where the timber and running water were found together, I was almost sure to be within call of some camp or other, or at least within sight of its watchfires. Wherever I was compelled to tarry, I was certain to find shelter and hospitality, scant, indeed, but never stinted, and always honest and kind. After a recent unavoidable association with the broker inhabitants of Western Missouri and Iowa, the vile scum which our own society, to apply the words of an admirable gentleman and eminent divine,¹⁹ 'like the great ocean washes its frontier shores,' I can scarcely describe the gratification I felt in associating again with persons who were almost all of eastern American origin—persons of refined and cleanly habits and decent language, and every day seemed to bring with it its own special incident, fruitful in the illustration of habits and character."²⁰

It was while Col. Kane was still in the Mormon camps that he was stricken by an illness which held him bound at President

19. Reverend Dr. Morton, of Philadelphia.

20. From Kane's Lecture before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, "The Mormons" 26th March, 1850, pp. 78, 79.

Young's headquarters throughout the greater part of the summer. At one time it was feared his illness would prove fatal. The Colonel's solicitude for the welfare of his new-found friends—the apprehension that his death might be charged to their account through design or neglect—led him to send to Fort Leavenworth for medical aid, to which a Dr. H. I. W. Edes responded. He visited the Colonel, and certified over his signature the nature of his illness, “The violent bilious fever of this region, connecting itself seriously with the nervous system;” and, “after the disappearance of this malady, an intermittent fever has supervened.” Relative to the Colonel's treatment by the Mormons the doctor certified: “From Col. Kane's unmeasured assurances to me, and from what I myself have observed during my visit to this place, I have no hesitation in testifying to the devoted care and kindness with which he has been treated by his friends, the Mormon people. Throughout this entire camp, where I observe a spirit of harmony and a habit of good order wonderful in so large an assemblage of people, I find that there prevails towards him the warmest and most cordial benevolence and feeling.”²¹ Such was the precaution thought necessary by Col. Kane in order to preserve the Latter-day Saints from a possible false charge of conniving at his death in the event of death befalling him in the Mormon camps, so viciously were they subjected to misrepresentation at the time.²² But the Colonel recovered, and in September returned to the east *via*. of Nauvoo, arriving there just after the mob had expelled the remnant of the Latter-day Saint population from Nauvoo; which “victory,” and the “battle” which preceded it were detailed in Chapter LX of this History.

The remnant expelled, under circumstances of such great cruelty, was made up of those who were either too poor to purchase an outfit with which to leave the city, or else of those who could not dispose of property to buy teams with which to remove. When driven from their homes by the mob they took

21. The certificate is dated Aug. 19, 1846, Omaha country above Council Bluffs and signed by H. I. W. Edes, M. D., from Weston, Mo. (Hist. Brigham Young *Ms.*, Bk. 2, pp. 172-3).

22. In his Journal History (*Ms.* Bk. 2, p. 173), Brigham Young writes: “The certificate of Dr. Edes was procured from him by Col. Kane in consequence of an apprehension on his part that if his sickness proved fatal, the Mormons would be wrongfully charged by their enemies; and he subsequently stated that that was his only reason for sending to Leavenworth for a physician.”

refuge on the Iowa side of the Mississippi, where they bivouaced as best they could on the river bottoms. They numbered about six hundred and forty, all told. An encampment was improvised of such materials as were at hand. There were a few old wagons with covers; tents were constructed by stretching quilts and blankets over frames made of small poles; other shelters still were made by weaving brush between stakes driven into the ground; and here were huddled women and children destitute of both food and adequate clothing. It was the latter part of September, and the cold, fall rains frequently drenched them. It was the sickly season of the year and most of the camp suffered from alternating chills and fever. Such as were able to leave camp went into neighboring towns up and down the river and applied to farmers and settlers about them for work and relief from starvation. Their camp from the general destitution that prevailed is called in our annals "The Poor Camp."²³ In the midst of their greatest distress for want of food, a most remarkable circumstance, yet well attested, happened. This was no other than the falling into their camp, and for several miles up and down the river of immense numbers of quails, birds quite common in that country, but these flocks were so exhausted, evidently from a long flight, that the women and children and even the sick, since they came tumbling into the tents or bowers, could take them up with their hands. Thousands were so caught, and the sick and the destitute were fed upon daintiest food.²⁴

23. Col. Kane called at this encampment, after he had visited Nauvoo, while it was still in the hands of the mob forces who had taken possession of it and thus described conditions as he found them: "Here, among the docks and rushes, sheltered only by the darkness, without roof between them and the sky, I came upon a crowd of several hundred human creatures, whom my movements roused from uneasy slumber upon the ground. * * * Dreadful indeed, was the suffering of these forsaken beings; bowed and cramped by cold and sunburn, alternating as each weary day and night dragged on, they were, almost all of them, the crippled victims of disease. They were there because they had no homes, nor hospitals, nor poor house, nor friends to offer them any. They could not satisfy the feeble cravings of their sick; they had not bread to quiet the fractious hunger-cries of their children. Mothers and babes, daughters and grandparents, all of them alike, were bivouacked in tatters, wanting even covering to comfort those whom the sick shivers of fever were searching to the marrow. These were Mormons, famishing in Lee County, Iowa, in the fourth week of the month of September, in the year of our Lord 1846. * * * They were, all told, not more than six hundred and forty persons who were thus lying on the river flats. But the Mormons in Nauvoo and its dependencies had been numbered the year before at over twenty thousand." Kane's Lecture "The Mormons," p. 69.

24. The quail incident occurred upon the 9th of October and is thus recorded in the manuscript journal History of Brigham Young: "On the 9th of October, while our teams were waiting on the banks of the Miss. for the poor Saints, * * *

No sooner was the news of the results of the "Battle of Nauvoo" carried to the headquarters of Brigham Young, on the Missouri, and the destitute condition of the expelled saints made known, than a relief company was organized consisting of teams with tents and provisions to make the journey back to the Mississippi, to gather up the victims of the mob's hate and violence. This relief company started eastward under the direction of O. M. Allen. In due time the saints of the "Poor Camp" were brought away from the scenes of their afflictions, and found refuge among their friends in the camps on the Missouri.

Some difficulty arose between the local Indian agents and the Saints concerning the occupancy of the Indian lands on both sides of the Missouri, but more especially in regard to the lands of the Omahas on the west side. Before departing from Council Bluffs with the enlisted Battalion, Col. Allen gave to Brigham Young the following permit of passage through and permission to temporarily occupy Indian lands:

"HEADQUARTERS, MORMON BATTALION,
U. S. VOLUNTEERS,
July 16th, 1846.

"The Mormon people, now en route to California, are hereby authorized to pass through the Indian country on that route, and they may make stopping places at such points in the Indian country as may be necessary to facilitate the emigration of their whole people to California, and for such time as may be reasonably required for this purpose.

"At such stopping points they may entrench themselves with such stockade works or other fortification as may be necessary for their protection and defense against the Indians. This during the pleasure of the President of the United States.

"J. ALLEN,

"*Lt. Col. U. S. A. Commanding Mormon Battalion of U. S. Volunteers.*"²⁵

left without any of the necessities of life, * * * and nothing to start their journey with, the Lord sent flocks of quail, which lit upon their wagons and their empty tables, and upon the ground within their reach, which the Saints, and even the sick, caught with their hands until they were satisfied." (Hist. B. Young, *MS.* Bk. 2, pp. 382-3). This phenomenon extended some 30 or 40 miles along the river, and was generally observed. The quail in immense quantities had attempted to cross the river, but it being beyond their strength, had dropped into the river boats or on the bank. Wells, in *Utah Notes MS.*, 7. History of the Church-Cannon-Juvenile Instructor, Vol. XVIII, p. 107. Also letter of Brigham Young to Elders Hyde, Pratt and Taylor, of Jan. 6th, 1847; *Mill. Star*, Vol. IX, p. 99.

25. Hist. Brigham Young *MS.*, Bk. 2, pp. 98-9.

Colonel Allen obtained a written and duly signed permission from representative chiefs of the Pottawattamie tribe for the Mormon people then upon their lands and as many more as might come, in their western movement, to settle on their lands, to occupy the same, cultivate and improve them so long as the Mormons should not give positive annoyance to these Indians.²⁶ Subsequently, with much flourish of Indian ceremony and a speech by the chief Pied Riche—surnamed *Le Clerc*, on account, it is said, of his scholarship²⁷—the same privileges of occupancy of land was again pledged to the Saints; which, however, loses much of its effectiveness when it is known that the Indian title had been extinguished, and they were merely granting what really they neither had the power to give or withhold, and they themselves were to remove from these lands in the ensuing spring.²⁸

Of much more importance was the permit granted by Col. Allen for a portion of the Mormon people to occupy the Pottawattamie lands, during the pleasure of the President of the United States, in view of the “Mormons” having, “on due application, raised and furnished for the service of the United States a battalion of volunteers to serve with the army of the West,” in the war with Mexico.

The Colonel also secured from R. B. Mitchell, Indian sub-agent at Pottawattamie Agency, a statement to the effect that the permission of the Pottawattamie Indians was given of their own free will and consent, and apparently was for the good of both parties, “with no prospect of evil arising therefrom.”²⁹ Copies of these documents Colonel Allen placed in the hands of both Brigham Young and Col. Kane; and it was the understanding that Allen would make this matter of passage through and temporary occupancy of Indian lands an item in his report to Washington. But evidently his sudden illness and death occurred before his report was drafted; and as Colonel Kane about the same time was taken ill and rendered incapable of taking the matter up directly with the Washington authorities, the abso-

26. See not I end of chapter for this document.

27. Kane's Lecture “The Mormons,” p. 99.

28. See Kane's letter to Brigham Young (E) note I end of chapter.

29. For the several documents in question see Note I, end of chapter.

lute necessity for the Saints remaining at their present encampment on the Indian lands was not clearly presented for some time to the government, and some unpleasantness, arising from officiousness on the part of local Indian agents, was the result. Willingness on the part of the general government to do the right thing in the premises is manifest from the following communication on the subject issued from the office of Indian Affairs, War Department, to Major Thomas H. Harvey, Superintendent of Indian Affairs at St. Louis:

“WAR DEPARTMENT,
“OFF. INDIAN AFFAIRS,
“Sept. 2, 1846.

“SIR:—Since my letter to you of the 27th July and the 22nd ult., in relation to the Mormons and the desire expressed by them to remain for a time on the lands recently purchased by the United States from the Pottawattamie Indians, and which lie within the limits of Iowa, the subject has been brought to the immediate notice of the President and Secretary of War.

“The object and intention of the Mormons in desiring to locate upon the lands in question, are not very satisfactorily set forth, either in the application to the President or in the letter transmitted to this office, which contained the assent of the Indian chiefs. If their continuance is really to be temporary and for such length of time only as will enable them to supply their wants and procure the necessary means for proceeding on their journey, the government will interpose no objections.

“The want of provisions and the near approach of winter, which will have set in before they can reach their proposed destination, would necessarily expose them to much suffering, if not to starvation and death; while on the other hand, a location and continuance for any very considerable length of time near Council Bluffs, would interfere with the removal of the Indians, an object of much interest to the people of that region of country, delay the survey and sales of the lands in question, and thus in all probability bring about a difficulty between Iowa, now about to come into the union as a state, and the general government. Both these extremes, in the opinion of the President, should be avoided. The rights and interests of Iowa, now that the Indian title has been extinguished, may not be jeopardized, while the laws of humanity and the rights of hospitality should not be disregarded.

“You will ascertain, if possible, the real intention of these

people in desiring to remain, and if you are satisfied that they will leave and resume their journey in the spring, or at such period as the season for traveling will justify, and that no positive injury is likely to arise to the Indians from their stay among them, you will instruct the sub-agent, and give notice to any other officers of the general government in that quarter, to interpose no objection to the Mormon people remaining on the lands referred to, during the suspension of their journey, or to their making such improvements and raising such crops as their convenience and wants may require; taking care, however, at the same time, to impress upon them the necessity of leaving at the earliest moment their necessities and convenience will justify, and of observing all laws and regulations in force upon the territory for the time being.

“Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

“W. MEDILL.³⁰

“MAJOR THOMAS H. HARVEY,

“Supt., etc., St. Louis, Mo.”

Colonel Kane not being able on account of his illness to present the matter of the Saints' occupancy of Indian lands to the authorities at Washington requested his father, Judge Kane, to do so, which he did with the result that the President after full consideration of the subject in all its bearings deemed it best to “give the permission in the form and on the condition contained in a letter to Major Harvey, the efficient superintendent of Indian Affairs at St. Louis.”³¹

In order to preserve their stock through the winter—and it should be remembered they had some 30,000 head of cattle besides horses, mules and sheep—the Saints needed a wider range than the Pottawattamie lands afforded, and hence had formed encampments on the west side of the Missouri as well as on the east side. These lands were occupied by the Omaha Indians, now but a wretched remnant of a once powerful tribe. The ravages of small-pox had greatly reduced their number, and the

30. (History of Brigham Young, MS., Bk. 2, pp. 231-233). In a letter to Major Harvey somewhat later President Young said of this communication: “*If the principles advanced by the War Department in said communication are carried out, we shall be satisfied;*” and quotes the part of the above letter which virtually amounts to a permission from the government to remain a reasonable length of time upon the Indian lands and which was intended, doubtless, to be so interpreted by the President and the War Department. See letter of Medill of the Indian Office to Judge J. K. Kane, note I, end of chapter.

31. Medill's Letter to Judge J. K. Kane (f) note I, end of chapter.

Sioux, their war-like and powerful neighbors, had made successful war upon them until their spirits were broken.³² They welcomed the Saints among them and gave them written permission to remain on their lands two years or as long as might suit their convenience, and to use all the wood and timber they might require, all, however, subject to the approval of their "great Father, the President of the United States." The Omahas furthermore agreed not to molest or steal stock or other property.³³ On their part the Saints agreed to help the Indians gather their crop of maize, which they were afraid to harvest because of the likelihood of being abused and murdered by the Sioux; also to assist them in building some houses, enclosing fields, teaching their young men husbandry, doing some blacksmithing for them, and trading with them. By making their chief encampment north of the Omaha villages the Mormon camp would also act as "a breakwater between the Omahas and the destroying rush of the Sioux."³⁴

Notice of these measures of mutual helpfulness between Mormons and Omahas was sent direct to Washington by Brigham Young, asking the President of the United States to ratify the same.³⁵ But, as in the case of securing permission to settle on the Pottawattamie lands, the matter moved slowly at Washington, and meantime there were petty acts of officiousness on the part of local Indian agents, and especially concerning the use of fire wood and timber for building purposes. Having secured a

32. "The whole Omaha nation are a poor, miserable, degraded race of beings, so far as we have any knowledge, and it would seem that they must soon come to an end, if they don't alter their course." Letter of Brigham to Hyde, Pratt and Taylor. *Mill. Star*, Vol. IX, p. 98.

33. See copy of agreement (g), note I, end of chapter. The Saints were much annoyed by the thievery practiced by the Omahas, however, and it was a matter of much complaint and of several formal conferences between the Chiefs and the Church leaders. See Hist. Brigham Young MS. for winter of 1846-7, *passim*.

34. Kane's Lecture "The Mormons," p. 101.

35. See History of Brigham Young, MS., Bk. 2, pp. 238-240. The communication also calls attention to the fact that a small division of the Mormon people are camped some two or three hundred miles west of the Omaha villages on the north bottoms among the Puncas, "where similar feelings are manifested towards our people. Should Your Excellency consider the requests of the Indians for instruction reasonable, and signifying the same to us, we will give them all the information in mechanism and farming the nature of the case will admit, which will give us the opportunity of getting the assistance of their men to help us herd and labor, which we have much needed since the organization of the Battalion." The communication bears date of September 7th, 1846.

copy of the instructions issued from the War Department to Major Harvey, by which both he and the sub-agents were to be governed in the matter of the Pottawattamie lands, and having confidence that the attitude of the government would not be different with reference to the Omaha lands, and backed as they were by the powerful influence of the Kanes', and following especially the advice of Col. Kane,³⁶ President Young and his associate brethren refused to be disturbed in the matter of settling on Omaha lands and using such wood and timber as they needed, and preparing for putting in crops in the spring. On their part the agents and sub-agents continued from time to time to grumble about the use of wood and timber from the Indian lands; and Major Harvey informed the Pottawattamie chiefs that none of the Mormons in their tribe—some of the half breeds in the tribe had accepted the Mormon faith—would receive any of the annuities, a thing which the chiefs resented, but whether successfully or not cannot be ascertained. The Major also discharged a Mr. Case, government Indian farmer for twenty years among the Pawnees, apparently for no other reason than that he had a short time before accepted the Mormon faith. A farmer had for some time been promised to the Ottoe Indians, and when they expressed a preference for Mr. Case, whom they had long known, Harvey refused to appoint him, for no other reason, so far as known, than the one for which he had discharged him from the position of farmer among the Pottawattamie Indians, viz., he was a Mormon.³⁷ Such were the acts of prejudiced petty officials.

Finally, however, Col. Kane recovering from his illness visited Washington in the interests of his friends, the Mormons, and obtained permission for them to occupy Omaha lands upon the same terms as his father had procured for like permission to occupy Pottawattamie lands and their troubles on that score were practically ended.³⁸

36. For the nature of that advice, see Letter to Col. Kane's, bearing date of Sept. 11 (E), note I, end of chapter.

37. Report of Wm. Clayton to the Council of the Twelve, Nov. 6, 1846, *Hist. Brigham Young Ms.*, Bk. 2, p. 446. Also Letter of Willard Richards to Col. Kane. *History of Brigham Young Ms.*, Bk. 2, pp. 470-4.

38. See excerpt of Letters of Orson Spencer to President Brigham Young, dated at Philadelphia, Nov. 26, 1846 (h), note I, end of chapter.



Thomas L. Kane

NOTE 1. LETTERS AND DOCUMENTS RELATIVE TO MORMON OCCUPANCY OF INDIAN LANDS. (a) *Letter of Colonel James Allen.*

“HEADQUARTERS, MORMON BATTALION,

“COUNCIL BLUFFS, July 16th, 1846.

“The Mormon people having on due application raised and furnished for the service of the United States a battalion of volunteers to serve with the ‘army of the West’ in our present war with Mexico, and many of the men composing this battalion having to leave their families in the Pottawatomie country, the within permission to a portion of the Mormon people to reside for a time on the Pottawatomie lands, obtained from the Indians on my request is fully approved by me, and such of the Mormon people as may desire to avail themselves of this privilege are hereby fully authorized to do so, during the pleasure of the President of the United States.

“J. ALLEN,

“*Lieut. Col. U. S. A., Commanding Mormon Battalion.*”

(b) *The Written Permission of the Pottawattamies for the Mormons to Occupy their Lands, Secured by Colonel J. Allen:*

“Sub agency of Pottawattamie at Council Bluffs, July 2, 1846. We the undersigned chiefs and braves representing the Pottawattamie tribe of Indians near this sub agency do voluntarily consent that as many of the Mormon people now in or to come into our country as may wish from cause or necessity or convenience to make our lands a stopping place on their present emigration to California may so stop, remain and make cultivation and improvement upon any part of our lands not now cultivated or appropriated by ourselves, so long as we remain in the possession of our present country, or so long as they shall not give positive annoyance to our people.

“Oh-be-te-ke-shick. X His mark.

“Joseph La Trombois. X His mark.

“Wash-e-ash-kak. X His mark.

“Mack-e-etow-shuck. X His mark.

“Lee-ko. X His mark.

“Myn-co. X His mark.

“Ton-a-bois. X His mark.

“Nau-Kee. X His mark.

“Pat-e-go-shuck. X His mark.

“Wau-ve-nu-me. X His mark.

“Signed in the presence of

“J. ALLEN,

“*Capt. First Dragoons.*”

(The foregoing is from the daily Journal of Elder John Taylor, subsequently President of the Church, and stands in the entry for July 2nd, 1846).

(c) *Sub-Indian Agent Mitchell Indorsement of Pottawattamie Permission for Mormons to Settle on their Lands:*

“SUB-AGENCY OF POTTAWATOMIES,

“NEAR COUNCIL BLUFFS, July 20, 1846.

“With regard to the foregoing permission of the Pottawatomie Indians near my sub-agency given their own free will and accord to the Mormon people, I willingly certify that it is for the apparent good of both parties, and that there is no prospect of evil arising therefrom.

“R. B. MITCHELL,
“*Indian Sub-Agent.*”

(d) *Colonel Kane's Letter to President Polk Indorsing Above Documents.*

“CAMP OF ISRAEL, NEAR COUNCIL BLUFFS,

“MISSOURI RIVER, July 20, 1846.

“DEAR SIR:—Annexed is a copy of a permission of the chief men of the Pottawatomies to the Mormon people to remain in their country as long as suits their convenience, together with a full approbation of the same given by Captain James Allen of the first dragoons detailed to the special service in this region by Col. Kearney, and a paper of similar purport from Mitchell sub-agent for the tribe in question.

“Being requested to approve these documents I have no hesitation in at the same time saying that while I can see no reason why the Mormon people should not winter in the valleys of this neighborhood. I consider it exceedingly important to them to be allowed the privilege of so doing. My own advice to them has been opposed to the crossing of too large a body of them over the Missouri during the present year.

“Very respectfully,

“Your obedient servant,

“THOMAS L. KANE.

“The President of the United States.”

(History of Brigham Young MS. Bk. 2, pages 99, 100, 101).

(e) *Letter of Colonel Kane to “General (Brigham) Young.” Written from Point a Poules—After He had Left the Camp of Israel to Return to the East:*

“DEAR SIR:—Mr. Sub-Agent Mitchell has requested me to communicate to you orders he has received from Major Harvey,

Supt. of Indian affairs at St. Louis, to enjoin your people to be careful not to commit any waste of timber upon the lands of the Pottawatomies during your passage through their country, as they have no right to give you the permission you have received from them, the treaty being already ratified by which they have conveyed said lands to the United States; and, he says, your passage through the country should occupy no longer time than is altogether necessary.

“I have just informed him that I think it would be more in order for him to write to you in person; and, at the same time offering him the services of Mr. Rockwell, to convey to you his message, have declined the office, which my present weak and low state makes exceedingly difficult to me; yet I must not, in spite of my wavering hand, abstain from saying in comment upon his notification to you, which you may not understand, that it need not give you uneasiness. The Pottawatomies, it is true, have no right to convey to you their timber, etc., title to it being already fully vested in the United States; but there is no reason, in my opinion, wherefore your people should not be justified *ex post facto*, so to speak, by government in using all that is necessary for their perfect comfort and convenience. My papers will be arranged in a day or two, I trust, in such a manner as to represent themselves, in case my present drawback continues to be of moment, and thus, whether I reach Washington in safety or not, I feel justified in saying to you to stop where befits you, and cut all needful wood and to continue in your present course unchanged.

“The letter from Major H. and that from Mr. Medill (head of bureau of Washington) upon which it is founded, which have been shown me, are, it is true, quite in rule, but matters shall all be arranged, believe me, as is proper in a few weeks, and you will hear as little of your using timber as of the ‘necessity’ that your passage through the country should occupy any shorter time than such as suits you best.

“Farewell. I am constrained to be brief, very much against my will. Dr. Richards will understand why this stands as my only answer to his kind letter. I did not credit myself with force to write so much when I began. Farewell. Say to my friends for me that which I would say, and yourself and your own, remember me as

“Yours sincerely,

“THOMAS L. KANE.

“GENERAL YOUNG.

“*Point a Poules*, Sept. 11, 1846.”

(History of Brigham Young, page 249-250).

(f) *Letter of W. Medill Head of Office of Indian Affairs, War Department, Washington, D. C., to Judge J. K. Kane, Announcing Permission to Occupy Pottawattamie Lands.*

“WAR DEPARTMENT, OFFICE INDIAN AFFAIRS,

Sept. 3, 1846.

“SIR:—The President has handed me your letter of the 29th ult. and its enclosures, on the subject of giving permission to a party of Mormons, who are emigrating to the west of the Rocky Mountains, to remain for a while and winter in the country recently purchased from the Pottawatomie Indians, near Council Bluffs where they now are.

“After a full consideration of the subject in all its bearings, the President has deemed it best to give the permission in the form and upon the conditions contained in a letter to Major Harvey,³⁹ the efficient superintendent of Indian affairs at St. Louis, who has already given his special attention to the subject and corresponded with the department in relation to it, and who can communicate rapidly with the Mormons through the sub-agent for the Pottawatomies, or through Col. Kane, should he remain in that country.

“By the President’s direction, a copy of the letter to Major Harvey is herewith enclosed with the request that you will be good enough to transmit it to Col. Kane.

“Very respectfully,

“Your most obedient servant,

“W. MEDILL,

“JUDGE J. K. KANE,

“Philadelphia, Penn.”

(History of Brigham Young, MS., Bk. 2, pages 460-1).

(g) *Written Permission of the Omaha’s for the Mormons to Temporarily Occupy their Lands:*

“WEST SIDE OF THE MISSOURI RIVER,

“NEAR COUNCIL BLUFFS, August 31, 1846.

“We, the undersigned chiefs and braves, representatives of the Omaha nation of Indians, do hereby grant to the Mormon people the privilege of tarrying upon our lands for two years or more, or as long as may suit their convenience, for the purpose of making the necessary preparations to prosecute their journey west of the Rocky Mountains, provided that our great father, the President of the United States, shall not counsel us to the contrary.

39. This letter is given on a previous page of this chapter, which see.

“And we also do grant unto them the privilege of using all the wood and timber that they shall require.

“And furthermore agree that we will not molest or take from them their cattle, horses, sheep or any other property.

“Big Elk, his X mark.

“Standing Elk, his X mark.

“Little Chief, his X mark.”

(h) *Excerpt of Letter from Orson Spencer, Announcing Col. Kane's Success in Obtaining Permission for the Mormons to Occupy Omaha Lands.*

“PHILADELPHIA, Nov. 26, 1846.

“President B. Young,

“I arrived here well on the 23rd inst. in company with Brother Cahoon, twenty-six days from camp; called upon Col. Kane the next day and was most agreeably welcomed and entertained for several hours. He said he had notified you of the permission of government to remain on the Omaha lands. Had also made an unsuccessful effort to create sub-agencies to be filled by yourself and others, among several Indian tribes. Did not certainly know what names to nominate to agencies among the Puncas, Creeks, Choctaws, etc. I mention this, that if you think best you may furnish them in case that he should renew the attempt and succeed. He informed me that Lyman Wight had been with the Creeks, but owing to nominal or real intermeddling (he thought the former) had been driven away by them. He wished that your influence might be felt in setting him in order if possible, as his conduct was the occasion of prejudice to the body of Saints. . . . The cabinet instructed the Indian agents to disabuse the Mormons and allay prejudice.”

(Hist. Brigham Young *Ms.* Bk. 2, pp. 535-539).

CHAPTER LXVIII

THE FOUNDING OF “WINTER QUARTERS”—PREPARATIONS FOR COMPLETING THE MARCH WESTWARD

The lateness of the arrival of the Camp of Israel upon the Missouri had rendered impossible any attempt to lead more than a small and an especially equipped company of Pioneers into the Great Basin of the Rocky Mountains. The time employed in raising the battalion for the army, together with the reduction of efficient men in the camp by reason of so large an enlistment,

made it impractical now even to send an efficient company of pioneers across the plains and into the mountains. Accordingly word was sent to Bishop George Miller's advance encampment not to attempt a journey into the mountains the present season, even countermanding previous recommendations that he move his camp to Fort Laramie or its vicinity;¹ and suggesting that an encampment be made at Grand Island, where his stock could be wintered, and communication be maintained with the principal camp.

Meantime a place for winter encampment to which most of the Saints on the Missouri could be gathered was sought. The design of moving the camps on the Missouri to Grand Island was abandoned. Up and down the Missouri river was a rich growth of wild pea vines on which stock could be fed through the winter, and it was finally determined to select winter quarters in the vicinity the camps then occupied. Some twelve miles north of their first ferry on the Missouri was a "pretty plateau overlooking the river," and this was the site selected for a temporary abode, and given the name of "Winter Quarters," the present Florence, Nebraska, some five or six miles above the city of Omaha.

No sooner was this designated as the temporary gathering place of the Saints than the greatest activity prevailed among nearly all the camps to secure a place at what was to be headquarters as well as winter quarters. As the sub-divisions of camps moved to the designated place the labor forces were organized much as they had been in the founding of Pisgah and Garden Grove. They were divided and sub-divided into groups; and soon the "miracle" of a city regularly laid off with streets and byways appeared in the wilderness. It was enclosed by a stockade, chiefly to keep out the thieving Omahas; some rude fortifications were also erected and a block-house, a precaution against a possible incursion of war bands of Sioux. A meeting house for council and public worship was built. Workshops of various kinds were erected, and a water power grist mill installed on the river, which relieved the people from the inconvenience, long endured, *en march*, of grinding their grain in cof-

1. Hist. Brigham Young MS., Bk. 2, pp. 129-30.

fee-mills and between hand stones. The houses were chiefly of logs covered with clap-boards or with willows laid across poles and covered with dirt. In some instances open cuts were made in the hillside and then covered with willows and dirt, that made comfortable dwelling places, called "dugouts."² By January the 6th there were, of all classes of houses, but chiefly of logs, more than seven hundred, and these by spring were increased to about one thousand.³

While this "city" was building, others of the organized industrial forces were breaking up lands and putting in the next year's crop; others were herding the great droves of cattle on the rush bottoms of the river, constructing stock shelters, or gathering hay to eke out the range when winter in all its severity should close in upon them. "The miles of rich prairies enclosed and sowed with the grain they could spare," says Colonel Kane, "and the houses, stacks and cattle shelters, had the seeming of an entire county, with its people and improvements transplanted there unbroken."⁴

At first the city was divided into thirteen wards with a bishop appointed to preside over each,⁵ with instructions to look after both the spiritual and temporal welfare of the people, to suggest industrial activities and look to the maintainance of

2. "The Buildings [at Winter Quarters] were generally of logs from 12 to 18 feet long, a few were split, and made from lynn and cottonwood timber; many roofs were made by splitting oak timber into boards, called shakes, about 3 ft. long and 6 in. wide, and kept in place by weights and poles; others were made of willows, straw and earth, about a foot thick; some of puncheon. Many cabins had no floors; there were a few dugouts on the sidehills—the fireplace was cut out at the upper end. The ridge-pole roof was supported by two uprights in the centre and roofed with straw and earth, with chimneys of prairie sod. The doors were made of shakes, with wooden hinges and string latches; the inside of the log houses was daubed with clay; a few had stoves." (Hist. B. Young, *Ms.*, Bk. 2, 1846, p. 534).

3. The "city" was laid off into 41 blocks; and there were 820 lots (History of Brigham Young *MS.*, Bk. 3, p. 61). "Upward of 1,000 houses were built—700 of them in about 3 months, upon a pretty plateau overlooking the river and neatly laid out with highways and byways and fortified with breastwork and stockade." *Liverpool Route*, published by F. D. Richards, 1855, p. 83. Letter of Brigham Young to Elders Hyde, Pratt and Taylor. *Mill. Star*, Vol. IX, pp. 96-100. Also Kane's "The Mormons," p. 101.

4. Kane's "The Mormons," p. 101.

5. Following is a list of the Bishops of these wards: First ward, Levi E. Riter; second, William Fossett; third and fourth, Benjamin Brown; fifth and sixth, John Vance; seventh, Edward Hunter; eighth, David Fairbanks; ninth, Daniel Spencer; tenth, Joseph Mathews; eleventh, Abraham Hoagland; twelfth, David D. Yearsley; thirteenth, Joseph B. Nobles.

the sanitary conditions so needful to the health of the community. Before the winter set in, the number of wards increased to twenty-two.⁶ A High Council was also selected for Winter Quarters which was in this case authorized to exercise the functions both of an ecclesiastical High Council,⁷ and also a municipal council. Such a council was given also to the camps at Pisgah, Garden Grove, Kanessville (Council Bluffs), Council Point, and also at Bishop Miller's camp *L' Eau qui Coule*, or Running Water River, about one hundred and fifty miles northwest of Winter Quarters.⁸ The nature of the duties of these High Councils may be learned from the instructions to Father Morely, the President of the one when installed at Kanessville: "The council was instructed to oversee and guard the conduct of the Saints, and counsel them that the laws of God and good order are not infringed. . . . *It will be wisdom and necessary to establish schools for the education of children during the coming winter in this region, and we wish you to see that This done.*"⁹

6. Letter of Brigham Young to Elders Hyde, Pratt and Taylor: "Our great City sprang up in a night as it were, like Jonah's gourd, is divided into 22 wards over which 22 bishops with their counselors preside, and no one suffers for food or raiment unless it be through their own fault, that is, in not asking for it, or being well and too lazy to work; but the fact of so many houses having been built in so short a time, is a proof of the general industry of the people, which will bear comparison with the history of all the nations of the earth, and in all periods of time."

7. For a description of the organization and functions of a high council see *ante*, Chapter LIV, this History.

8. Of the extent of the Mormon Camps at this time on the United States Missouri Frontier Col. Kane says: "They had no camp or settlement of equal size [to Winter Quarters] in the Pottawatamie country. There was less to apprehend here from Indian invasion and the people scattered themselves, therefore, along the rivers and streams, and in the timber groves, wherever they found inviting localities for farming operations. In this way many of them acquired what have since proved to be valuable pre-emption rights. (This in 1850 when the Lecture was delivered). Upon the Pottawatamie lands, scattered through the border regions of Missouri and Iowa, in the Sac and Fox country, a few among the Iowas, among the Poncas in a great company upon the banks of the *L' Eau qui Coule*, or Running Water River, and at Omaha, Winter Quarters, the Mormons sustained themselves through the heavy winter of 1846-1847." (Kane's "The Mormons," p. 101).

9. Hist. Brigham Young *Ms.*, Bk. 2, p. 91. The italics are mine. This instruction is emphasized for the reason that the Church has been grievously slandered as to its attitude on education. It will be remembered in this connection that at the last conference of the Church held at Nauvoo, W. W. Phelps "Was appointed to make provision for the writing of books for the education of the Youth in the new location"—i. e., in the Western wilderness into which the church was then about to remove. *Ante*, ch. LIX, this History. "December 31st: * * * Several schools for children have been started in camp [i. e., Winter Quarters] within the last ten days." (Hist. of Brigham Young, *Ms.*, Bk. 2, p. 534).



It was the policy of President Young to keep everybody employed. It was in pursuance of this policy that he built the grist mill—more to give employment to the men at Winter Quarters than hope of any good his community would get of it, since to them Winter Quarters was but an abode of a few months, two years at the most. “And then,” as Brigham Young remarked, “if the Saints did not reap any material benefits from it, the Indians whose lands they then occupied, probably would.”¹⁰ Besides the building of the mill many engaged in the making of willow baskets, wash boards, half bushel measures, to be sold to the Iowa and Missouri settlers in the spring.¹¹ These chiefly the occupations of the men. On their part the women in addition to their household duties, engaged in spinning, knitting, making leggings from deer hides, and family clothing.

In the midst of these industrial activities there were occasional annoyances, chiefly occasioned by the thieving propensities of the Indians surrounding them, and the intermittent assaults made upon the Omahas by the Iowas and the Sioux. Early in December Big Head, second chief of the Omahas, his family and a few friends were camped near Winter Quarters, when they were attacked in the night by a band of Iowas. The Omaha chief was severely wounded, as were a number of others of his party. They were received into the stockade of Winter Quarters and cared for until another party of their tribe passed through the “city” on their way south, when Big Head and his party went with them to an encampment a little above the old ferry over the Missouri. This second party had been as roughly treated by the Sioux, as Big Head’s party had been by the Iowas. Sixty miles north of Winter Quarters they had been attacked, while asleep, and seventy-three of their number killed. Most of the Omaha warriors at the time of these assaults were off on a hunting expedition; “and those who were killed or

10. “History of the Church”—Cannon-Juvenile Instructor, Vol. XVIII, p. 237.

11. History of Brigham Young *MS.*, Bk. 2, p. 534 (6th of Jan. 1847). “Hundreds of dollars worth have already been completed and there is a prospect of quite an income from this source in the spring.” Letter to Hyde, Pratt and Taylor, 6th Jan, '47. *Mill. Star*, Vol. IX, p. 100.

remained here," says Brigham Young, "have lived mostly on our cattle, *either by gift or theft.*"¹²

During the fall and winter there was considerable sickness and many deaths in the camps. Colonel Kane in his lecture, "The Mormons, from furnished data, reports six hundred burials at Winter Quarters before cold weather brought the camp relief."¹³ In one of the camps on the west of the river, as early as the 31st of July, he reports 37 *per cent.* of its members down with fever and a sort of "scorbutic disease, frequently fatal, which they (the Mormons) named the 'Black Canker.'"¹⁴ The camps on the east side of the river fared worse than those on the west, due, it is supposed, to the prevailing southwest winds which carried to them the *mismata* of the river bottoms. The Missouri Bottom—punned into "Misery Bottom" by the Saints, in memory of what they suffered there—with its marshes made by the overflow of the stream in early summer, and fed by sluggish streams that empty into it from both sides—these, in the late summer months, together with the main shrunken stream, become "impure as open sewers," and under the blazing sun give off miasmata that render the air heavy of disease germs. The Indians living in the river bottom, the previous year—which was not more unhealthful than 1846—are said to have lost one-ninth of their number. Sure it is that mortality among the Saints was heavy, due no doubt as Col. Kane suggested, "to the low state to which their systems had been brought by long continued endurance of want and hardship." "It must be remembered also," he continues, "that they were the first turn-

12. Letter of Brigham Young to Elders Hyde, Pratt and Taylor, Jan. 6th, 1847, *Mill. Star*, Vol. IX, p. 98. Notwithstanding these annoyances, Brigham Young doubtless formed his "Indian Policy," practiced both now and later in Utah—"It is cheaper to feed the Indians than to fight them."

13. Kane's "The Mormons," in Tyler's Battalion, p. 94, note.

14. It was also called "black leg," according to George Q. Cannon who thus describes it: "Among other difficulties with which the Saints at Winter Quarters had to contend there was sickness of a serious character. The want of vegetables, and the poor diet to which they were confined, had the effect to produce scurvy, or 'black-leg,' as it was called there. The limbs would swell, become black and the flesh be very sore. There was much suffering and many deaths from this disease. Potatoes, brought from Missouri, had an excellent effect in checking and curing the disease. Above Winter Quarters some miles there had been an old fort, which had been abandoned some time. There horse radish was discovered growing. It proved a very great boon to the sick at Winter Quarters, as it was a most excellent antidote for the scurvy." (*History of the Church-Cannon-Juvenile Instructor*, Vol. XVIII, p. 237.

ers-up of the prairie sod, and that this of itself made them liable to the sickness of new countries. It was where their agricultural operations had been most considerable, and in situations on the left bank of the river, where the prevalent southwest winds wafted to them the miasmata of its shores, that disease was most rife.

“In some of these the fever prevailed to such an extent that hardly any escaped it. They left their cows go unmilked, they wanted for voices to raise the psalm of Sundays. The few who were able to keep their feet, went about among the tents and wagons with food and water, like nurses through the wards of an infirmary. Here at one time the digging [of graves] got behind hand: burials were slow; and you might see women sit in the open tents keeping the flies off their dead children, sometimes after decomposition had set in.”¹⁵

In the midst of these physical afflictions of the Saints every effort was made to keep the fires burning upon the altars of their faith. Religious gatherings were frequent, at which spiritual instruction and admonition were given, and accepted as injunctions to duty. Fortunately the Saints passed through the trying experiences of fall and winter of 1846 without being hardened in their spirits; and undoubtedly sorrows that do not harden, tend to sanctification of the heart of man, broaden his sympathies, and make him more quickly responsive to the woes of others—prepare him truly for brotherhood with his fellows. Is that the explanation of these afflictions which visited the Saints in their Missouri river camps? I would not venture dogmatically to say so; but the afflictions came, and that upon the eve of the Church of the Latter-day Saints embarking upon a community effort of colony planting, the greatest of modern times, and in which brotherhood of man, not a pretty sentiment merely, but a working principle, resulting in mutual and unselfish helpfulness, was of first importance—the one thing needful, since it would beget all else.

The Saints were also united during this eventful period of their experience by their joys as well as by their sorrows. Their religion, not of their life a thing a part, but more nearly their

15. Kane's "The Mormons," pp. 93-4.

whole mental and emotional existence, was fortunately, not austere to the point of crowding out of life the joy of living. It did not bar "rose-lipped laughter," sparkling merriment, intellectual playfulness,¹⁶ the lively strains of the violin, social intercourse, or the dancing party. There were also family gatherings, birthday and wedding-day anniversaries were celebrated, music and song nowhere and at no time better served their purpose of cheering the hearts of men than in these wilderness encampments of the Latter-day Saints. Of these things somewhat was said in the chapter describing the march of the Camp of Israel from Nauvoo to Council Bluffs;¹⁷ in the chapter in which was given the account of the departure of the Battalion on its "war march," Colonel Kane has described how the "modern Israel" could dance.¹⁸ These innocent amusements were indulged in the camps upon the Missouri, and lightened somewhat the gloom of the trying winter months of 1846-7.

Meantime the serious business of preparing for the continuation of the march into the wilderness, the completion of the exodus from the United States was not neglected. It was considered in many council meetings of the presiding authorities, it was the chief topic of conversation and of discussion wherever two or three were gathered together. Thought upon it finally so crystallized in the mind of Brigham Young that on the 14th of January, 1847, at Winter Quarters, he was prepared to announce "The Word and Will of the Lord" upon the march of the Camps of Israel to the West. The following is excerpted from the revelation:

"Let all the people of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and those who journey with them, be organized into companies, with a covenant and promise to keep all the commandments and statutes of the Lord our God.

"Let the companies be organized with captains of hundreds, captains of fifties, and captains of tens, with a president and

16. "The Mormons took the young and hopeful side [i. e., of their hardships]. They could make sport and frolic of their trials, and often turn right sharp suffering into right round laughter against themselves. I certainly heard more jests and 'Joe Millers' while in this Papillion camp than I am likely to hear again in all the remainder of my days." (Kane's "The Mormons," p. 92).

17. Chapter LXII.

18. Chapter LXIII, note 55.

his two counselors at their head, under the direction of the Twelve Apostles.

“And this shall be our covenant, that we will walk in all the ordinances of the Lord.

“Let each company provide themselves with all the teams, wagons, provisions, clothing and other necessities for the journey that they can.

“When the companies are organized, let them go to with their might, to prepare for those who are to tarry.

“Let each company with their captains and presidents decide how many can go next spring; then choose out a sufficient number of able-bodied and expert men, to take teams, seeds, and farming utensils, to go as pioneers to prepare for putting in spring crops.

“Let each company bear an equal proportion, according to the dividend of their property, in taking the poor, the widows, the fatherless, and the families of those who have gone into the army, that the cries of the widow and the fatherless come not up into the ears of the Lord against this people.

“Let each company prepare houses, and fields for raising grain, for those who are to remain behind this season, and this is the will of the Lord concerning his people.

“Let every man use all his influence and property to remove this people to the place where the Lord shall locate a Stake of Zion.

“And if ye do this with a pure heart, in all faithfulness, ye shall be blessed; you shall be blessed in your flocks, and in your herds, and in your fields, and in your families. . . .

“And let my servants that have been appointed go and teach this my will to the Saints, that they may be ready to go to a land of peace.

“Go thy way and do as I have told you, and fear not thine enemies; for they shall not have power to stop my work.

“Zion shall be redeemed in mine own due time.

“And if any man shall seek to build up himself, and seeketh not my counsel, he shall have no power, and his folly shall be made manifest.

“Seek ye and keep all your pledges one with another, and covet not that which is thy brother's.

“Keep yourselves from evil to take the name of the Lord in vain, for I am the Lord your God, even the God of your fathers, the God of Abraham, and of Isaac, and of Jacob.

“I am he who led the children of Israel out of the land of Egypt, and my arm is stretched out in the last days to save my people Israel.

“Cease to contend one with another, cease to speak evil one of another.

“Cease drunkenness, and let your words tend to edifying one another.

If thou borrowest of thy neighbor, thou shalt return that which thou hast borrowed; and if thou canst not repay, then go straightway and tell thy neighbor, lest he condemn thee.

“If thou shalt find that which thy neighbor has lost, thou shalt make diligent search till thou shalt deliver it to him again.

“Thou shalt be diligent in preserving what thou hast, that thou mayest be a wise steward; for it is the free gift of the Lord thy God, and thou art his steward.

“If thou art merry, praise the Lord with singing, with music, with dancing, and with a prayer of praise and thanksgiving.

“If thou art sorrowful, call on the Lord thy God with supplication, that your souls may be joyful.

“Fear not thine enemies, for they are in mine hands, and I will do my pleasure with them.

“My people must be tried in all things that they may be prepared to receive the glory that I have for them, even the glory of Zion, and he that will not bear chastisement, is not worthy of my kingdom.

“Let him that is ignorant learn wisdom by humbling himself and calling upon the Lord his God, that his eyes may be opened that he may see, and his ears opened that he may hear.

“For my Spirit is sent forth into the world to enlighten the humble and contrite, and to the condemnation of the ungodly.

“Thy brethren have rejected you and your testimony, even the nation that has driven you out;

“And now cometh the day of their calamity, even the days of sorrow, like a woman that is taken in travail; and their sorrow shall be great, unless they speedily repent; yea, very speedily;

“For they killed the prophets, and them that were sent unto them, and they have shed innocent blood, which crieth from the ground against them:

“Therefore marvel not at these things, for ye are not pure; ye can not yet bear my glory; but ye shall behold it if ye are faithful in keeping all my words that I have given you from the days of Adam to Abraham; from Abraham to Moses; from Moses to Jesus and his apostles; and from Jesus and his apostles to Joseph Smith, whom I did call upon by mine angels, my ministering servants; and by mine own voice out of the heavens to bring forth my work.

“Which foundation he did lay, and was faithful and I took him to myself.

"Many have marveled because of his death, but it was needful that he should seal his testimony with his blood, that he might be honored, and the wicked might be condemned.

"Have I not delivered you from your enemies, only in that I have left a witness of my name?

"Now, therefore, hearken, O ye people of my church; and ye elders listen together; you have received my kingdom.

"Be diligent in keeping all my commandments, lest judgment come upon you, and your faith fail you, and your enemies triumph over you."¹⁹

After this revelation was received and announced to the Saints, preparations were made both for the formation of a pioneer company and companies to follow immediately on its trail. Word was sent to the various encampments naming the men whom President Young desired to go with him in the first pioneer company and those who were to take the lead in organizing the other companies to follow.

Bishop Miller's company on the Running Water occasioned some anxiety to the Council of the Apostles. The Bishop had for sometime manifested a restless, insubordinate spirit.²⁰

19. Doctrine and Covenants, Sec. 136. This is the only formal and written revelation which Brigham Young issued during his long leadership of the Church, 1844-1877, thirty-three years; it must not be supposed, however, that because no other revelation was written that none was received. It is matter of certainty, with the immediate official associates of Brigham Young, and of the Saints, that a divine spirit attended upon him during his administration as President of the Church, giving divine guidance to him both in his words and in his administrative actions; and the inspiration of God bourn in upon his soul was not less real because he did not see proper to commit it to writing. For President Young's views upon this subject and a further discussion, see *ante*, ch. LVII, this History. This revelation, as is proper in relation to all revelations designed to become a law unto the church, was presented to the several quorums of the Priesthood, and enthusiastically accepted by them in a general assembly of quorums met for that purpose in the "Tabernacle" at Winter Quarters. (History of Brigham Young *Ms.*, Bk. 3, pp. 19-21).

20. Bishop Miller's camp among the Ponca Indians, at the junction of the Running Water River and the Missouri consisted of 62 wagons. When he left the main encampment at Council Bluffs his camp numbered 52 wagons; but at the Pawnee villages on the Loup Fork Miller's camp was overtaken by ten wagons under the leadership of Anson Call, which from that time became part of Miller's camp. Previous to the coming of Captain James Allen to raise the Battalion, Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball had each organized a company of 75 wagons to make a forced march for the Mountains that season and Anson Call was made captain of the first of President Young's division. His ten wagons had crossed the Missouri shortly after Miller's camp had crossed, and went as far as the Elk Horn river, nearly fifty miles west of Winter Quarters. From this point on the 22nd of July, Call, under instructions from President Young, continued his westward march until he overtook Miller at the Pawnee villages, as already stated. When the united Miller and Call camps were resting on the west side of the Loupe, a tributary

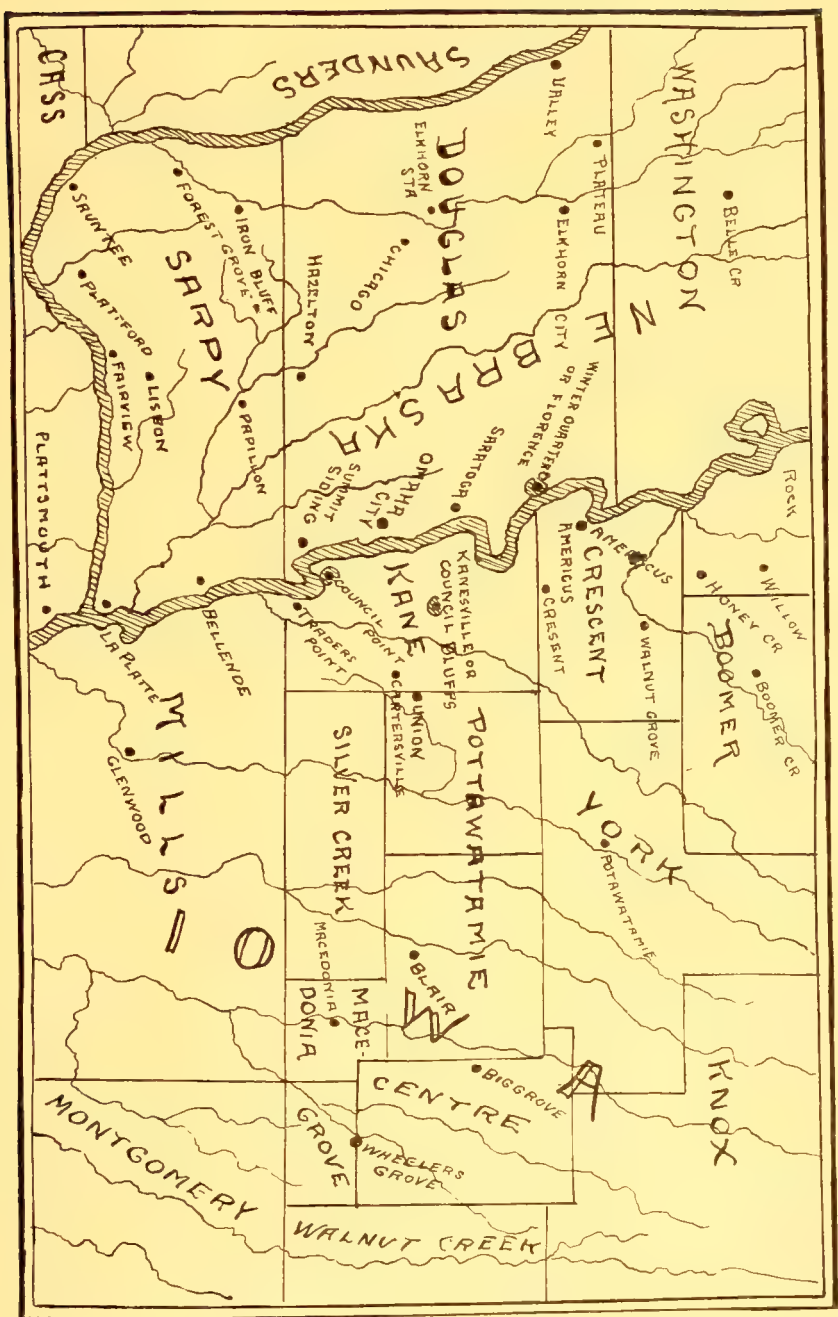
Elders Ezra T. Benson, (who had been ordained in July a member of the quorum of Apostles to fill the vacancy occasioned by the apostasy of John E. Page) and Erastus Snow, were sent to present to Miller's camp "The Word and Will of the Lord" to the Camp of Israel—the revelation received by President Young; also to take charge of the camp and organize it preparatory to the westward march with a view to its intercepting either the pioneer company or some of the companies immediately following at some point *en route*.²¹ Also carrying instructions to Bishop Miller to come to Winter Quarters with his family. The camp at Running Water accepted the revelation and proceeded with the organization of the camp by appointing Titus Billings President, with Erastus Bingham and Joseph Holbrook as his counselors. Miller was disposed to resent the action of the Twelve through their representatives, for he claimed the right to lead the camp himself "by virtue of a special appointment from the Prophet Joseph Smith." But Anson Call and ten members of the council opposed Miller's claim, insisting that the Twelve apostles were the properly constituted leaders of the Church, and they persuaded all but the occupants of about ten wagons, the immediate family and special friends of Bishop Miller, to accept that view of the case.²² Bishop Miller returned with his family to Winter Quarters, and on the 23rd of March the instructions to the camp on the Running Water were changed, and instead of moving westward, to intercept the pioneers *en route* they were directed to "come down as quickly as possible to Winter Quarters, to put in a spring crop,"²³ and under this

of La Platte, an express arrived from President Young instructing them to move no further westward that season, but to go into winter encampment on Grand Island; also appointing twelve men, with Bishop Miller as President, to direct the affairs of the camp, as in other camps that were being settled for the winter. About the same time eight chiefs of the Ponca tribe arrived at Miller's camp, and proposed that he move to their villages on the Running Water. This invitation Miller accepted instead of following President Young's instructions to winter at Grand Island, and dragged his company eleven days' drive almost due north from the general course of the western march of the Church. (Biography of William C. Staines, in Whitney's Hist. of Utah, Vol. IV, p. 118, and Biography of Anson Call, *Ibid*, p. 144).

21. They also carried with them a long letter from the council of the Twelve (Hist. of Brigham Young *Ms.*, Bk. 3, pp. 30-39), outlining the general plan of the intended movement westward and giving all the news that had come to them from the Missions and the Battalion.

22. Biography of Anson Call, Whitney's History of Utah, Vol. IV, p. 144.

23. This action of the Council of the Twelve was upon the motion of Elder Geo. A. Smith, History of Brigham Young *MS.*, Bk. 3, p. 72.



Region of the Mormon Encampments on the Missouri River, 1846-7

instruction the camp moved to Winter Quarters. A few days later, namely, on the 2nd of April, Bishop Miller came out in open opposition to President Young and the council of the Apostles, and declared that it was his conviction that the church should move to the southern part of Texas, to the country between the Neuces and the Rio Grande.²⁴ His views not being accepted, he withdrew from the Camp of Israel with a few followers, and went to Texas where he joined Elder Lyman Wight who had gone to the southern part of that state in 1845. He did not long remain united with Wight, however, but left him to become a follower of James J. Strang.²⁵ Of his later movements and death our annals give no information but his career illustrates the truth of President Young's remarkable prophecy, delivered on the 8th of August, 1844.²⁶

"All that want to draw away a party from the Church after them, let them do it, if they can, but they will not prosper."

24. The following is from the journal History of Brigham Young:

"April 2nd, * * * I met with the brethren of the Twelve Apostles, Bishop Whitney, and Miller and others. Bishop Geo. Miller gave his views relative to the Church moving to Texas to the country lying between the Neuces and the Rio Grande rivers. I informed Bishop Miller that his views were wild and visionary, that when we moved hence it would be to the Great Basin where the Saints would soon form a nucleus of strength and power sufficient to cope with mobs." (Brigham Young History *Ms.*, Bk. 3, p. 79).

25. For an account of Strang, see *ante* this History, chapter LVI, note I.

26. See *ante*, chapter LVI, *passim*.

“The Irish Chapter in American History”*

BY THOMAS S. LONERGAN

THE Irish have been coming to this country for almost three hundred years. In Hotten's list of emigrants who arrived in Virginia between 1616 and 1620 we find the following Irish names: John Higgins, John Healy, Thomas Casey, James O'Conner, John Duffy, Thomas Dunn, John O'Brien, Thomas Dougherty and Francis Dowling. Those names have a distinctive Hibernian ring. They certainly were not “Anglo-Saxon.”

Two Irishmen named William Mullins and Christopher Martin came over in the Mayflower, which landed at Plymouth Rock in 1620. During the last half of the seventeenth century, there was a large tide of emigration from Ireland to the American colonies.

We know that the Irish were in Boston at a very early period. Among the first shopkeepers in our “Modern Athens” in 1634, was an Irishman named James Coogan. The eighth volume of the *Journal of the American Irish Historical Society*, contains a very able paper entitled: “The Irish Pioneers of New York City,” by Victor J. Dowling. In that paper Judge Dowling has proved that Irishmen lived on Manhattan Island, as early as the middle of the seventeenth century.

In 1728 over 5,000 Irish emigrants arrived in Philadelphia, and during the year 1729 the classification of European emigration to the Province of Pennsylvania was as follows: English and Welsh, 267; Germans, 243, and Irish, 5,655. During the first two weeks of August, 1773, according to the official record, 3,500 exiles of Erin arrived at the port of Philadelphia

*Historical paper read at the annual meeting of the American Irish Historical Society, Waldorf Astoria, New York City, January 17, 1912.



Andrew Jackson

alone, and in the years 1771 and 1772, over seventeen thousand Irish emigrants came to America. The population of Pennsylvania in 1701 was only 20,000 and in 1749 it had increased to 250,000, largely due to the Irish emigration.

The discovery, or rather the re-discovery of America, by Columbus was the greatest event in the annals of modern times, and since then, the greatest event I know of, owing to its far-reaching and marvellous results, was the American Revolution. Every student of Anglo-American history knows, or ought to know, that the seeds of that revolution were planted when England enacted and put into operation the Penal Laws. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries those brutal and inhuman laws forced tens of thousands of Irish Catholics and Irish Presbyterians to seek homes in the American Colonies. All through the Colonial period, wherever Puritan or Cavalier ruled, Catholics had no rights that Protestants were bound to respect, but the American Revolution brought about a new order of things.

Froude and Lecky have both directed attention to the volume of Irish emigration from Ulster to the American Colonies during the first seventy years of the eighteenth century. The emigration began after the ruin of the woolen manufacturers by the legislation of 1699. According to Hely Hutchinson, within two years after the Irish were prohibited to export their woolen manufactures to any country, 20,000 Presbyterians left Ulster for America.

When the Revolution began there was a very large Irish element in New England, the Carolinas and Maryland, New York, Virginia and New Jersey, but Pennsylvania was more distinctively Irish than any other colony. An Irish Catholic, Thomas Dongan was Colonial Governor of New York from 1683 to 1688. His "Charter of Liberty" has been highly praised by American historians. The Carrolls came from Ireland to Maryland in 1689, and they played a glorious part in American history. Charles Carroll of Carrollton and Archbishop John Carroll, of Baltimore, contributed more than their share to the success of the American Revolution, and no man realized that as fully as did George Washington. The Clintons of New York also played a very important part in civil and military affairs during and

after the Revolution. They were Irish and proud of the race from which they sprang. Charles Carroll, the surviving signer of the Declaration of Independence, was the wealthiest man in this country when the Revolution began.

The third volume of the "American Archives" contains a letter from Ireland dated September 1st, 1775, to a friend in New York in which the writer says:—

"Most of the people here in Ireland wish well to the cause in which you are engaged, and would rejoice to find you continue firm and steadfast. The Government is raising recruits throughout the Kingdom. The men are told they are going to Edinburgh to learn military discipline and are then to return."

So you see before the English Government could get a single Irishman to enlist to fight against American Independence, they had to tell him lie. The facts are well known to every student of the American Revolution. No wonder Lord Mountjoy exclaimed in the British Parliament: "You lost America through the Irish." It is a historical fact that one-half of the rank and file of the Continental army were native born Irishmen and a third of Washington's officers were Irish by birth or descent.

Six months before the skirmish at Lexington, two Irish-Americans, John Sullivan and John Langdon of New Hampshire, captured the arms and ammunition of Fort William and Mary, which were used with good effect on the British at Bunker Hill, where Stark, Reed and Poor first "fleshed their maiden swords." Gen. John Sullivan and his brother James Sullivan, afterwards Governor of Massachusetts, were the sons of a Limerick schoolmaster. Gen. Joseph Reed of New Jersey, Washington's private secretary and faithful friend, was the son of an Irishman. The British Government offered Reed \$50,000 and some high office if he would desert General Washington. This was his famous reply: "I am not worth purchasing, but the King of Great Britain is not rich enough to do it."

General Richard Montgomery, who fell at Quebec, was born in Donegal, Ireland, and Gen. Stephen Moylan, the Murat of the Continental army, was born in Cork. The Catholic Bishop of that city was his brother. Gen. Daniel Morgan, the hero of Cow-

pens, was born in Derry, although some writers claim that he was born in America." He is represented in a splendid painting in the rotunda of the Capitol of the nation, dressed in a white hunting shirt.

Gen. Edward Hand was born in County Kerry, Ireland. He was most valuable to Washington in many a hard fought battle. Gen. Henry Knox was born in Boston, of Irish parents. He was one of the most distinguished officers of the Revolution, and the founder of the Order of Cincinnati.

Gen. Andrew Lewis, of Old Donegal, possessed the military genius of his race, and at one time, was very near superseding Washington.

Anthony Wayne was born in Pennsylvania of Irish parents. His victory at Stony Point on the Hudson, was one of the greatest achievements of the war. He rendered glorious services at Germantown and Brandywine.

Gen. Stark of New Hampshire, was the son of an Irish mother, and his bravery and patriotism were never questioned. Daniel Webster, when a boy, used to delight in imitating Stark's Irish brogue, although the General never saw Ireland.

Gen. Wm. Thomson and his brother Charles Thomson, Secretary of the Continental Congress, were born in Ireland.

Twelve of the signers of the Declaration of Independence were Irishmen and the sons of Irishmen. John Hancock, of Boston, the first signer of that immortal document, was of Irish descent. He and Charles Carroll were the two wealthiest men in America at that time.

The first publisher of the Declaration of Independence was an Irishman named Dunlap, and it was first read to the people in the Court House yard of Philadelphia by John Nixon, another Irishman. The first officer killed in the War of Independence was a son of Erin. Irish blood flowed freely on every American battlefield from Bunker Hill to Yorktown.

John Barry, the first Commodore of the American navy, was an Irishman from Wexford. He and not Paul Jones was "the father of the American navy." The late Martin I. J. Griffin has made Barry's fame secure. Admiral Stewart of the War of 1812, the grandfather of the late Charles Stewart Parnell, was a protégé

of "Saucy Jack Barry." The O'Briens of Machias, Maine, the stalwart and daring sons of a Corkman, were the organizers of the "Sons of Liberty," and they were instrumental in winning the first naval battle of the Revolution.

In the House of Lords in the year 1775, the Duke of Richmond made the statement, "Attempts have been made to enlist Irish Roman Catholics, but the Ministry knows well these attempts have proved unsuccessful."

Ramsay, in his history of the United States says: "The Irish in America were almost to a man on the side of Independence."

Joseph Galloway, an American Loyalist, was examined before a special committee of the English House of Commons. Edmund Burke, whose speech on American taxation is known to every American school boy, was a member of that committee. Mr. Galloway, when questioned as to the nationality of the Continental army, replied: "The names and places of their nativity being taken down, I can answer the question with precision. There were scarcely one-fourth natives of America; about one-half were Irish and the other fourth were principally Scotch and English." Gen. Lee of the Continental army has left on record a similar statement.

According to the muster rolls of "Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors of the Revolutionary War," an official compilation, in seventeen volumes, published in 1902, a very large number of Irish from that old commonwealth served in the Continental army. They were among the minute men at Lexington, Concord and Bunker Hill.

It is an established fact, that America could not achieve her independence without the aid of France. In DeGrasse's fleet there was a large percentage of seamen of Irish blood, and the majority of the officers and men of Count Arthur Dillon's Brigade were of Irish descent. Their ancestors rendered immortal services to France, especially at the battle of Fontenoy, where they recalled the palmiest days of Irish valor.

In 1829 Parke Custis, the adopted son of the immortal Washington said that up to the coming of the French, Ireland furnished to the Continental army, "in the ratio of one hundred to one of any other nation whatever." The disastrous and bloody

days of Long Island, the glories of Trenton, Princeton, and Monmouth, had all passed away and the grass had grown over the grave of many a poor Irishman who had died for America before the flag of France had floated beside the Stars and Stripes. "Then honored" said he, "be the good old services of the sons of Erin in the War of Independence. Let the Shamrock be entwined with the laurels of the Revolution and truth and justice guiding the pen of history, inscribe on the tablet of America's remembrance eternal gratitude to Irishmen."

According to Sabine's "Loyalists," there were 50,000 Loyalists in the colonies when the Revolution began. We have some of their descendants in this country to-day and they are thoroughgoing Anglomaniacs. They are the most blatant advocates of the Anglo-American Arbitration Treaty. Owing to their wealth they possess considerable influence, which is a menace to our system of government.

It is well to remember that ten of the Presidents of these United States have had more or less of Irish blood in their veins. Jackson, Buchanan and Arthur were sons of Irish parents. Madison, Monroe, Polk, Johnson, Cleveland and McKinley were part Irish, and so is Roosevelt.

The parents of Andrew Jackson, the hero of New Orleans, came to this country from County Antrim, Ireland, in 1765, and he was born in North Carolina in 1767. He was elected President of the United States in 1828 and re-elected in 1832. He visited Boston in 1833 as the guest of the Charitable Irish Society, which was organized in 1737 and is still in existence. He died in 1845. Andrew Jackson was one of the most remarkable men that this country has ever produced.

His name and fame are part and parcel of American history. He was proud of the Irish race from which he sprang. He frequently paid tribute to the genius and character of the old Celtic race. He was an American in every fibre of his being, and a sterling Democrat.

Here is a quotation from former President Roosevelt's speech to the New York Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, on the evening of March 17, 1905.

"On land the Irish furnished generals like Montgomery, who

fell so gloriously at Quebec, and Sullivan, the conqueror of the Iroquois, who came of a New Hampshire family which furnished governors to three New England states. It was Mrs. Sullivan who said that she used to work in the fields with a future governor of Massachusetts in her arms and future governors of New Hampshire and Vermont tagging behind her.

"While the Continental troops were largely from the stock that 'Light Horse' Harry Lee always referred to as 'The Line of Ireland.' Nor must we forget that of this same stock there was a boy during the days of the Revolution who afterwards became the chief American general of his time, and as President one of the public men, who left his impress most deeply upon our nation, old Andrew Jackson, the victor of New Orleans."

Three monuments stand in St. Paul's Churchyard on lower Broadway, New York City, erected to the memory of these three famous Irishmen—Richard Montgomery, who died for American liberty, Thomas Addis Emmet, who for twenty years was head of the New York bar, and Dr. William J. McNevin, the foremost scientific chemist of his day.

Let us also bear in mind that eight of the framers of the Constitution of the United States were Irish, and three of those were Catholics, and that the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick of Philadelphia contributed \$500,000 for the maintenance and support of Washington's starving and ragged army at Valley Forge.

Irish schoolmasters were very numerous in this country before the Revolution. They had no love for England and we have every reason to believe that they instilled into the minds of their students revolutionary principles and a spirit of independence.

We have also every reason to believe that had the American Revolution failed, this country would most probably be a Province of the British Empire to-day, and we would be British subjects—eulogizing the divine rights of kings, and instead of having over 90,000,000 of people we would have 7,000,000 like Canada.

The Civil War proved conclusively the devotion and loyalty of the Irish to the Stars and Stripes. Every regiment in the Union army had its quota of Irish soldiers. Every good American, regardless of race or creed, is or ought to be proud of the mili-

tary genius and Spartan patriotism of Sheridan and Meade, Logan and Kearney, Shields and Meagher. The Sixty-ninth regiment of New York, which was exclusively Irish lost more men in killed and wounded than any other regiment from the Empire State and the Irish Brigade from Fair Oaks to Chancellorsville, added new laurels of immortal glory to the fame of the "Fighting Race." Fully 150,000 native born Irishmen enlisted in the Union Army during the Civil War.

The Irish Brigade at Fredericksburg under the command of Thomas Francis Meagher consisted of the 69th, 88th and 63d Regiments of New York, the 28th Mass., and the 116th Penna., in all 1,323 officers and men. Only 200 answered the roll call the following morning. The losses of the Irish Brigade in that battle were much greater than the Light Brigade at Balaklava. Such a record is worthy of notice in all American school histories, which is only giving credit to whom credit is due.

Tennyson's poem on the charge of the Light Brigade has been the text for writers of our school histories for a third of a century.

Hayden's "Dictionary of Dates" an established book of reference says in its article on Balaklava:

"About 12,000 Russians, under Gen. Liprandi next assaulted the English, by whom they were compelled to retire, mainly through the charge of the heavy cavalry. After this, from an unfortunate misconception of Lord Raglan's order, Lord Lucan ordered Lord Cardigan, with the light cavalry, to charge the Russian army. The order was most gallantly obeyed, and great havoc was made on the enemy; but, of 670 British horsemen, only 198 returned."

Now, the figures given in East Lake and to be found in Col. Fox's "Regimental Losses of the Civil War," show that the Light Brigade took 673 men into the charge and lost 113 killed, 134 wounded and 15 missing, a percentage of 38.93. (Fox gives the percentage as 36.7, but for some reason omits the prisoners). Of the 673 horses in the charge, 475 were killed, and 42 wounded. If we subtract 475, the number of horses killed, from the 673, the original number, we have a remainder of 198, the number given by Hayden as that of the surviving soldiers! The glorifiers of

the Light Brigade have simply used the figures of the horses killed for those of the men! So much for the immortal achievement of the Light Brigade.

Archbishop John Hughes of New York, the devoted friend and admirer of President Lincoln, was instrumental in preventing the French Government from recognizing the Southern Confederacy at a time when the liberties of this Republic were trembling in the balance.

General James Shields, the only man who ever defeated "Stonewall" Jackson was Irish of the Irish. He had the unique distinction of being United States Senator from three states at three different periods. Shields possessed much of the military genius of his race. He was the hero of two wars.

General Philip H. Sheridan, the Moylan of the Union Army, was the son of Irish parents. He was one of the three greatest generals of the Union Army. The names of Grant, Sherman and Sheridan will live forever in American annals as glorious types of American soldiers and patriots.

Dr. Samuel Johnson, the famous English author once said that "patriotism was the last refuge of a scoundrel." That may be a good epigram, but on general principles it is not true and it never was. I believe that true patriotism is a sublime virtue implanted by the Almighty in the heart of man. It was patriotism that enabled William Tell to defeat 20,000 Austrians and made Switzerland free, it was patriotism that compelled the Colonists to rally round the standard of George Washington and won American Independence, it was patriotism that animated the heroism of Tone and Emmet to sacrifice their lives upon the altar of their country, and it was patriotism that fired the immortal genius of Abraham Lincoln and sustained the bravery of the Union soldiers from Bull Run to Appomattox.

General Patrick Ronayne Cleburne, the idol of the Confederate Army, was Irish by birth and education. "Stonewall" Jackson, one of Robert E. Lee's most famous generals, was of Irish descent, and Rev. Abraham J. Ryan, the poet-priest of the South was born of Irish parents.

Since 1820, almost 5,000,000 Irish emigrants have landed on these shores. Men of Irish birth and parentage to-day are to be

found in every walk of life and in every field of intellectual activity, contributing by their brain and brawn their full share to the progress and greatness of the Republic.

As has been well said by a distinguished American writer, the Irish have been "structural in the making of this nation. In clearing the forests, building the railroads and extending the commerce, they have contributed incalculable services to the land of their adoption."

In these opening years of the twentieth century, when the teachings and pernicious doctrines of Materialism, Socialism and Atheism are eating like a cancer into the vitals of the American people, the Irish are a most important element in our composite citizenship. Why? Because they stand for law and order, for virtue and patriotism, for home and family, for God and country.

I for one, am proud of the valor and genius of Irish-American manhood, but I am infinitely prouder of the devotion and virtue of Irish-American womanhood.

Matthew Lyon, the man who by his vote in Congress, elected Jefferson President was a son of the Emerald Isle. William H. Seward, Secretary of State in Lincoln's Cabinet, James G. Blaine and Edgar Allen Poe were of Irish descent. Horace Greely, the founder of the New York Tribune, and James Gordon Bennett, the founder of the New York Herald, were sons of Irish mothers. Joseph Medill founder of the Chicago Tribune, was Irish. Gilbert Tennant from Armagh was one of the founders of Education in the American Colonies.

Dr. Allison, an Irishman, was provost of Pennsylvania College more than a century ago. Matthew Carey, the first great American writer on political economy was also an Irishman. Robert Fulton, the famous inventor was Irish. A. T. Stewart the first and greatest of our merchant princes was an Irishman by birth and education. Samuel Sloan, one of our railroad presidents, was born in Ireland.

Andrew G. Curtin, the "war governor" of Pennsylvania, was the son of an Irishman.

The greatest sculptor that America ever knew, was Augustus St. Gaudens, a Dublin man, and Victor Herbert, our famous musician is another Dublin man—a grandson of Samuel Lover.

Among the greatest actors on the American stage in our own day and generation, were John McCullough, Lawrence Barret and the elder John Drew who were Irish.

Joseph Jefferson, whose marvellous impersonation of "Rip Van Winkle," amused and delighted two generations of playgoers, was of Irish blood.

Augustin Daly, the celebrated dramatist and foremost theatrical manager of his day, was of Irish ancestry.

Joseph I. C. Clarke, journalist, poet, and dramatist, was born in Ireland. He is vice-president of the American Irish Historical Society.

William Jennings Bryan, the famous statesman and orator, is of Irish lineage.

Chief Justice Edward D. White of the Supreme Court of the United States is of Irish descent. He is acknowledged one of the greatest and most learned jurists in the history of our Supreme Court. He is an honorary member of the American-Irish Historical Society.

John Boyle O'Reilly, poet, patriot and novelist, was editor of the Boston Pilot for 20 years. He was one of the most brilliant Irishmen that ever crossed the Atlantic. His lines on "Wendell Phillips" and his poems on "The Pilgrim Fathers," are classics. No one has ever questioned his Americanism. His motto was "God and Country." He knew no creed, no race, no color, no class, but common humanity.

Patrick Ford, "the noblest Roman of them all," who has edited and published "The Irish World" for more than forty years is still with us. He was only eight years of age when he arrived on these shores. He received his education in the public schools in Boston. When he was about 14 he tramped the streets of Boston for weeks trying to get work, but he could get nothing to do, simply because he was an Irish Catholic. Notices stared him in the face everywhere, "Boy wanted—no Irish need apply."

He eventually secured work in the office of William Lloyd, Garrison's "Liberator," where he remained until the Civil War broke out, when he and his two brothers and his father joined the Union Army. At the close of the war he returned to Boston, and a few years later he came to New York and founded the

Irish World, which has been for more than two score years fighting the battles of the Irish race at home and abroad.

It has been estimated by good authorities that at least 25,000,000 of our present population have more or less of Irish blood coursing in their veins. Fully one-half of the population of the United States to-day, are of Irish and German blood, yet we are frequently told that we are "Anglo-Saxon" and that England is our "Mother Country." Now, as a matter of fact, we are no more Anglo-Saxon than we are Hindoos. Europe, not England is the mother country of America.

This compound word "Anglo-Saxon," is entirely misleading. It was never used by British writers before the middle of the eighteenth century. The phrase "Anglo-Saxon" like the phrase "Scotch-Irish," is a misnomer. The true American type is not a hybrid Anglo-Saxon, but a thoroughbred Celtic-Teutonic race, as our language, our physique and our versatile genius prove.

The biographical dictionary of famous Americans, a standard authority, contains the names of 174 men and women, born in Ireland. So that in point of talent and genius the native-born Irish are more numerous in that work than the native-born of any foreign country, except England and Germany. From that fact alone we can see that the Irish who have come to this country have not all been "hewers of wood and drawers of water."

Among the histories, not already mentioned, that I have consulted in the preparation for this paper are: Foote's "Sketches of Virginia," Watson's "Annals of Philadelphia," Peterson's "American Navy," Marmion's "Maritime Ports of Ireland," Spark's "Lives of Washington and Franklin," Lossing's "Field Book of the Revolution," Bancroft's "History of the United States," Condon's "Irish Race in America," and Lawler's "Essentials of American History."

Time and space will not permit to refer to the many living prelates and divines, both Catholic and non-Catholic of Irish birth and descent, who are noted for their learning, sanctity and patriotism. During the past century, the Irish have been well represented in every branch of American journalism and in all professions. It is not necessary to give a list of the Irish who are at present prominent on the bench, at the bar and in the halls

of legislation. As a matter of fact the Irish to-day, are conspicuous in every department of intellectual, industrial and commercial activity, from Maine to Oregon and from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

If Columbia should ask the exiles of Erin: "What have ye brought to the upbuilding of the Republic: they can answer to-day as of old, in the language of a famous Irish-American poet:

"O, willing hands to toil;
Strong natures tuned to the harvest-song, and bound to the
kindly soil,
Bold pioneers for the wilderness, defenders in the field,
The sons of a race of soldiers, who never learned to yield.
Young hearts with duty brimming, as faith makes sweet the due;
Their truth to me their witness, they cannot be false to you."

As a matter of fact, no American writer of distinction has yet done justice to the Irish element in these United States. American historians and biographers so far, have given very little credit to the Irish. They have exaggerated their faults and minimized their virtues. My indictment against them is so much for sins of commission as for the sins of omission. Our American school histories will bear testimony to that fact. The Irish do not desire to take a jot or tittle from the achievements of any other race in our cosmopolitan population, but they do demand and deserve to get credit where credit is due.

The Irish in America have contributed more than their share to the independence, the upbuilding and preservation of this republic. They demand only a fair field and no favor. They glory in the panoply of American citizenship, and fully appreciate the civil and religious liberty which they enjoy. They have never been found wanting in their loyalty and devotion to American institutions, because they recognize to the full, that this country has been for more than a century and a quarter an asylum for the poor exiles of Erin and that America still spells opportunity.

Indians in the United States

THIRTEENTH CENSUS STATISTICS SHOW THAT THE FULL BLOODS
ARE DISAPPEARING FAST

A PRELIMINARY statement regarding the Indians in the United States from the returns of the Census of 1910 was issued May 1 by Director Durand of the Bureau of the Census, Department of Commerce and Labor. It is based upon tabulations prepared under the supervision of W. C. Hunt, chief statistician, and Roland B. Dixon, expert special agent, for population. The figures are preliminary and subject to revision.

According to the census of 1910 the total number of Indians in continental United States is 265,683 and in Alaska 25,331. In 1890 the number of Indians in continental United States was 248,253, and in 1900, 237,196; earlier figures based on the reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs are: 1870, 278,000; 1880, 244,000. It appears, therefore, that the number of Indians on the continent of the United States declined from 1870 to 1900, but increased considerably during the decade between 1900 and 1910. In Alaska the number of Indians was 29,536 in 1900, 25,354 in 1890, and 32,996 in 1880.

INDIAN POPULATION OF STATES

The largest number of Indians in 1910, 74,825, is found in Oklahoma, the other states having an Indian population of over 10,000 being: Arizona, 29,201; New Mexico, 20,573; South Dakota, 19,137; California, 16,371; Washington, 10,997; Montana, 10,745, and Wisconsin, 10,142. Indians are found in every state and territory, but their number in some states (Delaware, Ver-

mont, New Hampshire and West Virginia) is less than fifty. The number of Indians exceeds one thousand in twenty-two of the states.

In continental United States the number of Indians per 100 square miles is 8.9. The number varies from 107.8 in Oklahoma (ignoring the 113.3 in the District of Columbia, i. e., in the city of Washington) to 0.1 in West Virginia. The number of Indians per 100,000 total population declined constantly from 721.0 in 1870 to 288.9 in 1910.

The number of Indian tribes in continental United States is large, but the number of members in some is very small; thus there are six tribes represented by a single member, and thirty with a membership under 10. The chief tribes numerically are the Cherokees, of whom there are 31,489; the Navaho, with 32,455 members; the Chippewa, with 20,214; the Choctaw, with 15,917; and the Teton Sioux, with 14,284. Of the remaining tribes none has as many as 7,000 members, but there are 74 tribes represented by not less than 500 individuals. In Alaska the most numerous tribes are the Kuswogmiut with 1,480 and the Aleut with 1,451 members. None of the other tribes in Alaska has as many as a thousand members.

ENUMERATION BY BLOOD

The Thirteenth Census was the first to undertake an enumeration of Indians by blood. The total number of Indians in continental United States is distributed by blood as follows:

All classes	265,683—100	per cent.
Full blood	150,053— 56.5	“ “
Mixed blood	93,423— 35.2	“ “
White and Indian.....	88,030— 33.1	“ “
Negro and Indian.....	2,255— 0.8	“ “
White, Negro and Indian	1,793— 0.7	“ “
Other mixture and mixture unknown..	1,345— 0.5	“ “
Not reported	22,207— 8.4	“ “

Of the Indians in Alaska 84.7 per cent. are full blooded and 15.3 per cent. are of mixed blood.

The full blood Indians are further subdivided into those whose blood all belongs to one Indian tribe, of whom there are 139,289, or 92.8 per cent. of the total number of full blood Indians; and those who are of mixed tribal descent, whose number is 10,251, or 6.8 per cent.; the data are missing for 513, or 0.3 per cent.

The 88,030 mixed blood Indians are divided into classes, according to the proportion of white blood, as follows:

More than half Indian.....	18,169	or	20.6	per cent.
Half Indian, half white.....	24,353	or	27.7	“ “
More than half white.....	43,937	or	49.9	“ “
Not reported	1,571	or	1.8	“ “

SEXES NEARLY EQUAL IN NUMBERS

Of the total of 265,683 Indians in continental United States, 135,113, or 50.9 per cent. are males, and 130,570, or 49.1 per cent. are females, the number of males to 100 females thus being 103.5. The excess of males among the Indians is not as great as for the total population of continental United States, the number of males per 100 females in the whole country being 104.4. Among the native white the number is 102.7, among the foreign white 117.4, and among the Negroes, 98.6. The preponderance of males among the Indians is thus greater than among the native white, while among the Negroes the number of females exceeds that of males. It is rather interesting to note in this connection that while the number of males per 100 females is 103.5 for the entire Indian population, it is 101.7 for the full blood Indians and 106.4 for the mixed bloods. This greater predominance of males among the mixed bloods might be accounted for by the fact that mixed blood women in marrying white men are apt to deny their Indian blood, thus reducing the apparent number of women among mixed bloods. This explanation gains in plausibility from the fact that among Indian children under 5, where this cause does not operate, the conditions are reversed, the number of males to 100 females being 103.7 for the full bloods and 102.4 for the mixed bloods. Conditions in Alaska in this respect are the reverse of those in con-

tinental United States; in Alaska the number of males to 100 females is 106.3 among the full blooded Indians, and 100.3 among the mixed bloods. On the other hand conditions among other races, such as the Hindoos and the Filipinos, suggest that the tendency toward a greater proportion of females among full bloods is not confined to the Indians of continental United States.

THE AGE GROUPS

The Indian population has been grouped into three classes according to age. The classes are: Under 20, 20 to 50, and 51 and over. The proportion of Indians in these groups is as follows: under 20, 51.7 per cent.; 20 to 50, 36.3 per cent.; 51 and over, 12.1 per cent. For Alaska the proportions are: under 20, 47.8 per cent.; 20 to 50, 43.4 per cent.; 51 and over, 8.8 per cent. A comparison of age groups by blood shows that among the full blood Indians the proportion under 20 was 44.9 per cent., while among the mixed blood Indians it was 62.8 per cent. This greater preponderance of young persons among mixed blood Indians is probably due to the fact that mixed marriages have been more frequent in recent years and that the offspring of such marriages are consequently younger on the average than those of marriages among full blood Indians. The same circumstance probably accounts for the fact that the proportion of persons 51 years of age and over is much less among mixed blood than among full blood Indians, being 16.1 per cent. among the former and 6.1 per cent. among the latter.

FECUNDITY OF INDIAN WOMEN

A study of the fecundity of Indian women has been made for the Thirteenth Census. The basis for this study is the number of children born and the number living for every married woman 16 to 44 years of age who has been married for at least one year. Widowed and divorced women as well as those married more than once were excluded. The total number of women tabulated for this study was 21,532. For the total number tabulated the

proportion having borne no children is 8.6 per cent.; for the full blood Indians it is 10.5 per cent.; for the mixed bloods, 6.2 per cent. Thus sterility is more common among full blood than among mixed blood Indian women. Furthermore the proportion of sterility among full blood Indian women is 10.4 per cent. when the husband is a full blood of the same tribe, 16.6 per cent. when he belongs to a different tribe, 8.4 per cent. when he is half white, and 7.7 per cent. when he is white. Among mixed blood women having full blood Indian husbands the proportion of sterility is 9.4 per cent., among those having half white husbands it is 6.9 per cent., and among those having white husbands it is 4.3 per cent. Thus the proportion of sterile women is not only smaller among mixed blooded than among full blooded women, but it is smaller in each case when the husband is a half breed, and the smallest when the husband is white.

A further study is made of the fecundity of Indian women 15 to 45 years of age who have been married between 10 and 20 years. Of these, 16.9 per cent have borne no more than 2 children (including those who have borne no children), 44.9 per cent. have borne between 3 and 5 children, and 38.2 per cent. have borne more than 5 children. The proportion having borne not more than 2 children is 18.8 per cent. among full blood Indians, and 14.0 per cent. among mixed bloods; while the proportion having borne more than 5 is 34.2 among the former, and 44.4 among the latter. The proportions vary also in connection with the race of the husband; thus among full blood women the proportions having borne no more than 2 children are as follows: when the husband is a full blood of the same tribe as the wife, 19.5 per cent.; when he is a full blood of another tribe, 20.2 per cent.; when he is a half breed, 13.0 per cent.; when he is white, 7.8 per cent. Similarly for mixed blood women the proportions having no more than 2 children are: when the husband is a full blood Indian, 16 per cent, when he is a half breed, 14.2 per cent.; when he is white, 12.9 per cent.

Thus the evidence on sterility and on fecundity agrees in showing a tendency for greater fecundity among Indians of mixed blood, and greater in proportion to the amount of white

blood. Miscegenation in the case of Indians seems to result in increased fecundity.

THE QUESTION OF VITALITY

Closely connected with fecundity is the question of vitality. A measure of that is obtained by the study of the proportion of children surviving. Of the total number of children born to Indian women, 15 to 45 years of age and married from 10 to 20 years, 74.7 per cent. were alive at the time of the enumeration. Among full blooded women the proportion was 70.2 per cent., among mixed bloods, 78.8 per cent. Among full blood women having mixed blood husbands, the proportion was 71.2 per cent., and among those having white husbands, 82.9 per cent. Among mixed blood women, having full blood husbands, the proportion of children surviving was 67.9 per cent.; among those with mixed blood husbands, 77.8 per cent., and among those with white husbands, 83 per cent.

The proportion of surviving children is thus higher among mixed blood women, and higher in case of marriage with whites than in case of marriage with mixed blood or with full blood Indians. To what extent this greater vitality of the offspring of mixed blood Indian women is due to the greater sturdiness of the stock, and to what extent to economic and social conditions, is hard to determine, but it is plain that the greater fecundity of mixed blood women together with the greater vitality of their children will tend to increase the proportion of mixed bloods among the Indians of the United States; it is plain, in fact, that as a result of these tendencies, the full blood Indian is doomed to disappearance at a date that is not far removed.

Historic Views and Reviews

SOLDIERS' MEMORIAL AT YALE

THAT President Taft favors "The War Between the States" instead of "The Civil War" as part of an inscription of a soldiers' memorial at Yale is a fact brought out to-day by the details of the plans of the Yale Soldiers' Memorial Committee. The title, "The Civil War," will, however, probably be chosen by the committee.

The committee, which has Judge Henry E. Howland of New York as President, has rejected a plan representing "Alma Mater," a life size female figure with a dead Union and Confederate soldier at her feet, to be placed in the Yale Memorial Hall. The Plan favored is a series of tablets with artistic adornments at the inner entrance of Memorial Hall.

All military titles of the fallen Yale soldiers will be rejected, and only the full names and classes of the men who fell on both sides used. Deaths before the end of the year 1865 will limit the names on the tablets. The committee will report to the Yale corporation next June. In the war 115 Yale men died in the Union army and 49 in the Confederate army.



JEFFERSON OBELISK

A letter sent by Mrs. Martin W. Littleton to Congressmen and their wives suggesting that the Nation should buy the house and grounds at Monticello, now owned by Congressman Jefferson M. Levy, and also the graveyard and declaring that the edges of the granite obelisk over Jefferson's grave have been chipped away until it now stands a misshapen column, has moved Mr. Levy to write this letter:

To the Editor of The New York Times:

It is needless for me to say that the statement made that the granite obelisk over Jefferson's grave has been desecrated is absolutely untrue; and, furthermore, that the reference made in the booklet by the distinguished lady, Mrs. Martin W. Littleton, refers to the monument (this particular monument now stands on the campus of the University of Missouri, in Missouri,) that was damaged during the confiscation of Monticello by the Confederate States, when my late uncle, Commodore Uriah P. Levy, was the owner. After the war an act of Congress appropriated \$10,000 for the erection of a granite shaft and iron railing around the same, and this is continually guarded by my servants at Monticello.

Monticello has now been in my family for over eighty years, and is not for sale.

JEFFERSON M. LEVY.

Washington, March 5, 1912.



THE HOUSE OF HARPER

All writing people and all reading people have reason to be grateful that it has been put into the heart of Mr. J. Henry Harper to write the history of "The House of Harper." (Harpers). If a reading American were asked to name the most illustrious and important of American publishing houses he might reasonably hesitate. His answer might depend upon his age and his habitat. If he were "a man of Boston raisin'" and over fifty he would be very apt to name Ticknor and Fields, in grateful recollection of the little brown twelvemos in which he had first made the acquaintance of Tennyson, of Emerson, of Hawthorne, of Holmes, of Longfellow, of Lowell, of ever so many more. Perhaps even yet no other American house can show such a "list," at least in poetry and belles lettres. There are other Boston houses, some of them still extant, which might occur to him. The convinced New Yorker might plausibly urge the claims of the original publishers of Irving and Cooper. A reader whose interests were mainly scientific might name an-

other New York house. But the common American reader would without much doubt give his vote for Harper & Brothers. Even the belletristic oldster just cited would recall his tenderness for the octavos in brown paper which constituted "Harper's Library of Select Novels." And no American reader could possibly fail to recall with gratitude the buff cover and the columns crowned with cherubs scattering flowers and soap bubbles which denoted what Trollope in his tour of the United States fifty years ago called "the ubiquitous *Harper*," of which magazine the present Charles Francis Adams said that a set of it was as wholesome and inviting a pabulum as he knew of for the general literary diet of the young.



HISTORY OF SPANISH WAR

Col. Roosevelt has written to Rear Admiral F. E. Chadwick his opinion of the latter's two volume history of the Spanish-American war, which has just been published by the Scribners. He says.

"I cannot deny myself the pleasure of writing to you to congratulate you upon and thank you for writing your admirable book upon the Spanish war. It seems to me to be exactly the book that was needed, written, as it is, with serene impartiality and after exhaustive study of the subject by a man who was a participant in the war, and who in addition to the naval—that is, in the broad sense of the word, military—training of the practical kind necessary to enable him to do his part well in the actual work of the campaign, also possesses the kind of learning in military matters which is indispensable if a valuable military work is to be written, but which does not at all times accompany military ability.

"Your book is written along novel lines, but it is the kind of novelty that is of permanent use. I have read it with the utmost interest, and I am now rereading it and studying it. Really it seems to me that very little more remains to be written from the purely narrative side of the campaign, although of course there

will always be an opportunity for a man like Mahan to draw deduction from the narrative."



INDIAN CURATOR

Dr. Gordon, director of the University of Pennsylvania museum, has for a long time been perplexed as to the best way to get translations of the legends found on the thousands of specimens from the northwest that have recently been added to the George G. Heye collection.

It was impossible to find a curator who was able to decipher the hieroglyphics. Dr. Gordon remembered that Mr. Heye in his Alaska travels had spoken of a wonderful chieftain among the Indians who possessed more than average intelligence. He therefore assigned Assistant Curator Harrington to go to Alaska to find this remarkable aborigine is possible and to bring him to Philadelphia. The chieftain, Stuwuka by name, would not come without his wife, so the university authorities said, "Bring her too." Accompanied by his spouse, Katwachsnea, Stuwuka has come from the Chilkat tribe of southern Alaska and he is to prepare a detailed account of every Alaskan specimen of the museum, showing its significance, purposes, origin and uses.

Together they are now helping the curators to reduce to printed words the richness of lore, the tales of feuds long burned out, the intimate legends of tribal life, pride and ambitions that live in the designs, forms and embellishments of the collection of the university.



FLAG HISTORY

According to so reliable an authority on flag history as Preble the official origin of the Grand Union striped flag raised at Cambridge on Jan. 2, 1776, and the striped flag carried by the fleet

of Commander Hopkins, is involved in obscurity. Holden, in his book, "Our Country's Flag," says that the Continental Congress appointed a committee in October, 1775, with Benjamin Franklin at its head, to go to Cambridge and confer with Gen. Washington and recommend a design for "The Grand Union Flag." Other historians hold that it is a question whether the flag was designed by Gen. Washington or by Franklin.

With reference to Betsy Ross and her connection with the flag, it may be said that Preble gives pretty conclusive evidence that she was not a myth and that she actually did have much to do with the making of the flag.

Concerning the Adams incident Preble says in his "Flag of the United States and Other National Flags:"

"When John Quincy Adams was Secretary of State, in 1820, he gave color to the idea by removing the United States arms from the United States passports and substituting in place of it a circle of thirteen stars surrounding an eagle holding in his beak a constellation Lyra and the motto 'Nunc sidera ducit,' which would show that the passports with the stars were not used before the arms of the United States were adopted, but some years afterwards."

The flag of the City of New York is white with a blue coat of arms. The flag of the State is blue.



POTTOWATOMIE DUEL

In 1833 a grand council was held in Chicago to settle land disputes with the Indian tribes. Among the Indians gathered at Chicago were two young fellows who were of unusually fine physical build and appearance, and, moreover, the best of friends. One was the son of Sanguanauneebee, a Pottawatomie village chief from the St. Joseph River, and the other the son of another chief, Seebwasen, or Cornstalk. Both, unfortunately, had fallen in love with the same young squaw, the daughter of Wampun, a Chippewa chief from Sheboygan. Taken all in all, it was distinctly an affair of high society. The lovers had proposed to fight a duel to decide which should possess the object of his affections, while the maiden on her part had agreed to

marry one of them, but was seemingly indifferent as to which it should be.

Arrived at the battleground, crude flags on poles were stuck up in the sand round about, this being an Indian sign that a fight to the death was in progress. Guards were placed to clear a ring of two or three hundred yards, and heading these and acting as seconds were Seebwasen, father of one of the duellists, and Chepoi, a Pottawatomie chief from St. Joseph's.

Close outside the ring alone stood the girl who was being fought over, her arms akimbo and her attitude one of indifference. The time was an hour before sundown, and there were present as onlookers several hundred Indians and white men.

All being in readiness, one of the duellists wheeled to the right, the other to the left. Then they brought their horses sideways close together, head to tail and tail to head, and one of the seconds cried out in the Pottawatomie tongue the signal for beginning the combat.

Instantly each fighter drew a knife with blade fully twenty inches long. As they rushed together a great hubbub arose among the spectators. Some of the white men fainted, while the squaws rent the air with their outcries. Meanwhile the fighters stuck grimly to their fray, the blood spurting forth as each blow was given.

Finally the son of Sanguanauneebee fell over backward, his arm raised for a blow, but the other's knife in his spine. A moment later Seebwasen's son cried out in his death agony and likewise toppled over. Both died almost at the same instant. The girl, with no lover left, at last manifested some concern, wringing her hands in frenzy. The assemblage dispersed and the primitive tragedy was ended.—Prof. Milo Milton Quaife in *Chicago Record-Herald*.



EMERSON AND THOREAU LETTERS.

A number of interesting letters, written by Ralph Waldo Emerson and Henry D. Thoreau, the naturalist, are in the autograph collection of Miss Mary B. Hathaway, which will be sold by auction in Boston on Jan. 10. These letters form part of the

correspondence carried on between Emerson and Thoreau during the period 1840-50. They contain references to Nathaniel Hawthorne, William H. Channing, Margaret Fuller, Horace Greeley, Thomas Carlyle, William Ellery Channing, Henry James and others. Of Henry James Thoreau writes on June 8, 1843: "I have been to see Henry James, and like him very much. It was a great pleasure to meet him. It makes humanity seem more erect and respectable." Then he adds: "I met W. H. Channing and Brisbane. The former is a concave man, and you see by his attitude and the lines of his face that he is retreating from himself and from yourself with sad doubts. Brisbane looks like a man who has lived in a cellar."

In answer to this letter Emerson writes, two days later: "Hawthorne walked with me yesterday, and not until after our return did I read his 'Celestial Railroad,' which has a serene strength which one cannot afford not to praise." On July 8 Thoreau writes to Emerson, who was in concord: "My thoughts revert to those dear hills and that river, which so fills the world to its brim. How can it run so heedlessly to the sea as if I were there to countenance it?"

On Aug. 7, 1843, Thoreau writes: "I have had a pleasant talk with Channing; and Greeley, too, it was refreshing to meet. They were both much pleased with your criticism on Carlyle. I study the aspects of commerce at its Narrows here, (Staten Island,) where it passes in review before me, and this seems to be beginning at the right end to understand this Babylon."

Still at Staten Island, Thoreau writes on Sept. 14, 1843: "Literature comes to a poor market here, and even the little I write is more than will sell. I have tried The Democratic Review, The New York Mirror, and Brother Jonathan. The last two, as well as The New York World, are overwhelmed with contributions which cost nothing."



COLONIAL HOMESTEAD BECOMES WOMAN'S CLUB

The old homestead which George Sands, a famous Colonial preacher, built in Cornwall, N. Y., in 1734, and which was used during the Revolutionary War as a patrol station and head-

quarters of several American generals, is to be converted into a woman's exchange and tea house.

Acting for the Cornwall Village Improvement Society, Mrs. Lawrence Abbott, daughter-in-law of Lyman Abbott, today purchased the property at a partition sale for \$2,000. The society, which is composed of women, expects to rebuild the house so as to make it a place wherein all the women's clubs of the village may hold meetings and luncheons. Articles relating to the history of the village will be preserved in the house.

The building is between Cornwall and Cornwall on Hudson, at the junction of the three most important roads in Orange county.

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AMERICANA

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A. W. DAVIS

AMERICANA

June, 1912

Past Days of Minstrelsy, Variety, Circus and Side Show

BY ALBERT W. DAVIS

“**A**S we journey through life, we stop by the way. We of years of experience love to look backward; it recalls fond recollections of the past.” Oh! the good old days when the fun-makers of the burnt-cork profession supplied the most popular form of amusement!

As presented to-day minstrelsy does not at all compare favorably with its original form. Present-day minstrelsy cannot boast of such vocalists and banjo artists as Billy Emerson, Billy Arlington, Billy Carter, Joe Murphy, Billy Morris, the celebrated imitator of the mocking bird, Eph Horn, Harry Bloodgood, Lew Benedict, Lew Simmons, J. K. Buckley and Cal Wagner. Among the leading balladists were Tom Dixon, Chauncey Olcott, Richard Jose, Frank Howard and Dave Wambold of “Dreaming-of-Home” fame. Then follow the stump speech orators with carpet bag and umbrella; Charlie Banks, Hughey Dougherty, Harry Bloodgood and Gov. Add Rymar. Let me illustrate how end men vied with one another in provoking laughter.

Says one of the end men: “I am a representative of the best safe concern in the country. I can conclusively prove that the safe we manufacture is the best in the world. Shortly before the big Chicago fire one of our safes was installed in a millinery store in that city. This safe was all of the millinery store that remained after the fire. The safe had been in the center of the conflagration, which raged for 14 months. It so happened that a rooster had accidentally found his way in the safe before the

fire. When the safe was opened, this rooster flapped his wing and crowed lustily."

Thereupon the other end man replies as follows: "Well, I neglected to close a safe one day in my office in Boston. A cat was accidentally locked up in it. That night the great Boston fire broke out and raged for two years. What do you think happened when this safe was opened? Do you think the cat walked out? No, it was found in one of the corners frozen stiff." These stories, narrated in negro dialect, invariably caused the audience to burst into shrieks of merriment.

The continued popularity of burnt-cork minstrelsy was largely due to the inimitable way in which sentimental ballads were rendered. At the close of the Civil War this form of amusement had become so popular that minstrel halls were established in most of the larger cities. In New York, the San Francisco Minstrels with Birch, Backus and Wambold, and Bryant's Opera House with Dan Neil and Billy Bryant's Minstrel Troupe, were the leading play houses. Brooklyn supported Hooley's Opera House, the home of Dick Hooley's Minstrels. In Philadelphia there were Carncross' and Dixey's; in Boston Ordway's Aeolians, Morris Brothers, Pell and Trowbridge. Other old-timers connected with established minstrel halls were Cotton and Murphy, with a troupe of twenty-five—a large number for the time.

Another whose praises I must sound is the late "Billy" (J. William) Rice. He was a burnt-cork comedian of the real type. He and old Hoss Hoey, of Evans and Hoey of "A-Parlor-Match" fame, were the only two that I remember, who could evoke shrieks of merriment without uttering one word. Rice was a negro sketch artist. His great success was "Beasley's Dog." Rice is met by a young man who is to elope with Mr. Beasley's daughter and who orders Rice to deliver a note to her personally and to wait for an answer. The young man warns Rice against the old man Beasley, and the latter's dog, telling him that the dog is very small, is sickly, has no teeth and is tied by a very short chain. The fun comes when the messenger returns with his clothing torn, the crown of his hat hanging to one side and the marks of a dog's teeth on his cheek. Limping, he

appears before the young man, with the fragments of the note. When the audience stopped laughing Rice used to exclaim, "Did I understand you to say that the dog was a little one, that he was sick, that he didn't have any teeth and was hitched to a short chain. Well it ain't so. Say that dog has grown some since you saw him. He ain't sick. He ain't got no consumption for he's the healthiest dog I ever saw. He's got teeth. Say, he's got a new set of false ones, and that short chain he's hitched to is made out of elastic,—stretched all over de yard. I want's you to give me my two dollars and don't, as long as you live, send me to tackle any more dogs."

As my mind reverts in fancy to the past days of minstrelsy, there comes to me a few verses, which I received some time ago from an old-time performer. The verses are as follows:

GONE, BUT NOT FORGOTTEN

I sat reading in my arm chair one cold and wintry night.
I paused to listen to the wind as it blew with all its might.
I must have had a reverie, for I saw in bright array
The well-known forms of actors great,—the kings of a by-gone
day.

I saw the public laugh and cry, as alternately they gave
Their merry pun, their mirthful joke, or the ballad sweet and
grave.

They formed a quaint procession as they passed before my sight,
Those by-gone kings of stageland, thus conjured from the night.
I saw Dan Daly's well-known face as he went by and smiled,
A friend to everyone in need, the public's favorite child.
How oft' we've heard his merry laugh as he made the night
pass o'er,

Or gave out the joke which always set the audience in a roar!
He scarcely passed me by, when came the king of the minstrel
band,

The pride of our profession, well-known throughout the land—
Billy Emerson strolled along and bowed,
As if answering your kind applause, which came both oft and
loud.

Another good old-timer then strolled along the line.
 He was of the old school, away back in sixty-nine.
 He, Emerson and Schoolcraft—there was a trio hard to beat—
 I mean Billy Rice who started into his accustomed seat.
 William West and J. H. Haverly, two great minstrels known
 to all,
 Walked and chatted pleasantly and did old times recall.
 They looked mighty happy, walking side by side;
 They were favorites everywhere, and their names have never
 died.

Along came Billy Barry with that same old friendly grin,
 Closely followed by John Burke and his old pal, Jimmie Queen.
 John T. Raymond strolled along and paused for just a minute;
 He was the boy who used to say, "My friends, there's millions
 in it."

Another good old-timer then extended his glad hand;
 It was your old friend J. W. Kelly, "the rolling mill man."
 T'was Tony Pastor who booked the show; he was your friend
 for years.
 Now, every actor bow your head, we'll all forgive your tears.
 That closed the olio that evening; 'twas the best I'd ever seen,
 For they are stars and they are dead—'twas a pleasant evening
 dream.

Picture to yourselves an evening's entertainment back in the
 eighties with the Barlow, Wilson, Primrose and West's Mam-
 moth Minstrels.

PART I, "SOCIAL SESSION"

Grand introductory overture, a medley of operatic gems ar-
 ranged by Eddie Fox; Ballad—"Say one little Prayer for Moth-
 er," Geo. Gale; negro melodies, George H. Primrose; "Good-
 bye I'm Gone," Milt G. Barlow; waltz song, "Still thou art far
 from me," Frank Howard; medley of songs, Geo. Wilson;
 "Sweet Evalina," Luke Schoolcraft; ballad, "Tiny Hands," G.
 G. Kelly; finale, gems from the Mascot, introducing a uni-
 formed platoon of Uncle Sam's Letter Carriers.

PART II, "OLIO PAR EXCELLENCE"

Milt G. Barlow in his celebrated life like characteristics of an aged colored man; nine irresistible comiques introducing acrobatic stunts, plantation songs and dances by Messrs. Primrose, West, Doyle, Beach, Fagan, Gould, Howe, Bell and Dailey; "Hannah Beasley," a delicate lady of 450 pounds, Geo. H. Primrose; the inimitable George Wilson, in stories interspersed with comic songs, concluding with oratory reformed; Schoolcraft and Coes, in their own and original Ethiopian specialty, entitled "Mrs. Diddemus' Party;" Mr. Schoolcraft in a very laughable sketch displays the finest piece of character acting ever seen in the minstrel profession.

The great American jockey clog, artistically arranged by those popular comedians, Messrs. Primrose and West—every feature new and elegant. Incidental to the clog Barney Fagan, the justly conceded king of dancers introduced a new style of clog dancing. Mr. Fagan was the composer of Lorillard's Jockey Song, used in the above act. Messrs. Howe and Bell, the acknowledged champion pedestal acrobatic dancers of the world performed the intrepid feat of turning somersaults in perfect time on pedestals sixteen inches square and six feet high.

The whole concluded with the original musical burlesque of the latest popular opera (Olivette) introducing the famous burlesque lyric artist, Wm. Henry Rice, as All-I've-Eat, a young lady with a very bad appetite; Velveteen, a soft velvety young man; Frank Howard; Duke Dizzy, a conundrum whom the countess gives up, Milt G. Barlow; Calico, the Duke's man Friday, Geo. Wilson; Capt. Mary Mack, a veteran of the sea, called oily-vet, Geo. Primrose; Marvel Jowel, the major, an easy going fellow, Geo. H. Coes; Dead-Eye, a sailor, Luke Schoolcraft; The Countess, a very undecided lady, Geo. Gale; Marian's (All-I've Eat's) maid, a sly reynard, F. Bell.

Geo. Thatcher, once a well known minstrel, used to recite the following poem:—

Dar's a grave on de oder side ob de creek
Dat knows no Decoration Day;
For him as lef' dar all alone to sleep,
Is only a nigger, dey say.

He died an old vagunt, entirely unknown
An' left not a soul to be sad.
Dey gave him his freedom but took away his home,
And an ole yaller dog was all dat he had.

Dey dug a rude hole and dey laid him away,
Dis poor old citizen slave.
Not a prayer for his res', did anyone say,
And de ole yaller dog laid down on his grave.

And still you may see him dar, day after day
At eve, at morn, or at noon;
For dar's no inducements can call him away
From his place side de grave of a coon.

Dar's a mighty fine monument standin' right nigh,
But to me dis poor mound looks bigger,
For dar's a monument money can't buy—
A yaller dog's love for a nigger.

VARIETY AND VAUDEVILLE

Vaudeville artists were called variety performers previously to the days of modern vaudeville, which was established thirty years ago by Tony Pastor in East 14th street, where a cosy little play house in Tammany Hall was erected, long known as Tony Pastor's Theatre and now the Olympic. There were two other "variety" managers of note, John Steston, of the Howard Atheneum, Boston, and John D. Hopkins, Theatre Comique, Providence. Last June, at the Colonial Theatre, there was an "Olde Timer's Festival," and there appeared the never-fading stars of variety, McIntyre and Heath, the merry monarchs of minstrelsy, Mrs. Annie Yeamans, who was once a saucy sou-brette, James and Bonnie Thornton, in an exposition of animated jocularly, Gus Williams, the prostrator of melancholy, Lottie Gilson, "the little magnet." She was a Pastor favorite and also played with Gus Hill both in vaudeville and musical comedies.

Who of the old timers will ever forget "The Sunshine of Paradise Alley":

ACADEMY OF MUSIC

TWO NIGHTS ONLY,
Tuesday and Wednesday, Aug. 24 & 25.

RETURN TO PROVIDENCE OF THE INIMITABLE MUSICAL GENIUS.

MR. WM. HORACE

LINGARD

Company of English and American Artists:

MISS

ALICE DUNNING

MR EDWARD RIGHTON,

The celebrated English Comedian, his first appearance in this city

Miss EDITH CHALLIS,

English Actress, her first appearance in this city

Miss LILLIE HALL,

Her first appearance in this city

Miss BELLA HOWETT,

Miss AGGIE WOOD,

Her first appearance in this city.

Miss D. LINGARD

(Sister to William Horace)—her first appearance in this city

Mr HARRY CRISP,

Mr J. K. KRUGER,

Mr HENRY SINCLAIR,

Mr B. DUNNING.

PROGRAMME

OVERTURE AT 8 O'CLOCK PRECISELY

The entirely new Comedietta.

WHO'S TO WIN HIM

Cyril Dashwood, a young officer in search of a wife.....	Mr Harry Crisp
Mr Prattleson Primrose.....	Mr E. Righton
Squire Brushleigh.....	Mr J. K. Kruger
Rose.....	Miss D. Lingard
Sylvia.....	Miss E. Challis
Minnette.....	Miss B. Howett
Maudsora.....	Miss L. Hall
Arabella.....	Miss A. Wood

AFTER WHICH

WILLIAM HORACE LINGARD

In his great impersonations, written and composed by himself

- | | |
|-------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1—Fifth Avenue (new) | 7—Quinn Pig Boy |
| 2—Dutch Onion Vendor (new) | 8—Millionaire |
| 3—The Old Part Lady's Sketch | 9—Marriage Man |
| 4—Old Hats and Bags | 10—Four Men |
| 5—On the Beach at Long Branch | 11—Lucky Killer |
| 6—New costume (from Paris) | 12—Indignant Mother-in-Law |
| 7—Pudding-time with Speech | 13—Walking Down Broadway |

Miss ALICE DUNNING

IN HER CELEBRATED BOUQUET OF MELODIES.

LINGARD'S STATUE SONGS

CORRIGAN BROTHERS
NAPOLEON THE 1st
B. F. BUTLER

CHARLES DICKENS
HORACE GREELEY
PRESIDENT GRANT

TO CONCLUDE WITH THE SCREAMING FARCE

TO OBLIGE BENSON

Mr. Benson.....	Mr Harry Crisp
Mr. Trotter Southdown.....	Mr. E. Righton
Mr. John Meredith.....	Mr J. K. Kruger
Mrs. Benson.....	Miss L. Hall
Mrs. Trotter Southdown.....	Miss E. Challis

PRICES OF ADMISSION AS USUAL

Doors open at 7.30

Overture at 8 o'clock precisely.

Entire Change of Programme Wednesday and Positively Last Night

F. A. Smith, Printer, Journal Building up one flight, 118 Washington St., Boston

When Lingard and his Company Played
in Providence, R. I.

Every evening down to her home we go,
All the boys and all the girls, they love her so—
Always happy, heart that is true, I know
She is the sunshine of Paradise Alley.

Did you ever hear Lottie Gilson sing "East Side"?

"East side, west side, all around the town,
The tots play ring-a-rosie, London Bridge is falling down,
Boys and girls together, me and Mamie Rourke,
Tripped the light fantastic on the sidewalks of New York."

It was Abraham Lincoln who said—

"We cannot all be heroes who in the battle bled
But we can carry off the wounded and cover up the dead,"

and so it is with singers—

"They cannot all be singers and climb to fame so high;
You may forget the singer, but the song will never die."

Will H. Fox, a natural born piano player, who started in a very modest way, is now recognized a professor of the ivories, a high salaried artist, prudent with his money, and making good investments. Fox and Ward were once celebrated in their specialty of the "Silver Statue Clog."

Fields and Hanson, an old time musical team, began in 1875. It would do you good to hear them now.

Some of the old timers have left vaudeville to be successful managers. Some have left vaudeville for the legitimate, some have left vaudeville to join other professions, and many have left vaudeville to join those who have long since passed beyond.

One of whom I will say a word, has been for many years controller of many theatres and a successful business manager, William Harris. He was at one time connected with Isaac Rich and John Stetson, in the seventies, and was of the song and dance team of Bowman and Harris and later Harris and Car-

roll. They made a great impression upon the patrons of the variety or concert halls. Their act "The Old Slave's Return," was similar to Harrigan and Hart's "Slavery Days." In this act they are introduced as the aged, or befo'-de-war, darkey and his wife. In this song the once popular Southern melody "Old Black Joe," was sung with great effect.

Many of the old theatre-goers will recall J. W. McAndrews, known as the "Watermelon Man". This was his love song:

"I love my love in the morning;
I love my love at night;
I love my love all day long;
For she am my beauty bright."

One of the best known men in the profession forty years ago was Samuel N. Mitchell, a bard of no small note, the writer of hundreds of songs, and associated with the newspapers for many years and the only one who could be found to furnish the newsboys with a News Boys' Carrier's Address which contained important events of the world's happenings of the year past in poetic form. He enlisted in the Civil War, and even around the camp fire he would compose battle songs which would stir the hearts of the soldiers, bringing back fond memories of home and mother. On his return from the front, he continued in newspaper work, using his spare time to compose hundreds of songs. It was said that he could set the words to music in thirty minutes. I still remember "Put My Little Shoes Away," and "Sadie Ray." Both of these sentimental ballads were favorites of the once famous tenor of the San Francisco minstrels, Dave Wambold. Still another of Mitchell's compositions, which was heard in the best minstrel troupes of the day, was "When the Whippoorwill is Calling."

To illustrate how Mitchell obtained his inspiration, I will narrate an incident that took place in the early seventies. A musical family, known as the Berger Family, appeared at the Academy of Music, Providence, R. I. Sol. Smith Russell was a monologue artist and a member of this troupe. His wife was one of the Berger's. Mr. Mitchell was present at a performance as corres-



SAMUEL N. MITCHELL
The Bard of Providence, R. I.

pondent for the New York Sunday Mercury, a popular dramatic weekly of that time. When pretty Louise Berger appeared upon the stage and commenced to sing and play the harp, Mr. Mitchell was so attracted that he extemporaneously composed a song and dedicated it to Miss Berger under the title, "Just touch the harp gently my pretty Louise, and sing me the songs that I love." The song had world-wide success among minstrels and the variety artists, while the publishers reaped a rich harvest from its immense sale. Mr. Mitchell had a remarkable memory. He never took notes, but depended on his wonderful gift. Mr. Mitchell for many years was preparing a history of the Providence stage, but unfortunately the manuscript was destroyed by fire. Mr. Mitchell died in Providence R. I., in 1905.

In this connection it might be of interest to mention William Huntley, who collaborated with Mr. Mitchell. "Billy" Huntley was an old-time minstrel, at one time of the firm of Huntley Brothers' minstrels. He also accompanied J. H. Haverly on a European tour. His great special act was with the banjo, an instrument that he played with rare ability. He is still living and is teaching others how to play that wonderful musical instrument. I presume many have heard him imitate the old Trinity Church chimes by swinging two banjos at arms' length.

"Strange we never prize the music
Till the sweet-voiced bird has flown—
Strange that we should slight the violets
Till the lovely flowers are gone;
Strange that summer sky and sunshine
Never seem one-half so fair,
As when winter's snowy pinions
Shake their white down in the air."

The monarchs of song and dance were Delehanty and Hengler. Mr. Hengler being the father of the two beautiful Hengler sisters, now before the public. From coast to coast, Delehanty and Hengler were popular. Beautifully costumed, the one as the Darkie Lover and the other the bewitching "yaller gal,"

they would sing and dance, their master composition being "Love among the Roses," as follows:

"It was on one Summer's evening,
In the merry month of June,
I beheld a damsel sitting
Mid flowers' sweet perfume.
She had a novel, reading
Just as I was passing by;
And as she turned another page,
I saw the brightest eye.
A bewitching smile was on her face,
As charming as the posies.
I felt the smart of cupids dart—
T'was love among the roses.

CHORUS:

"Now I hate to tell, but then I must,
Within her heart I place my trust.
She was sitting in the garden
Where the little butterfly reposes;
And how we met I'll ne'er forget—
'Twas love among the roses."

They were also authors of many other songs, among which were: "Dancing in the Moonlight," "I couldn't stay away," "The Lily and the Rose," "Little Bunch of Roses," "Walking in the Starlight," "Martha Jane Berue," "Little Rosey May," "When Flowers Blush and Bloom," "Come and Kiss Me," "Daring of My Heart," "Little Annie Lowry," "Happy Hottentots," "Apple of My Eye," "Bell and Swell," "Fascinating Dark Blue Eye," "I'm Dancing Glad," "I really Can't Keep Still," "One Dearly Love," and "Sambo's Invitation."

When James Fisk controlled the Fall River Line of steam boats, plying between Fall River and New York, he transported

passengers for the low price of one dollar in order to meet competition. His line was called the "Dollar Line." His two magnificent boats the "Bristol" and the "Providence," were known as floating palaces. Sheridan and Mack, well-known vaudeville performers, conceived the idea of writing a satire on this popular line, their production being known as "Fun on the Bristol." Though only a fairly good variety show, their performance was a great advertisement for the "Bristol" and induced thousands to go to New York on this steamer. This old song and dance team was also the means of promoting many combinations for the road in 1874. "Sheridan, Mack and Days Grand Combination," toured the New England Cities. This troupe consisted of the Stewart Sisters, Miss Alecia Jourdan, Boshnell Sisters, Lester and Allen and Dan Devere, a troupe of pantominists, and as an afterpiece the once popular Robert Macaire.

An old-timer, who recently died, was Pat Reilley, a rival of Pat Rooney. While Rooney was a good dancer, Reilly was a cartoonist. He also was a good Irish comedian. His make-up being very much overdrawn, impersonating a most hideous Irish character with green Galway whiskers. One of his first sayings as he appeared before an audience was: "I can stand a good joke, but when I stand on the edge of a cross walk, smoking a cigar, and a man comes up and hitches his horse to me, it's going too far." There is now considerable agitation anent the caricaturing of Irish, Hebrew and German characters, but it should be borne in mind that these impersonations are in a spirit of fun.

Since the days of "Yankee Locke," a once celebrated Yankee impersonator, the stage "Rube" has been most frightfully ridiculed. In fact the farmer is represented on the historic boards as more of a fool than a wise one, but as I said before it is done simply to create laughter and no one should ever give the matter any serious thought. For a considerable period the country "Hay seed" was missing from the stage, until Uncle Josh Whitcomb revived this popular character.

CIRCUS.

Barnum's Hippodrome with its Roman chariot races, a sensation of a generation ago, was discontinued after a few seasons because of the immense expenses involved. It was in 1853 that a hippodrome building was erected on Madison Square, New York, covering an area of two acres, with a front on Broadway of two hundred feet, and extending backwards so as to occupy nearly the entire block. The "tout ensemble" was striking and peculiar. Turretted abutments, decorated with classic carvings and capped with grotesque ornaments, and the extended pyramid striped with green and white, presented a unique contour. The Hippodrome was a decidedly French conception. In fact, it was a French conception, a Paris importation, perfected by American enterprise. M. Fanconi, a Parisian, "to the manage born," was the manager and projector, but Monsieur Yankee supplied the material for the successful operation of the concern. If the exterior at once surprised attracted and elicited admiration, what must the impression created by the interior arrangements have been? Classic lore, ancient history, Walter Scott's picture of the tournament, the songs of chivalry,—these and other features give an idea of what was to be seen at Franconi's Hippodrome. Some of the older readers might be able to recall "The Tournament," in which a grand procession of more than one hundred and fifty persons and one hundred horses formed a prominent attraction. Amid the blast of the clarion, two knights engaged in conflict, one falling by the hand of the other. His horse was lame, fell over dead and was borne motionless upon a hurdle from the course. This one attraction alone surpassed anything America has ever witnessed. The steeplechase, the stag hunt, the Olympian games, lofty aerial flights and other wonders were all executed in grand style. Strangers from far and near in large numbers were ever present.

It was more than fifty years ago that a floating palace appeared at Mobile, Ala. It was built for the purpose of equestrian exhibitions and was an old time feature on the Mississippi and at the levee in New Orleans. It was rather a novel idea to



The Siamese Twins and their Families

construct such a curious ship—a regular movable theatre. This project succeeded far beyond the expectations of its promoters. The interior contained a most commodious amphitheatre. The “Dress Circle,” as it was termed, consisted of eleven hundred cane bottom arm-chairs, each numbered to correspond with the ticket issued. The “Family Circle” was furnished with cushioned settees for some five hundred persons, while the rest of the accommodations consisted of nine hundred gallery seats. The amphitheatre was warmed by means of hot water pipes or steam, and altogether was an exceedingly comfortable and agreeable exhibition palace. The interior was lighted by over a hundred brilliant gas jets, forming an exquisite ornament in their arrangement. A chime of bells was attached to the structure and vibrated most melodious music before each performance. Every deception to delude the visitor into the belief that he was in a spacious theatre on shore, was pressed into service, and it was difficult to realize that one was on the water during the performance. The structure was improved by Spalding & Roger’s United Circus Companies. All in all it was a most curious, original and interesting playhouse, and attracted as many visitors to see the structure itself as to witness the performances.

THE SIAMESE TWINS

The Encyclopædia Britannica says that twins are the physiological analogy of double monsters, and some of these twins have come very near to being two separate individuals. The Siamese Twins who died in 1874 at the age of sixty were joined only by a thick fleshy ligament from the lower end of the breast bone (*xiphoid cartilage*) having the common naval on its lower border. The anatomical examinations disclosed, however, that a process of *peritoneum* extended through the ligament from one abdominal cavity to the other, and that the blood vessels of the two beings were in free communication across the same bridge. There are one or two cases on record in which such a ligament was cut at birth, one at least of the twins surviving. The Hungarian Sisters, Helena and Judith (1701-1723) were

joined at the *sacrum*, but had the pelvic cavity and pelvic organs separate. The same condition obtained in the South Carolina Negresses, Millie and Christina, known as the two-headed Nightingale, and in the Bohemian Sisters, Rosalie and Josepha.

Marvelous, indeed, were the famous Siamese Twins "Chang and Eng." They were born in the city of Meklong in Siam, May, 1811, and were brought to this country by the Captain of the ship, *Sachem*, arriving in August, 1829. They were at once brought before the public for exhibition, and during the many years that they were on exhibition, were visited by millions of people. Their travels included the United States, Great Britain, France, Holland and Belgium. They were united to each other by a ligature or band about three and a half inches in length and eight in circumference. This band was attached at the extremity of the breast bone of each and extended downwards to the abdomen. The upper part of the band was a strong cartilaginous substance. The lower part was soft and fleshy and contained a tube or cavity approximately an inch and a half in circumference. The flexibility of this cartilage was so great that they could readily turn their shoulders outward when standing in a natural position. It was away back in the early fifties after having become independent, that they settled in Wilkes County, North Carolina. There they became smitten with two charming sisters named Yates, and each selecting his partner, the four were made two with all due ceremony. This double union apparently proved highly satisfactory to all concerned. The ladies were amiable and interesting and the twins were devotedly attached to their wives. Mr. Eng had six children and his brother Chang five, all of whom were apt scholars and of prepossessing appearance. Eng and Chang continued their travels in America as star exhibits until their death in 1874. It is hardly possible that this generation will ever witness such a remarkable spectacle as were the Siamese Twins. However, let me revert to the one-ring circus.

ONE-RING CIRCUS

Gone are the good old days when the one ring circus gave as good a performance as two-ring circuses do to-day. It was four

decades ago that the great European Circus made its appearance with one of the greatest street parades ever witnessed at that period. Gorgeous chariots and wagons, mammoth tableaux, cars containing beautiful women, the live lion, and his keeper mounted on a magnificent platform, and the calvacade of knights in steel armor, brought out people en masse along the route of the procession. Crowds attending the old time circus were so great that in some instances people were not able to obtain admittance and were obliged to return home with admission tickets as souvenirs. The clowns in this circus were Sam Long and Mr. Whitaker and their favorite songs were: "Where's Rosana Gone;" "The Fellow That Looks Like Me;" "Never Take the Horse Shoe From the Door." Then there were such features as "Flying Trapez," "Up in a Balloon," and "Down in a Coal Mine," and many others. Lucille Watson was a daring female rider. Denzer Brothers and Philo Nathans were also well known. Mr. Pierce entered a cage of lions at each performance and fed them raw meat with his hands and thrust his head into a lion's mouth. C. Sherwood, a member of the show, was famous in doing what was known as the "Pete Jenkins Act." A beautiful horse appeared in the ring with the clown and ring master, when suddenly a drunken man came down from the seats and reeled forward toward the ring with umbrella and carpet bag in hand and informed the ring master that he wanted to join the circus. He thereupon mounted the horse and away he went reeling and it would appear that every minute he would fall under the horse's hooves. Oftentimes a constable would innocently rush forward to the ring to arrest the drunken fellow, fearing he would be hurt or killed. Finally the man's clothes fell from his body and, behold, he was the star rider of the troupe with his tights and spangles.

In 1880, the Great London Circus and the P. T. Barnum's Big Show were strong competitors, even covering the same territory, until a circus alliance was formed. One of the attractions of the London Show was John Patterson, the Irish clown, whose favorite song was "I'll meet her in the Garden where the Apple Praties Grow." In former years clowning meant to appear in the ring and make grimaces at the audience, being at the same

time attired in a droll costume. Seldom, if ever, was a clown called upon to speak, except in answering a child's conundrum or else in attempting to spell some such word as 'stovepipe' or 'Constantinople.' Later, however, a clown had to have command of the English language and had to have a knowledge of men and affairs. Furthermore, he had to be a jester and a vocalist.

For many years many of the star performers were connected with L. B. Lent's New York Circus permanently located in the winter months on Fourteenth street, and taking to the road in the Summer season. Mlle. Caroline Rolland the phenomenal equestrienne, performed many daring feats on a bare-backed steed, as did Robert Stickney, one of the most celebrated riders of the world. The Runnell's Family, Conrad Brothers, Wm. Dutton, Elmino Eddie, H. B. Williams, and other members, were also stars of the sawdust ring. Another company was Hitchcock's United Circus and Menagerie. The tents of this company were porous, and rain passed through as through a sieve. Usually it rained in torrents when the tent was packed to overflowing. I have seen hundreds of umbrellas opened, and occasionally one would be seen flying through the air propelled thither by some individual in the rear whose sight was obstructed. Among the performers were Williams and Menkin, John H. Glenroy, and Mlle. Marie. The clowns were George M. Clarke and Clint Williams. The trained horse Gen. Grant, was a feature of the show. After the performance Whitmore and Clark's Minstrels gave an entertainment.

I have records of several big tent shows, among which was Van Amburg's Golden Menagerie, a grand show for the seventies. The procession was led by the Golden Car of Egypt with Professor Hall and a tame lion, followed by the three elephants, "Tippoo," "Sahih," "Jenny Lind," and "Hannibal Jr." two double-humped camels, a number of ponies and mules and a long line of cages and wagons, most beautifully decorated with paintings, representing scenes from the bible and presenting a most imposing spectacle.

THE SIDE-SHOWS

The side-shows were very numerous, among them being the Australian children, Madam Sherwood the Fat Lady, a troupe of minstrels, an educated pig and two living skeletons. Other shows prominent at this period of which I write were Herr Driesbach's Menagerie and Howe's Trans-Atlantic Circus. The street procession was nearly a mile long. One feature was a tableau car which was occupied by Gertrude and her poodles, other principals being Jean, Victor and Arthur, who used to be with the Hanlon's. The clowns were John Wilcox and George H. Clark. On the closing night of the performance Clark created considerable amusement by leaving the ring and sitting down beside a dark woman among the spectators, hugging and kissing her for some time. Ed. Watson was the principal "pad rider" and Juan Henriques was the principal bare-back rider, Frank J. Howes being the Master of the arena.

Another circus of the olden times was Dan Rice's show. As a clown Dan Rice never was equalled.

Another important feature of the old-time circus was the side-show or dime museum, with such features as "Jo Jo the dog-faced boy," "The Trick Pig," Barnum's "What is it?" "The Tattooed Greek," "The Skeleton," "Fat Woman," "The Wild Man of Borneo," "The Ossified Man," "Millie Christie the two-headed Nightingale," Australian sheep with heads upside down, Hop O' My Thumb, the smallest human being in the world, weight 8 pounds. There were also "Fake Exhibits" that went along with poor shows. The "barker" figures prominently in these companies. The barker had a shiny silk hat, a large diamond in his shirt front, a mustache with wax ends. In glowing terms he described the variety of the monstrosities that perched under canvas immediately behind him. He was surrounded by flaming pictures illustrating the show. "This is a museum of living wonders," he would say "the boss side show of the world. Here we have a living skeleton, Isaac W. Sprague, 29 years of age, five feet and five and one-half inches high, and weighs but forty pounds. We have also the giant lady, Madame Clarke, twenty-six years of age, who measures nearly six feet around

the waist and twenty-seven inches around the arm. She stands six feet high and weighs 574 pounds. Still another, the smallest man of his age ever on exhibition in this country, thirty-four years of age, who stands thirty-nine inches high and weighs only thirty-one pounds. Here we have the beautiful Circassian Girl from the Province of Bericknovio. She has been educated in many branches of English literature and everywhere excites admiration and respect both for her marvellous beauty and captivating manners—a cultivated and Christian lady, it is worth miles of travel to behold her.”

Nothing but a liberal use of capitals can emphasize the barker's language. The “Beautiful Circassian” was a fake. Any woman at short notice, with the stage art of make-up, by making the hair stand high upon the ends and out on the sides over her shoulder could be converted into a beautiful Circassian lady. The hair effect was brought about by allowing sour beer to dry.

“Here,” continued the lecturer, “we have also the Mermaid from the Fiji Islands, one of the largest ever captured, and the only one of the kind ever on exhibition in this country. When landed in New York she cost the enormous sum of \$15,000. To see her alone is worth the price of admission ten cents, a dime.” This fake would put Barnum to blush. It was nothing but a stuffed figure with a bent tail, made up very much like a child's rag doll, being in a glass show case. “Now, ladies and gentlemen,” the barker resumed, “we have a two-headed snake, one of the greatest freaks of nature on exhibition—two perfect heads four eyes and only one body, a most remarkable curiosity.” This was also another fake: Two snakes were prepared carefully by a taxidermist and sewed together as a freak. It was really funny, but crowds would visit this “wonderful show” while the big show in the large tent was in progress. The “candy butchers” went from seat to seat and sold the pink lemonade, barber pole candy and peanuts. Cyrus and his sweet-heart ordered a feast and tender a five dollar bill. The change is returned and Cy puts it in his pocket without counting it, as he is too much interested in what is going on in the ring. Later he discovers that he is two whole dollars short.

There were many freaks of national fame such as the “Elas-

tic Skin Man," the Giant Col. Goshen, an Arab seven feet eight inches high, weight six hundred and two pounds, a well-built man. His measurement around the waist was the equal to the altitude of an ordinary man multiplied by three. Chang, the Chinese Giant, was also well known. There were many hall exhibits such as the Cardiff Giant, hewn from granite and as great a joke as the old stone mill at Newport and the wonderful Strassburg Clock with its mechanical figures. There was once on exhibition on the Boston Common under canvas. The hull of the Mayflower was shown but many were skeptical.

In closing I will mention the tiniest human being that ever lived, Lucia Zarate, who attracted the attention of scientists as well as of the general public. She was a perfectly formed woman and symmetrical. She weighed less than eleven pounds and her height was not quite twelve inches. She could walk under General Tom Thumb's extended arm without brushing his sleeve. An ordinary finger ring could be slipped over her wrist and a tea cup would cover her head. The nail on her little finger was not much larger than a pin head. Her earnings were upwards of \$200,000 during the fifteen years that she was on exhibition, which was around the seventies and eighties.

Those good old days are gone. We ne'er shall see them any more. Happy were the hours we spent peeking underneath the tent of the one-ring circus now no more.

Campaign Songs of a Century

IT was only from the Ozark Mountains or some other delightfully simple and primitive region of the republic that such an archaic thing as a campaign song could be expected in these days of long-word issues and tuneless, meaningless cheers. But the "houn' dawg" ballad from the Missouri hills, age and authorship unknown, cannot be considered as marking a revival of political verse. It is only a reminder that there was such a thing a generation ago when mass meetings were more spontaneous and when applause was not a detail, arranged beforehand and guaranteed to last so many minutes by the stop watches of the under bosses.

For the sake of speculation the decline of the campaign song may be attributed to any one of a dozen causes. Perhaps it is because the crowd no longer knows how to sing, a needless accomplishment, since every family in the land, by saving enough laundry soap coupons, can get a phonograph machine to do its singing for it. It may be that the nomenclature of modern issues does not lend itself to combination with modern ragtime. How could any score write of Tin Pan Alley produce anything, for instance, to fit a merry jingle about "the recall of judicial decisions" or "the initiative, referendum, and recall." There are possibilities, it is true, in third-term, but no song writer seems to care for them, and it is a sign of these unmusical days in politics that none of the managers of a million other booms has ordered a ditty to offset the "houn' dawg" that Champ Clark seems to have in leash for his own trailing of the delegates.

Nevertheless, American politics have a long anthology of song, running way back in Washington's time, when Robert Treat Paine wrote the following about the first President:

Should the tempest of war overshadow our land,
Its bolts could ne'er rend Freedom's temple asunder;
For unmoved at portals would Washington stand,
And repulse with his breast the assaults of the thunder.
His sword from the sleep
Of its scabbard would leap,
And conduct with its point every flash to the deep!
For ne'er shall the sons of Columbia be slaves,
While the earth bears a plant or the sea rolls a wave.

As the country grew older, its songs became much less staid than the Paine verses on Washington, and with the beginning, early in the last century, of rival party campaigns, as they are known now, the jingle came into existence for campaign purposes.

Here is what the supporters of Thomas Jefferson sang when he was the candidate for the Presidency in 1800:

The Federalists are down at last,
The Monarchists completely cast,
The Aristocrats are stripped of power
Storms o'er the British faction lower.
Soon we Republicans shall see
Columbia's sons from bondage free!
Lord! How the Federalists will stare
At Jefferson in Adams's chair!

As in Grant's campaign, forty years later, the song-writers for Andrew Jackson, in 1828, made the most out of their candidate's record as a soldier, and one of the best songs of that period was based on Jackson's defeat of the British under Lord Pakenham at New Orleans in 1815. Two stanzas of it were:

You've heard, I s'pose of New Orleans,
Its famed for youth and beauty;
There are girls of every hue it seems,
From snowy white to sooty.
Now Pakenham has made his brags,

If he that day was lucky,
He'd have the girls and cotton bags
In spite of Old Kentucky!

But Jackson, he was wide awake,
And was not scared at trifles,
For well he know Kentucky's boys,
With their death-dealing rifles.
He led them down to cypress swamp,
The ground was low and mucky;
There stood John Bull in martial pomp,
And here stood old Kentucky.

Twelves years later the campaign song-writers were a trifle more frivolous, and the poets working for William Henry Harrison and John Tyler in their log cabin and hard cider campaign in 1840, produced this against Martin Van Buren, the Democratic President, a candidate for a second term:

Farewell, dear Van,
You're a used-up man.
Van! Van! Van!
You're not our man!

That Matty loves the working man,
No workingman can doubt, sirs;
For well he doth pursue the place
That turns the worker out, sirs!

He turns them out of Whig employ,
He turns them out of bread, sirs,
And middle men doth he annoy,
By striking business dead, sirs!

For Matty is a Democrat,
Sing, Yankee Doodle Dandy!
With spoons of gold, and English coach,
And servants always handy!

It was that same campaign song which produced the one song with a line in it that the American people still remember: "Tippecanoe and Tyler, too." But the phrase has not lived sixty-two years without help. A revival of it jogged the public memory in 1888, when Tippecanoe's grandson, Benjamin Harrison, was elected to the Presidency. The song, which was based on Gen. Harrison's victory over the Indians under the "Prophet" by Tippecanoe River, ran as follows:

What has caused the commotion, 'motion, 'motion,
Our country through?
It is the ball a rolling on, for Tippecanoe and Tyler, too!
And with them we will beat Van!
Van is a used-up man!

Let them talk about hard cider, cider, cider,
And log cabins, too—
It will only help speed the ball for Tippecanoe and Tyler, too!

The latch-string hangs outside the door, door, door!
And it is never pulled through,
For it was never the custom of old Tippecanoe and Tyler, too!

Another verse of the same campaign which was sung with great gusto by the crowds that seemed to think that Van Buren was too elegant was:

Tippecanoe has no chariot to ride in,
No palace of marble has he to reside in,
No bags of gold eagles, no lots of fine clothes,
But he has a wealth far better than those—
The love of a Nation, free, happy and true,
Are the riches and portion of Tippecanoe!

Down in Maine, in a Governorship fight, they blended State and national affairs in these lines:

She went hell-bent
 For Governor Kent,
 For Tippecanoe and Tyler, too;
 For Tippecanoe and Tyler, too.

The familiar "Up Salt River" phrase, a left-over from the Clay-Jackson fight of 1836 was also revived for Harrison. That had its origin in a trick played upon Clay. He was going somewhere on the Ohio River in a rowboat to make an important campaign speech. But his oarsman, who was a Jackson man, rowed him up a small branch stream called Salt River, and made him miss the meeting. As revised for 1840, the song went:

Our vessel is ready, we cannot delay,
 For Harrison's coming and we must away—
 Up Salt River! Up Salt River!
 Up Salt River! Oh, heigh-ho!

The dinner pail, full or empty, as a campaign argument, is nothing new. It got into song in the Polk-Clay campaign of 1844 as a bait for the "labor vote":

Here's a health to the workingman's friend,
 Here's good luck to the plough and the loom!
 Him who will not join in support of our cause,
 May light dinners and ill-luck illumine!

And this one:

The gallant Whigs have drawn the sword,
 And thrown the idle sheath away;
 And onward is the battle-word,
 For Home Protection and for Clay!

Here's something intended to be serious:

The great, the wise, the virtuous, all—they say,
 In Time's dread progress, die and turn to clay;
 A dying Nation shall the comment give—
 She turns to Clay—*but turns to Clay to live!*

But, as everybody knows, Polk won. This story has **nothing** to do with campaign songs, but when Polk was President a New England minister, who did not like the President, was **making** a speech at the district school and giving much sound advice to the pupils. "There may be," he said, impressively, "**another** Washington or Jefferson among you boys." Then, as an **after-thought**, "Lord knows, any one of you might be a Polk."

Clay's adherents in the Whig party declared that **their** organization was the same "old coon" which had won four years before and so said in song:

The moon was shining silver bright,
The stars with glory crowned the night,
High on a limb that same old coon
Was singing to himself this tune—
Get out of my way—you're all unlucky,
Clear the track for old Kentucky.

There was a response to that from the Polk singers **after the** election:

Not a cheer was heard, not a single shout
As away to the ditch they hurried;
No bank-paid orator rose to spout
O'er the hole where that coon was buried.

So rapidly tumbling him all alone
With his tail's wounded stump quite gory.
They raised a faint shout, twixt a cheer and a **groan**,
And left him alone in this glory.

Here's a better one from the days of 1848 when Zachary Taylor was elected on the Whig ticket:

Clear the track if you're toes are tender,
For honest Zach can never surrender.

James C. Fremont, the Path Finder, and the candidate of the

new Republican party in 1856, was called by his adherents the mustang colt. So it was necessary, of course, for them to describe the opposing candidate, Buchanan, as an "old gray nag." Then both were driven tandem with Pegasus, this fashion:

The mustang colt is strong and young,
His wind is strong, his knees not sprung.
The old gray horse is a well-known hack,
He's long been fed at the public rack.
The mustang is a full-blooded colt,
He cannot shy! He will not bolt!
The old gray nag, when he tries to trot,
Goes round and round in the same old spot!
The mustang goes at a killing pace,
He's bound to win the four-mile race!
Then do your best with the old gray hack,
The mustang colt will clear the track!

The song writers were particularly hard on Buchanan, and gave a suggestion of his easy-going ways in these lines:

The dough, the dough, the facial dough!
The nose that yields when you tweak it so!
It sighs for the spoil—its sells its soul
For a spoonful of pap from the Treasury bowl.

But Fremont did not escape entirely:

When Fremont raised a flag so high
On Rocky Mountain's peak,
One little busy bee did fly
And light upon his cheek.

But when November's ides arrive
To greet the Colonel's sight,
Straight from the Democratic hive
Two B's will on him light—
Buck and Breck.

Millard Fillmore had to listen to this all through his campaign:

There lives a man in Buffalo,
His name is Millard Fillmore,
Who thinks the Union's sunk so low
It ought to take one pill more.

To purge away the "prejudice"
Which true men have for freedom,
A canting, pompous wretch he is
Who'll cheat you if you heed him.

Old Mill Fillmore, not another pill more
In our mouth,
The quaking South
Ne'er shall put a bill more.

The reference was to Fillmore's signing of the Clay compromise bill.

In the Lincoln campaign of 1860, the burden of most of the songs was of the impending struggle between North and South. Here is one:

We are coming! We are coming!
What a mighty host!—Ha! Ha!
Laughing, shouting, singing, drumming,
We are coming to the war!
Here are old men, here are young men
Even women by the score;
All are coming, all are coming
To this Presidential war.

Another, to the favorite tune of Yankee Doodle, ran:

Lincoln came to Washington
To view the situation,
And found the world all upside down,
A rumpus in the nation.

He heard Secessia laugh in scorn,
 And call him but a noodle;
 "Laugh on!" he cried, "as sure's you're born
 I still am Yankee Doodle!"

A song of the Douglass party, based on Lincoln's personal appearance, was:

Tell us he's a second Webster,
 Or, if better, Henry Clay;
 That he's full of gentle humor,
 Placid as a summer's day.

Tell again about the cord-wood;
 Seven cords or more per day;
 How each night he seeks his closet,
 There alone to kneel and pray!

Any lie you tell, we'll swallow—
 Swallow any kind of mixture;
 But, O don't we beg and pray you—
Don't for land's sake, show his picture!

Andrew Johnson, while serving out the second Lincoln term, went about the country making speeches, with a view of an election on his own account. This song, to the tune of "Just Before the Battle, Mother," did not help him any:

Just before the election, Andy,
 We are thinking most of you;
 While we get our ballots ready—
 But, be sure, they're not for you!
 No, dear Andy, you'll not get them,
 But you'll get what you deserve—
 Oh, yes, you'll get your leave of absence
 As "you swing around the curve!"

CHORUS:

You have swung around the circle
 That you ought to swing, 'tis true;
 Oh, you tried to veto Congress,
 But, I guess, we'll veto you!

Of course, the Civil War was rich in songs, and the same was true of the campaign of 1868, when Grant was candidating for his first term. This one was a favorite at all the Grant mass meetings:

Should brave Ulysses be forgot,
Who worked so long and well
On fields where fires of Death were hot
And brave men fought and fell?

He bore our Country's banner on,
Through scenes of direful strife,
And helped to strike the blow that saved
Our Nation's precious life.

Here's another written by Miles O'Reilly:

So boys a final bumper
While we in chorus chant
For next President we nominate
Our own Ulysses Grant.
And if asked what State he hails from
This our sole reply shall be;
From near Appomattox Court House
With its famous apple tree.
For 'twas there to our Ulysses
That Lee gave up the fight.
Now boys! To Grant for President,
And God defend the right.

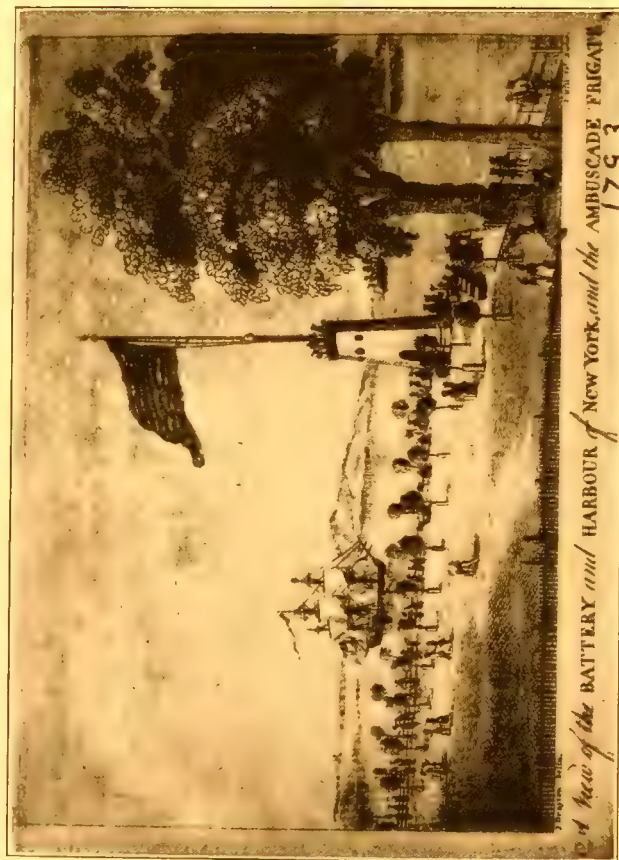
When Grant tried for a third term in 1880 there were songs about him that ran very differently. This one, for instance:

"It will be a damned shame," cried Fred,
If father is not nominated;
And so when the shame
Came out through Jime Blaine
Our Fred
Bowed his head

Wept like a water cart, it is said,
And howled like a bull dog under a shed,
He said, with eyes red,
“The Empire is dead;
They ain’t got any use for our anointed head.”

Of course, the fact that James A. Garfield had been on the towpath of a canal in his youth was made much of when he was a candidate for the White House, and it found expression thus:

He early learned to paddle well his own forlorn canoe
Upon Ohio’s grand canal he held the helm true.
And now the people shout to him: “Lo, ’tis for you we wait.”
We want to see Jim Garfield guide our glorious ship of state.



A View of the BATTERY and HARBOUR of NEW YORK, and the AMBUSCADE FRIGATE
1753

The Battery Park, New York City

BY WILLIAM S. PELLETREAU, A. M.

MANHATTAN ISLAND below Pearl street was a narrow point of land, terminating in a ledge of rocks, known to the Dutch settlers as Capskie, or Little Cape, afterwards corrupted into "Copsie." It was also known as Schreyers Hoek, or Shouter's Point. The lots on the south side of Pearl street were mentioned as bounded "south by the strand." In after years a street was laid out and called Copsie street. This name continued until after the Revolution when it was called State street. In 1774 Governor Wm. Tryon sold to the city a lot "part of which had been laid into a street." This is now the west part of State street, below Pearl street.

The existence of a war between England and Spain was the cause of the erection of a battery at the end of the Point, and it gave a name to the locality which still remains, although the fortification has been gone for more than a hundred year. This battery was built during the governorship of William Cosby and was finished in July, 1735. This was the subject of a grand celebration, which ended in a most mournful accident. The full account is given in the "New York Gazette" of July 21, of that year.

"The foundation and ground work of the new battery on Whitehall rocks being finished on Wednesday the 16th instant, that day was appointed for the laying of the first stone of the platform and the giving it a name. Accordingly his excellency, the Governor attended by the gentlemen of his majesty's Council with the principal gentlemen and merchants of the city, performed the ceremony under the general discharge of the cannon

planted for the occasion, and was pleased to call it George Augustus Royal Battery. Afterward his excellency repaired to the booth erected on the battery where an elegant entertainment was prepared for him and the company. After dinner, his majesty's and the several Royal healths were drank amid several discharges of the cannon, together with success to George's Battery. His excellency gave an ox roasted whole upon it, to the workmen, soldiers and people, with several barrels of punch and beer."

"It is remarkable that there was the greatest concourse of people on this occasion, that was ever known here, and the joy and satisfaction that was universally expressed might have deserved to be enlarged upon, had it not been succeeded by as universal a sadness occasioned by a most melancholy and unfortunate accident upon the conclusion of the whole solemnity. When his excellency was returning in the manner in which he went and the last round was firing, the very last piece of the cannon (being very much honeycombed as it afterward appeared by the pieces) burst and threw fragments of it flying different ways, and killed three persons, viz., John Symes, Esq., high sheriff for the city and county of New York; Miss Van Cortlandt, only daughter of the Hon. Col. Van Cortlandt, a member of his majesty's council in this Province, and a son-in-law of Alderman Rawer. As they were carried home thousands crowded to see them, and a mixture of grief, compassion and terror appeared in the faces of all, at so dismal a sight. The next day the coroner's inquest sat on the bodies, and brought in their verdict, accidental death, and in the evening they were decently interred. Men, women and children assisting at the funeral solemnities, every one being officious to pay the last duties to the corpse of persons so unfortunately killed before their eyes."

By this occurrence the Battery was stained with the blood of the people it was erected to defend. The tract of land known as the Battery, was bounded on the east by Whitehall slip which originally extended north to Pearl street; south by the river shore where Capskie Rocks had been. On the west the river shore was a little east of Greenwich street, but as it ran south was very near the end of Pearl street. The Battery ground ex-

tended north to the south side of Marketfield street, now Battery Place. The whole space was bounded north by Copsie street, now State street, but as said before extended along the river shore to Battery Place.

Some years later, the prospect of a war with France called attention to the conditions of the Battery. On June 30, 1744, Governor Clinton made the following report to the General Assembly:

“In my speech delivered to you on the 18th, I spoke how much it imported to us to use the utmost diligence and dispatch for putting the Province in the best posture for defence. First, as to my directions already given concerning the fortification in the city.”

“I have ordered the brass cannon on the flag mount in Fort George to be repaired and rendered fit for service. Leaden aprons to be made for the cannon on Copsey Battery, and a fence from the east to the west side thereof. Eight cannons to be removed to Mr. Rutger’s wharf, on the North river, and eight to Burnet’s Key on the East river. A Banquette or Fort Bank should be raised along the inside of the parapet on Copsey, and the Flat Rock batteries to a proper height for the musketeers to fire over. The Berm on Copsey battery to be fitted up with sod work to prevent the enemy’s landing there. It is also advised to take up every other gun on Copsey, and fill up each other embrasure with sod work.” It would likewise be proper to raise another battery in front of the Great Dock of the city in order to flank the east side of Copsey battery as the Flat Rock does the westward.”

The “Great Dock” was near the present Moore street, and “Flat Rock,” was near the westward end of Pearl street.

On August 24, 1744, the General Assembly voted funds for all the improvements, and among other things it was voted.

“For altering Copsey Battery and reducing the same to a 32-gun battery, which we conceive to be more serviceable, £450.” From which it would appear that the original number of guns must have been 64.

There was also “to be made a sufficient fence for Copsey battery, from Whitehall slip to the east corner of the Red House, and from the west corner of said house to the wharf on the

North river, with gates at each end of the Red House for carts to pass and repass."

This fence was on the south side of State street, but the battery was extended north along the river shore to Battery Place, many years before the Revolution.

In 1793 an English traveler named John Drayton came to New York. A few years later his travels were printed in a small pamphlet entitled "Letters written during a tour through the Northern and Eastern States of America."

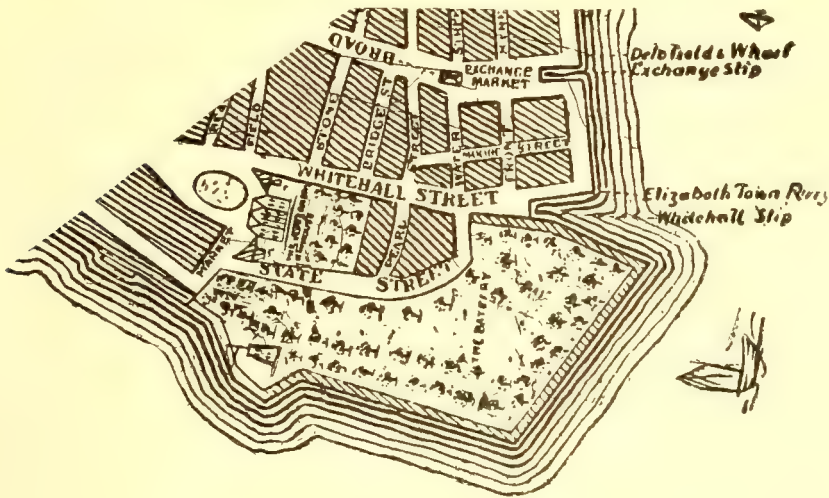
Of his arrival he writes, "We came opposite the Battery, which is at the extreme part of the town. It has no mortars or embrasures, but the guns (which are 13 in number) are placed upon carriages, on a stone platform some four feet above the level of the water. Between the guns and the water is a public walk, made by a gentle decline from the platform and going round the ground upon which the battery is placed. Some little distance behind the guns two rows of elm trees are planted, which in a short time will afford an agreeable shade. The flag staff rises from the midst of a stone tower, and is decorated on the top with a golden ball, and the back part of the ground is laid out in smaller walks, terraces and a bowling green. Immediately behind this and overlooking it is the government House, built at the expense of the State."

Years before, a bulk head had been made a little way into the river and the interval filled in thus increasing the area of land. In 1790 when Fort George had been given to the city it was ordered that this bulkhead should be leveled and a new bulkhead made and extended "from the end of the bulkhead lately made by them and continuing to the south-west bastion of the Battery." This extended the "made ground" to the west opposite Greenwich street. Trees were set out and a neat fence made on the south side of the Old Marketfield street, west of Broadway, and it took the name of Battery Place. This was the condition of things when Mr. Drayton made his sketch of the Battery. The view is taken from a point on the south side of Battery Place and does not show the whole extent of the ground. The flag staff and tower (popularly called "the churn," from its resemblance) stood by

the bulkhead a little north of Pearl street. An enlarged view of the Battery is here given, taken from "A new and accurate plan of the city of New York" published in 1797.

The "Ambuscade" was a French frigate which came over in 1793. At that time everything French was extremely popular, and as she came sailing past the Battery bearing the liberty cap at her foretop gallant mast head, it made a great sensation, and her officers and crew received a grand ovation.

Dr. Francis in his "Old New Yorker, or Reminiscences of the last 60 years," states that his "first visit to the Battery was on



The Battery in 1793

the occasion of the funeral of General Washington (1799). The procession gathered there and about the Bowling Green. The Battery was then properly set out with Lombardy poplar trees, introduced into this county by the elder Michaux, who had been sent to America from the Jardin des Plante of Paris. It was pronounced an exotic of priceless value, but like many other things of an exotic nature, it polluted the soil, vitiated our own more stately and valuable indigenous products, and was finally eradicated as uncongenial and detrimental to the natural riches of American husbandry "

The Battery became a fashionable resort. Here was the grand "Fete and Gala" given to Lafayette in Sept., 1824. It "was attended by 6,000 persons, and far transcended in splendor any pageant ever before witnessed in the United States." For a quarter of a century the Battery was a popular place of amusement and was the starting place for parades and processions. Chancellor Kent who resided at No. 68 Greenwich street speaks with pleasure of his morning walks on the Battery, and he was only one out of thousands who could do the same. When the late King of England was prince of Wales he visited this country in 1860, and the grand review in his honor was on the Battery, and this was perhaps the last great public ceremony in that famous place.

In 1806 four hundred feet of land under water was ceded to the United States, and in the following year a fortification was erected, named Castle Clinton, or the Southwest Battery. A long bridge connected it with the main land. In 1822 being no longer of any use as a fort, it was dismantled and the land and building was re-ceded to the city and it was leased to a company for \$1,400 a year. The lessees covered it with a roof and made it an immense apartment, then said to be the largest audience room in the United States. When Jenny Lind visited America in 1850, Castle Garden (as it was then called) was the only place large enough to accommodate the thousands who were charmed by the magic of her song. She was followed in later years by Malibran, Grisi and Mario, famous for musical talent. In 1855 the place was changed into a depot for immigrants. This continued until 1890 when the station was moved to Ellis Island and the Aquarium, a source of delight and instruction to thousands, was established in its place.

As stated before, the river or Whitehall Slip, originally extended to Pearl street, but had been filled in as far as Front street before the Revolution. The original extent of the Battery was about ten acres, and the exterior line from Whitehall to Marketfield street (Battery Place) was a quarter of a mile. In 1871 it was proposed to greatly enlarge this space, and it was extended to the present bulkhead, and Castle Garden became a

part of the Park. But the glory of the Battery has passed away. No longer a place for fashionable resorts, it is a rendezvous for a class of people whose names are not on the assessment roll and who were not born on American soil.

The United States and Movement for International Arbitration and Peace

VICTOR HUGO DURAS

PART II

AUTHOR OF UNIVERSAL PEACE BY INTERNATIONAL GOVERNMENT,
AND LA PAIX UNIVERSALLE PAR L'ORGANIZATION INTERNATIONALE, ETC.

THE Second Commission of the first conference had for consideration the extension to maritime warfare of the principles of the Geneva Convention of August 22, 1864, “(by which the moral duty to protect the sick and wounded was transferred to an international and legal obligation.)”

(The Hague Peace Conferences, Scott, pp. 20, 62.)

The Third Commission had for consideration the Peaceful Settlement of International Disputes, and Article 8 of the second circular sought to specify the various means by which the maintenance of general peace might be safeguarded.

(The Hague Peace Conferences, Scott, p. 66.)

“And found it in an agreement to accept in principle the employment of good offices of mediation and facultative arbitration in cases lending themselves thereto, with the object of preventing armed conflicts between nations, to come to an understanding with respect to the mode of applying these good offices and to establish a uniform practice in using them.”

The Final Act of the International Peace Conference unanimously adopted the following resolution:

“The conference is of the opinion that the restriction of military charges, which are at present a heavy burden on the world, is extremely desirable for the increase of the material and moral welfare of mankind.” (The Hague Peace Conferences, Scott, p. 77.)

The second Hague Peace Conference, which convened 1907,

organized four Commissions, which had for consideration the following subjects:

The First Commission—Arbitration. International Commissions of Inquiry and questions connected therewith.

The Second Commission—Improvements in the system of laws and customs of land warfare. Opening of hostilities. Declarations of 1899. Rights and Obligations of Neutrals on Land.

The Third Commission—Bombardment of Ports, Cities and Villages by Naval Force. Laying of torpedoes, etc. Rules to which the Belligerents in Neutral Ports should be subjected. Additions to be made to the Convention of 1899 in order to adopt to maritime warfare the principles of the Geneva Convention of 1864, revised in 1906.

The Fourth Commission—Transformation of merchant vessels into war vessels. Private property at sea. Delay allowed for the departure of enemy merchant vessels in enemy ports. Contraband of war. Blockades. Destruction of neutral prizes by *force majeure*. Provisions regarding land warfare which should also be applicable to naval warfare.

The Final Act of the Second International Peace Conference unanimously adopted the following resolution:

“The Second Peace Conference confirms the resolution adopted by the conference of 1899 in regard to the *limitation of military expenditure*; and inasmuch as military expenditure has considerably increased in almost every country since that time, the conference declares that it is eminently desirable that the governments should resume serious examination of this question.”

It also expressed the following opinion:

“The conference calls the attention of the signatory powers to the advisability of adopting the annexed draft convention for the creation of a Judicial Arbitration Court, and of bringing it into force as soon as an agreement has been reached respecting the selection of the judges and the constitution of the court.”

It is, I believe, quite evident from the foregoing program of the Second Hague Conference, that the question of armaments cannot be dealt with by this body and that the Third Conference will in all probability restrict itself still more to the question of the development of the Court of Arbitral Justice in order to perfect an international judicial system.

The United States delegation took a central position in regard to the question of warfare in the air, as some of the other countries proposed to subject areal warfare to restrictions in addition to those already imposed upon warfare on land and sea, while others proposed to prohibit areal warfare forever, but our delegates advocated the temporary prohibition of areal warfare at both conferences.

The United States delegation also supported most of the measures proposed and adopted for the alleviation of warfare on land. They advocated the revision of the Geneva Convention, and participated in that revision which occurred in 1906, and which gave greater scope to the humanitarian activities of the Red Cross Societies. They supported the proposition that a definite declaration of war should be issued before hostilities are begun, binding our Congress as well as our Executive to this requirement; but they opposed the proposition that hostilities should be begun until a prescribed time has elapsed after the declaration. They supported the provision that the cost of maintaining prisoners of war shall not be deducted from the wages paid to them upon their release. They rejected, however, in 1899, and refused to accept in 1907, the prohibition which all the civilized nations of the world have agreed upon, that is, the prohibition of the use of "dum-dum" bullets and projectiles whose object is the diffusion of asphyxiating gases; and this attitude of our delegation is indeed regrettable.

In regard to the regulation of warfare upon the sea, the United States delegation took a part of considerable importance which is certain of good results in the future conferences. They agreed to the application of the Red Cross rules of warfare upon the sea; they advocated in the interest of neutral nations, the restriction of the use of submarine mines by belligerents and the prohibition of the bombardment of undefended ports and buildings; they supported the measures adopted for the protection of the rights of neutral commerce and for the restriction of belligerent warships in neutral ports; and opposed the destruction of neutral prizes, even though the prize which could not be taken to a port would of necessity be permitted to escape. They championed the exemption of capture of private property at sea, whether by warships or by privateers at both

conferences. However, upon the question of blockade and contraband, they did not go so far as the propositions of the Italian and British delegations, but our government supported the compromise measures at the conference in London in 1908-9, which were adopted. The United States delegation did not adhere to the declaration of Paris, which forbade privateering, although most of the other nations accepted it.

In regard to the measures proposed for the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means, the United States delegation took an advanced stand and their propositions were in the main adopted. They established the right of disinterested governments to extend their good offices to disputants; they procured the adoption of "special" mediation which will go far to prevent war. They advanced the provisions for international commissions of inquiry, to ascertain the facts in disputes, but urged that the disputants might either subsequently conclude by amicable arrangements to resort to the Court of Arbitration at The Hague. They also supported the French proposition that the conference should declare it to be a duty to remind any disputants of the existence of the Court of Arbitration. In 1907 the United States delegates championed the idea of a general treaty of obligatory arbitration, and although the principle of obligatory arbitration was adopted by a unanimous vote, they did not succeed in securing the adoption of a general treaty providing for the obligatory arbitration of specific cases, but put through the Porter proposition, which provides for the obligatory arbitration of disputes arising out of international indebtedness before force is resorted to. The United States delegates at the second conference proposed the plan for the establishment of a Court of Arbitral Justice, as a court of adjudication and as an accessory to the Court of Arbitration, but, although the court was agreed upon in principle, it was not possible to agree upon the distribution of the limited number of judges, which difficulty can be overcome in the future.

It was through the initiative of the United States delegation that provision was made for the meeting of the Third Peace Conference at The Hague, and made the conferences automatically convocable and subject to the whim of no nation, so that they are certain to convene more frequently, and will soon develop the international judicial system.

A WORLD PEACE LEAGUE

Today there is on foot a strong movement for the consummation of a treaty or general, universal and unlimited arbitration between the United States and Great Britain and France; and probably Germany, which will, indeed, form the first strong link in the League of Peace that will in time include all the powers of the world.

President Taft took a very advanced position in the peace and arbitration movement when he said at the banquet of the National Arbitration and Peace League, on March 22, 1910:

"I have noticed exceptions in our arbitration treaties, as to reference of questions of national honor to courts of arbitration. Personally, I do not see any more reason why matters of national honor should not be referred to a court of arbitration than matters of property or matters of national proprietorship."

Following up this idea the President again said, at the banquet of the American Society for the Judicial Settlement of International Disputes, held at Washington on December 17, 1910:

"If we can negotiate and put through a positive agreement with some great nation to abide the adjudication of an international arbitral court in every issue which cannot be settled by negotiation, no matter what it involves, whether honor, territory or money, we shall have made a long step forward by demonstration that it is possible for two nations at least to establish as between them the same system of due process of law that exists between individuals under a government."

Then came the great peace speech of Sir Edward Grey, which was strangely enough delivered in the House of Commons while he was supporting the estimates for greater naval expenditures. Sir Edward warned his hearers that while circumstances made these expenditures necessary, still, unless the evil of the increasing cost of armament was brought home, "the rivalry will continue and it will in the long run break down civilization."

That is the heart of the entire peace problem, and the only way the nations can prevent the mounting of armaments is by the promotion of complete international organization, which will prevent the free and unlimited competition in the development

of preparations for war, and thus check the abnormal development of armaments.

He went on further to say :

“You are having this great burden piled up in times of peace, and if it goes on increasing by leaps and bounds as it has done in the last generation, it will become intolerable. There are those who think that it will lead to war precisely because it is already becoming intolerable. I think it much more likely that the burden will be dissipated by an internal revolution, by a revolt of the masses of men against taxation.

“What may be impossible in one generation may be possible to another. The great nations of the earth are in bondage, increasing bondage, and it is not impossible that in some of the future years they will discover, as individuals have discovered, that the law is a better remedy than force, and that in all the time they have been in bondage the prison doors have been locked on the inside.”

The exchange of these sentiments resulted in the negotiation of a treaty signed by the plenipotentiaries of the United States and Great Britain on August 3, 1911, extending the scope and obligation of the policy of arbitration adopted in the present arbitration treaty of April 4, 1908, between the two countries, so as to exclude certain exceptions contained in that treaty and to provide means for the *peaceful solution of all questions of difference* which it shall be found impossible in the future to settle by diplomacy. Article I, of said treaty, reads in part:

“All differences hereafter arising between the High Contracting Parties, which it has not been possible to adjust by diplomacy, relating to international matters in which the High Contracting Parties are concerned by virtue of a claim of right made by one against the other under treaty or otherwise, and which are *justiciable in their nature* by reason of being susceptible of decision by the application of the principles of law or equity, shall be submitted to the Permanent Court of Arbitration established at The Hague by the convention of October 18, 1907, or to some other arbitral tribunal, as shall be decided in each case by special agreement, which special agreement shall provide for the organization of such tribunal if necessary, to define the scope of the powers of the arbitrators, the question or ques-

tions at issue, and settle the terms of reference and the procedure thereunder."

Article II reads in part:

"The High Contracting Parties further agree to institute as occasion arises, and as hereinafter provided, a joint High Commission of Inquiry to which, upon the request of either Party, shall be referred for impartial and conscientious investigation any controversy between the Parties within the scope of Article I, before such controversy has been submitted to arbitration."

Article VII reads in part:

"It shall thereafter remain in force continuously unless and until terminated by *twenty-four months'* written notice given by either High Contracting Party to the other."

This is the gist of the model treaty which the United States will endeavor to negotiate with other nations, and a similar one with France has already been signed by the plenipotentiaries and submitted to the Senate; with the right, however, to terminate the treaty in *twelve months'* notice. The length of time necessary to terminate the treaty is of primary importance because on the one hand a sufficient interval before hostilities can be commenced brings into action the principle of "think twice," "count ten," or "be sure you are right, then go ahead," and can in most instances prevent conflict by the subsidence of passion, while on the other hand it will be a much easier matter to negotiate treaties with short notice of termination. Thus it can be seen that the contracting parties are not hampered in their free action after a certain length of time during which a Commission of Inquiry may investigate the rights of parties at difference, and even within the limit of time necessary for notice of termination a nation may act upon its own initiative in the beginning of hostilities when it deems claims of right not *justiciable in their nature*.

The failure of the Senate to ratify the treaties between the United States and Great Britain and France during the last session of Congress, was a great surprise to those who have studied the problem, and forces are now gathering, which seem to make its passage impossible without some material changes.

The Senate's objection to the Joint High Commission of Inquiry was based upon the idea that the Senate's prerogatives

would be encroached upon, and it is the same objection, that this august body has to all progressive laws, treaties or measures, so that their actions in this instance would indicate that they believe the treaty-making power to be vested in the Senate by and with the aid and advice of the President. Then again there are those who place the rights of man, righteousness, and justice above peace, asserting that a great republic should have freedom of action; but they forget that law, justice and human rights can only be ascertained and established by justice through the arbitration or adjudication of their rights according to law. They would have us believe that a republic like ours should be absolutely free and unhampered to do what she can for the good and welfare of humanity; but they forget that we have today a society of nations which is developing into a union of nations and that we must respect the established rules of international law which is bringing about this union. The right to abrogate the treaty in a given length of time is of itself a sufficient protection against any possible encroachment upon the free institutions of this republic and the United States can still remain a champion of international righteousness with due respect for the rights of nations as defined by international law.

We know that the struggle for human rights is a permanent, perpetual and eternal battle against the encroachments of oppression, but these true patriots and lovers of liberty forget that peace can reign only where there is freedom and freedom can only prevail where there is justice, so that it is necessary that the rise of mankind in its efforts to govern itself must rest upon law, as the peoples are becoming more cultured, educated and intelligent during this century of civilization's progress. It was this struggle that wrested the Magna Charter from the King, on that island in the Themes between Staines and Windsor, which had been chosen as a place of conference; the King encamped on one bank, while the Barons covered the marshy flat, still known as Runnymede, on the other. Their delegates met on the island between them. The great Charter was discussed agreed to, and signed in a single day. (Old South Leaflets p. 15.)

It was the same struggle that commenced with the Declaration of Independence which contains the basic principles upon

which this government was founded, and developed the Articles of Confederation, and finally perfected this union by the Constitution; of which Gladstone said: "As far as I can see, the American Constitution is the most wonderful work ever struck off at one time by the brain and purpose of man." Jefferson, Washington and Hamilton are to be credited with this wonderful work probably more than any other patriots and it was Washington who made possible our democratic republic by his ability to keep together the two opposing forces, one favoring a dis-centralized form of government, headed by Jefferson; and the other favoring a centralization of powers, headed by Hamilton; so that by his suggested compromise this immortal document was made possible.

Then, too, Washington's Farewell Address was the result of suggestions from these two opponents, and our entire political system may be said to be the product of the fertile brain of these three statesmen.

There are many who quote this address in their arguments against the advisability of the United States to enter into compulsory arbitration treaties and particularly cite the following words: "The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations, is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little political connection as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith. Here let us stop." "Europe has a set of primary interests, which to us have none, or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves, by artificial ties, in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendship or enmities." "Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one people, under an efficient government, the period is not far off, when we may defy material injury from external annoyance, when we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality, we may at any time resolve upon, to be scrupulously respected; when belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation;

when we may choose peace or war, as our interest, guided by justice, shall counsel."

But they forget that in the same address Washington said:

"Hence likewise they will avoid the necessity of those overgrown military establishments, which under any form of government, are inauspicious to liberty, and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to Republican Liberty. In this sense it is, that your Union ought to be considered as a main prop of your liberty, and that the love of the one ought to endear to you the preservation of the other."

And he further stated in the same address:

"Taking care always to keep ourselves, by suitable establishments, on a respectable defensive posture, we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies."

"Harmony, liberal intercourse with all nations, are recommended by policy, humanity, and interest. But even our commercial policy should hold an equal and impartial hand;—neither seeking nor granting exclusive favors or preferences;—consulting the natural courses of things;—diffusing and diversifying by gentle means the streams of commerce, but forcing nothing;"—

"The inducements of interest for observing that conduct will best be referred to your own reflections and experience. With me, a predominant motive has been to endeavor to gain time to our country to settle and mature its yet recent institutions, and to progress without interruption to that degree of strength and consistency which is necessary to give it, humanly speaking, the command of its own destiny."

It is very evident I believe that the words of Washington mean, that we as a democratic republic, should regard the preservation of our free institutions as of primary importance, and hence should at no time jeopardise this republican democracy, by the negotiation of offensive or defensive agreements with any European power. He did not mean that we are not to negotiate treaties of peace, treaties for arbitration or treaties for the limitation of armament, nor any other treaty for the benefit of mankind which does not savor of a military alliance; because it was the intention of Washington, that this republic be free and untrammelled to lead and champion the cause of the people of

the world in the struggle for their inalienable rights, of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

"We will erect a standard to which the wise and good can repair;—the event is in the hand of God," said he at the Constitutional convention, and with due respect to the law of the society of nations this government will never interfere with the internal affairs of another government except perhaps when forced through some great public inhumanity when the people might rise en masse with indignation, and interfere in the name of humanity as we did in the instance of the liberation of Cuba. But we want even to prevent the possibility of an occasion similar to the one which caused the Spanish-American war, by the organization of the international governmental system with power to limit the burden of armaments and thus reduce national and colonial taxation which is at the root of all war, revolt and rebellion. The international peace conferences at The Hague, have already established a permanent Court of Arbitration and have agreed to organize a Court of Arbitral Justice as a part of the international judicial system, and the meetings of the Interparliamentary Union consisting of the members of various parliaments are creating an international Parliamentary system, while the meetings of the International Peace Congresses are moulding rational public opinion as a crystalized executive force which will develop an international administrative system. The Court is already quite adequately organized as it has decided many serious controversies, but as its jurisdiction is determined by the treaties of arbitration which the nations have subjected themselves to, it has been found necessary to negotiate treaties of compulsory arbitration, and up to date the United States has negotiated twenty-three such treaties providing for the arbitration of all questions of dispute except matters of "honor, vital interests and territorial integrity," which were the unfortunate reservations in the Anglo-French treaty of 1903, that has marked a great step in advance and forms the basis of most of the present treaties of arbitration.

It is of course quite apparent that although the danger of war is being greatly minimized by these treaties, it is still a fact that all wars of the past have been fought for the sake of honor, that is, honor is always appealed to, and the term is so broad and

comprehensive that any future dispute can easily be attributed to a defense of honor. As far back as 1883 the Swiss Federal Council proposed a treaty of unlimited compulsory arbitration to the United States, and since The Hague Conferences Denmark and the Netherlands have signed a treaty of general arbitration and Italy and Portugal have signed a similar one. A treaty between Sweden and Norway provides for the submission of the question of "honor" to The Hague Court for determination, and the treaty of Berlin and St. Petersburg of 1909 guarantees the national territorial integrity of all the nations bordering on the Baltic, and the North Seas.

In a speech at Lincoln, Nebraska, on October 2, 1911, President Taft, while urging that pressure be brought upon the Senate to approve the treaty with Great Britain, used the following words which fully sum up the entire situation.

"The Whole World looks to this country to lead in the matter of peace;

The other nations know that we have no entangling Alliances;
They know we are a great nation, that we really fear no other nation;

They know we are a peace loving nation."

So now there is a strong movement on foot for the consummation of the Anglo-American treaty which will indeed prove to be a model of the first strong link in a league of peace which will in time include all the powers of the world. A League of Peace means nothing more nor less than the negotiation of treaties of general, unlimited and compulsory arbitration, and the intellectual leaders of the world believe that the development of the science of politics, diplomacy and international jurisprudence, has advanced civilization far enough for the nations to safely and securely negotiate such agreements in order to guarantee the world's peace.

Great Britain and the United States had developed such an international friendship that the idea of war between them was but a dream until the Venezuela situation came to a sudden crisis in December of 1895, and immediately the agitators, jingoes and demagogues stirred up the country to a pitch of inflammation so that had it not been for the earnest, rational and thoughtful citizens of New York, Chicago, San Francisco, Boston, Wash-

ington, New Orleans, St. Louis, St. Paul and in other cities, who called meetings to foster sentiment for the pacific settlement of the Venezuela claims, no one knows what might have been the result.

The Chicago meeting sent forth the following message:

"Let the people of the United States make the birthday of George Washington even more glorious by inaugurating a movement for the cementing of all the English speaking people of the world in peace and fraternal unity. Let the people of all cities and towns of the Union, at their meetings on that day, express their views, to be made known to both the President of the United States and the Queen of Great Britain, as to the two governments, by formal treaty of arbitration as the method of concluding all differences which may fail of settlement by diplomacy between the two powers."

In New York resolutions were adopted as follows:

"Whereas, the United States and Great Britain, akin in language, jurisprudence, legal methods and essential love of right, are already accustomed to arbitrate their disagreements, and have emphatically declared themselves in favor of such arbitration in Congress by the action of both houses in 1890, and the House of Commons by its vote in 1893. Therefore, resolved, That we earnestly desire such action by our national legislature and the executive, as shall make permanent provision for some wise method of arbitration between the two countries, it being our hope that such a step will ultimately lead international arbitration through the civilized world."

The Boston meeting resolved, "that the time has come when a complete system of arbitration between the two nations should be matured." While a citizens meeting declared, "The cause of humanity and the cause of conscience demand that the English-speaking peoples should settle their international differences without resort to the arbitrament of the sword."

The Philadelphia conference which was held on February 22, in Independence Hall, adopted resolutions which read in part: "That the common sense and Christian conviction of America and England agree that the time has come to abolish war between these two nations which are really one people," and

urged upon the two governments to establish a permanent international arbitration system.

These meetings in the various cities crystallized their attention upon the convocation of a national conference, and such a call was signed by leading citizens of the various states, by a document which stated: "In confirming the present movement to the promotion of arbitration between the United States and Great Britain, we are not unconcerned for the wider application of the principle involved. But, taking into consideration the importance and the value of practical results, it has seemed wise to concentrate our immediate efforts upon the attention of a permanent system between the two English speaking peoples."

This public sentiment for peace, brought about the first American Conference for International Arbitration which met at Washington, D. C., on the afternoon of April 22, and after some magnificent addresses by some of the most distinguished citizens of the nation, resolutions were passed and the conference adjourned on the evening of the next day, having fulfilled its mission in the progressive movement for international peace by arbitration. There were some three hundred members present, representing thirty-six states and one territory. Hon. George F. Edmunds was the presiding officer and among the speakers were Hon. John W. Foster, Carl Schurz, Bishop Keane, Cardinal Gibbons, President Eliot, of Harvard University, and John Bassett Moore.

The resolutions which concluded the proceedings brought forth general principles of arbitration condemning war as a means for the settlement of international disputes, and pointed out the peculiar responsibilities and duty of the United States and Great Britain as an English-speaking people, to lead the way to organized peace, declaring, "that, in the judgment of this conference, religion, humanity and justice, as well as the material interests of civilized society, demand the immediate establishment between the United States and Great Britain of a permanent system of arbitration, and the earliest possible extension of such a system to embrace all civilized nations."

This was probably the most important initiatory conference held in the United States since the meeting of the first Pan-American conference at Washington, and is very likely preg-

nant with more abundant fruits, for it brought about the negotiation of the Olney-Pauncefote treaty at the instance of President Cleveland in January 11, 1891, which however, was unfortunately not ratified by the senate. It also had more or less effect in bringing about the circular of the Emperor of Russia on August 24, 1898, which marks the beginning of united governmental action for international or world peace, as does the Pan-American conference mark the beginning of governmental action for peace on the American continent.

The second American Conference for International Arbitration met at Washington on January 12, 1904, eight years after the first meeting. The Venezuela difficulty was arbitrated; the Alaska boundary question was settled; and the Irish-American opposition to a general treaty of arbitration was in part eliminated by more amicable relations between England and Ireland, while The Hague Conference had been held and established the Arbitration Tribunal, and finally on the 14th of October, 1903, a treaty was signed between Great Britain and France, agreeing to submit all differences not affecting honor, vital interests and independence, to The Hague Court. The disastrous effect of the failure of the Olney-Pauncefote treaty which provided for unlimited arbitration of all disputes, can be seen from the tendency of all future treaties of arbitration to follow the Anglo-French treaty which opened the widest kind of a path for conflict on the grounds of "honor," disregarding the fact that it is always a matter of honor to settle questions of honor in an honorable way, by the course of justice through law. And the second American Conference sharply and justly criticised the creation of the wide loop hole in a treaty of so great importance; Andrew Carnegie expressing quite fully and adequately the sense of this meeting in the following eloquent passage;

"The most dishonored word in the English language is honor." * * * "No man can be dishonored except by himself. So with nations."

Honorable John W. Foster, was the presiding officer of the second conference and in the course of his speech said;

"I need not enumerate the remainder of the score and more of arbitration treaties which we have had with Great Britain to show that no question can in the future arise between the two

nations which will more seriously involve the territorial integrity, the honor of the nation, its vital interests, or its independence, than those which have already been submitted to arbitration."

"While the resolutions unanimously adopted "recommend to our government to endeavor to enter into a treaty with Great Britain to submit to arbitration by the permanent court at The Hague, or, in default of such submission, by some tribunal specially constructed for the case, all differences which they may fail to adjust by diplomatic negotiation," and to "enter into treaties to the same effect, as soon as practicable, with other powers."

In reporting these resolutions Judge Gray said: "The fullness of time has at length come when this great step forward in the civilization of this age should be taken and can be taken; and Great Britain and the United States are the two countries of all others that should be the example to the rest of the world in forwarding this great movement for the benefit of mankind."

In 1905 the year following, Secretary of State, John Hay, negotiated treaties of arbitration with Great Britain and several other nations, essentially upon the lines of the Anglo-French treaty, but the senate did not ratify them, so that it was not until 1908, that treaties of substantially the same character, negotiated by the Honorable Elihu Root, then Secretary of State, with several nations were through his able and practical efforts ratified by the senate.

Great Britain has proven her desire for a treaty of unlimited arbitration by the acceptance of the Olney-Pauncefote treaty, and as a similar treaty has been signed by the Honorable Philander C. Knox and his Excellency James Bryce, it is indeed fitting and auspicious that as eight years will have passed since the Second American Conference for International Arbitration, between the 12th of January and the 22nd of April, in the next year of 1912; that a third conference be called by the executive committee to encourage the adoption of the treaty by the United States Senate.

It is very evident from the foregoing historical sketch that the development of the movement for arbitration without res-

ervations is based upon the development of a safe, sane and rational public opinion in favor of the settlement of international disputes without resort to force, so that the governments can act with confidence that their agreements will have popular sanction and will be implicitly adhered to.

The United States covets no territory, because the people of this republic would not tolerate or countenance any attempt at territorial aggrandisement or conquest, yet it cannot be forgotten or disregarded that when a state becomes developed to such a high degree that a larger and larger portion of its capital must look to foreign investment in order to receive just returns in interest, the investor has a certain right to the protection of his investment, by his government; it is upon this principle that England built up her commercial empire, and every nation has a moral right to grant a certain amount of protection to the investment of its citizens abroad.

There are many who discountenance this "commercial, drummer or dollar diplomacy," as it is usually called, but trade is the cement of the universe, because more and more steamship lines, railroads, telegraphs and telephones are forming an interlacing network of steel, which is binding together all the business, financial and commercial world into a community or neighbourhood; and if we want to develop greater understanding we can best do so by the development of pecuniary interdependence, for economic equanimity is the greatest force for peace. The people of this republic of the north love the people of the republics of the south, and we are patriotic enough to see that the well being of our country depends in part upon the well being of the countries to the south of us, and that our mutual continental welfare depends in part upon the understanding, confidence and faith we have in each other, and the rest of the world has in us; so, as international confederated government is the inevitable outcome of the system which we are developing, the sooner we and the rest of the world accede to the principle of the territorial segregation of the three distinct functions of government, the sooner shall we have the assurance of eternal, universal and permanent, conciliation, harmony, concord, and peace.

History of the Mormon Church

By BRIGHAM H. ROBERTS, Assistant Historian of the Church.

CHAPTER LXIX

THE PIONEER JOURNEY: FROM WINTER QUARTERS TO FORT LARAMIE

THE opening of the Spring of 1847 brought due the time for the departure of the Pioneer Company for the Rocky Mountains. Under instructions from President Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, on the 5th of April, moved with six of his company's wagons to a point about four miles west of Winter Quarters and occupied an abandoned place of former encampment known as Cuttler's Park. This was the beginning of the journey and the nucleus of the Pioneer camp. Other wagons joined Kimball's company as they could get ready, and moved westward to the banks of the Elk Horn, a tributary of the Platte River flowing from the north west, the road striking it at a point about thirty-five miles from Winter Quarters. The advanced divisions of the forming camp here built a ferry boat to cross the entire camp over the river as fast as it should arrive.

Meantime, on the 6th of April, the 17th annual conference of the church was held, at which Brigham Young "was sustained as President of the Church and (of) the Twelve Apostles."¹ Meeting was held only in the forenoon. The day previous had been rainy, but on this sixth of April "the sun shone brightly, the heavens smiled,"² and seemed to encourage the rendezvous-

1. Hist. of Brigham Young, *Ms.*, Bk. 3, p. 81.
2. Woodruff's Journal *Ms.*, entry of 6th April.

ing of the Pioneer encampment, so the conference was cut short—preaching and exhorting must give place to action.

President Young left Winter Quarters on the 7th of April and encamped with twenty-five wagons about ten miles west of Winter Quarters.³ The next day the President returned to Winter Quarters with the Twelve and others to meet with Elder Parley P. Pratt who, meantime, had returned from his mission to England. Anxiety to learn the conditions prevailing in the British mission before departing into the wilderness overcame the President's impatient desire to hasten the movements of the Pioneer company. Elder Pratt gave a full account of the labors of the apostolic delegation to England, and the settlement of the difficulties connected with the "Joint Stock Company" affair, and Hedlock's speculations in immigration matters. Elder Pratt also gave the information that Elder John Taylor would arrive within a few days with the scientific instruments that had been "sent for from Winter Quarters" for use by the Pioneers,⁴ and it was resolved to await his arrival. The time was spent by the Twelve in directing the movements of the gathering sections of the Pioneer camp rendezvousing at the Elk Horn, which occasioned movements back and forth on their part between that point and Winter Quarters. Elder Taylor arrived on the evening of the 13th, bringing with him the following instruments; "Two sextants, one circle of reflection, two artificial horizons, two barometers, several thermometers, telescopes, etc."⁵ The pioneers were also furnished with maps of the route to Oregon,⁶ and

3. Woodruff's Journal *Ms.*, entry for 7th April.

4. Orson Pratt's Journal, published in *Mill. Star*, Vols. XI and XII. In support of the above statement Vol. XII is quoted, p. 18: "During our stay in Winter Quarters we had sent to England and procured the following instruments preparatory to our exploring expedition," which he then enumerates as given in the text.

5. Orson Pratt's Journal *Mill. Star*, Vol. XII, p. 18. Woodruff says: "One telescope," Journal *Ms.*, April 13th, '47.

6. In his journal entry for 27th of March, 1847, Brigham Young says: "We heard the news read, and examined a map received from General Atchison" (History of Brigham Young *Ms.*, Bk. 3, p. 76). Atchison it will be remembered was the friend of the Saints in Missouri, and their counselor at law during their later troubles in that state. He was now—1847—United States' Senator from Missouri (See *Ante* this History, ch. XXIX, *passim*). In his journal entry for April 4th, President Young says: "T. Bullock made a sketch of Captain Fremont's topographical map of road to Oregon for the use of the Pioneers" (Hist. of Brigham Young *Ms.*, Bk. 3, p. 80).



Section of Fremont's Map, 1842-1844—Explorations

also the maps of Captain John C. Fremont's route to California, *via* of the Great Salt Lake in 1843, and of his return in 1844, *via* Southern California, Mohave River, Vegas, Rio Virgin, the Sevier, Utah Lake, Spanish Fork Cannon, Unita River, and so to Pueblo and the East.⁷

Leaving the two Apostles who had returned from England to take charge at Winter Quarters and supervise the preparations to be made by the larger companies of the Saints to start later in the season, when the grass would be more abundant for the support of their teams, the Apostles of the Pioneer company returned to the Elk Horn to find their companies all ferried over that stream, and encamped about twelve miles beyond on the Platte River, where the Twelve and others from Winter Quarters joined them late in the afternoon of the 14th of April. And now the real journey of the camp could begin, for which all were impatiently anxious.

"I called the pioneer camp together," says President Young, speaking of the events of the 15th of April, "and addressed the brethren on the necessity of being faithful, humble and prayerful on the journey. Exhorted the camp to vigilance in guarding, and informed the brethren that I had intimations that the Pawnee Indians were advised to rob us. Said we should go in such a manner as to claim the blessings of heaven."⁸

It was not until the afternoon of the 16th that the Pioneer camp, now complete in its personnel, made its final start on the westward journey. Four miles was the distance traveled that day, and eight the next.⁹ But during those two days the camp

7. Fremont's map of the route and especially of the Salt Lake region is excellent. See section of his map extending from Fort Laramie region to the Great Salt Lake which accompanies this chapter. Fremont's Reports are dated respectively March 1st, 1843; and March 1st, 1845; and both reports were published with maps by order of the U. S. Senate in 1845. It was in his second expedition—1843—that Fremont visited the Great Salt Lake. Turning from the Oregon route at a point then called "Beer Springs," a name given the springs by "the voyageurs and trappers of the country, on account of the effervescing gas and acid taste" of the water, but now called "Soda Springs,"—Fremont followed down Bear River—through what is now called Cache Valley—to its mouth; but finding the approach to the lake over its marshy delta well nigh impossible, he skirted the mountain bench land southward to the Weber River, here made an encampment and spent several days in exploring the lake.

8. History of Brigham Young *Ms.*, Bk. 3, p. 83.

9. Woodruff's Journal *Ms.*, entry 16th April; also Erastus Snow's Journal, entry of April 17th. Snow's Journal is published in the Improvement Era (Utah) Vols. XIV and XV, 1911, 1912.

was undergoing a thorough organization, and formulating its method of travel. The camp numbered, 143 men; 3 women; 2 children.¹⁰ Originally the number of men was 144—"twelve times twelve men"¹¹—but one of the number, Ellis Eames, taking sick on the 18th, returned to Winter Quarters.

"It was no part of the original plan to include women and children in the Pioneer company," remarks O. F. Whitney, in his *History of Utah*.¹² "The hardships and dangers in prospect were foreseen to be such as would test the strength and endurance of the hardiest and healthiest of men;" therefore men of that class only had been chosen. But Harriet Page Wheeler Young, the wife of Lorenzo D. Young, brother of Brigham Young, being in feeble health, and her life imperilled by the malarial atmosphere of the Missouri bottoms, pleaded successfully for the privilege of accompanying her husband to the Mountains. The other two women were Clara Decker Young, wife of President Brigham Young, and Ellen Sanders Kimball, wife of Heber C. Kimball. The success of the first of the trio—born of her necessities—made possible the permission for the other two; and it speaks well for the discipline of the people that the rule that men only should constitute the Pioneer Company, thus infringed, was not further violated. The children were Isaac Perry Decker, son of Mrs. Lorenzo D. Young by a former husband, and Lorenzo Sobieski Young, by her present husband.

There were 73 wagons in the camp;¹³ 93 horses; 52 mules; 66 oxen; 19 cows; 17 dogs, and some chickens.¹⁴ There may be said to have existed in the camp a dual organization, one Israelitish in its character, based upon the revelation received by

10. For names of all the Pioneers as grouped into companies, called tens, see note 1, end of chapter.

11. "Whether this was by design or not is unknown," (See Whitney's *Hist. Utah*, Vol. I, p. 301).

12. Vol. I, p. 302.

13. I follow the journals of Wilford Woodruff—see entry for April 16th; of John Brown, see entry of same date; also of Erastus Snow, see entry for May 20th. Others give the number at 72 wagons, among them Wm. Clayton—see his *Journal* published in *Juvenile Instructor*, Vol. XXI, p. 230. On the Pioneer Monument at the head of Main street, Salt Lake City, the number is given: 70 wagons; one boat; one cannon. As the boat was put on the running gears of a wagon and used as a wagon bed; and as the cannon was also mounted, these two vehicles were doubtless numbered as wagons.

14. Clayton's *Journal* entry for 16th of April, 1847.

Brigham Young, and already of record in these pages,¹⁵ and one military in character. The first consisted of a division of the camp into hundreds, fifties, tens, with a captain over each. Two captains of hundreds were appointed, viz, Stephen Markham and A. P. Rockwood; five captains of fifties;¹⁶ and fourteen captains of tens.¹⁷

In the military organization Brigham Young was elected Lieutenant General; Stephen Markham, Colonel; John Pack, and Shadrack Roundy, Majors; the divisions into tens, with their respective captains of the previously named organization, were brought over and incorporated into this military organization without change. The camp carried with them one cannon for defensive purposes, and Thomas Tanner was given charge of it as captain, with the privilege of choosing eight men to assist him. The cannon was mounted on wheels, and usually brought up the rear. The captains of tens selected forty-eight men for a constant night guard, "who were divided into four watches to be on duty half the night at a time"; Stephen Markham was made their captain.¹⁸ In special times of danger the night guard was augmented by volunteers, Brigham Young and other members of the Twelve are named among those doing such guard service.¹⁹ The order of travel is thus described by William Clayton as an order issued by Brigham Young:

15. Ante, ch. LIX—this History.

16. The Captains of fifties were (1) Addison Everett, (2) Tarlton Lewis, (3) James Case, (4) John Pack, (5) Shadrach Roundy. (Clayton's Journal entry for 16th of April). Why two captains of hundreds and five captains of fifties were chosen when there were less than one hundred and fifty souls in the camp, does not appear. Perhaps however, the excess of officers was chosen in anticipation of the Pioneer camp being joined by the company of Mississippi Saints and members of the Mormon Battalion who had wintered at Pueblo, and whom the Pioneers expected to meet in the vicinity of Fort Laramie.

17. The Captains of tens were as follows:

1. Wilford Woodruff,	2. Ezra T. Benson,
3. Phineas H. Young,	4. Luke Johnson,
5. Stephen H. Goddard,	6. Charles Shunway,
7. James Case,	8. Seth Taft,
9. Howard Egan,	10. Appleton Harmen,
11. John S. Higbee,	12. Norton Jacobs,
13. John Brown,	14. Joseph Mathews.

(Clayton's Journal, entry for 16th April).

18. Hist. Brigham Young *Ms.*, Bk. 3, p. 83; also Erastus Snow's Journal, entry for 16th April.

19. See Woodruff's Journal, entry of 21st April; Clayton's, ditto.

“After we start from this spot, every men must carry his loaded gun, or else have it in his wagon where he can seize it at a moment’s notice. If the gun is cap-lock, he should take off the cap and put on a piece of leather to exclude moisture and dirt; if a flint-lock, he must take out the priming and fill the pan with toe or cotton. The wagons must now keep together while traveling and not separate as heretofore they have separated. Every man is to keep beside his own wagon and is not to leave it except by permission.”²⁰

The next day the following order was issued:

“At five o’clock in the morning the bugle is to be sounded as a signal for every man to arise and attend prayers before he leaves his wagon. Then the people will engage in cooking, eating, feeding teams, etc., until seven o’clock, at which time the train is to move at the sound of the bugle. Each teamster is to keep beside his team with loaded gun in hand or within easy reach, while the extra men, observing the same rule regarding their weapons, are to walk by the side of the particular wagons to which they belong; and no man may leave his post without the permission of his officers. In case of an attack or any hostile demonstration by Indians, the wagons will travel in double file—the order of encampment to be in a circle, with the mouth of each wagon to the outside²¹ and the horses and cattle tied inside the circle. At half past eight each evening the bugles are to be sounded again, upon which signal all will hold prayers in their wagons, and be retired to rest by nine o’clock.”²²

On the 19th of April the camp for the first time moved under the above regulations. About twenty miles were covered that day, and the Mormon Pioneer journey was fairly begun. The line of march was on the north side of the Platte River, which it closely followed to Fort Laramie, although the choice of the route brought some disadvantages. On the south side of the Platte was the plain, broad road of the Oregon route from Independence, Missouri to the Willamette valley, Oregon,²³ and

20. Clayton’s Journal, entry for April 17th, Juvenile Instructor, Vol. XXI, p. 230.

21. The wagons were so placed that the forewheel of one wagon locked with the hind wheel of the next, forming a strong and solid corral, except for a gate way on opposite sides of the camp which were always strongly guarded.

22. Clayton’s Journal, entry for 18th of April. Also Woodruff’s Journal, entry for 18th of April.

23. The Oregon Route up to 1846 extended from Independence either via of the Kansas River thence down the north fork of the Platte to Fort Laramie, or else up the right bank of the Platte, from near its junction with the Missouri, to

which by 1847 was a national highway to the great west and northwest, having been opened as a wagon road for many years as far as Fort Laramie; and as far west as the American Fur Company's station on Green River since 1836;²⁴ to the Sinks of the Humbolt River, *via* of Soda Springs, down Bear River and around the north end of Salt Lake since 1841;²⁵ and to the Columbia River since 1842.²⁶ But notwithstanding the national highway to the west and northwest was so near them, the Church leaders were persuaded that the inconvenience of making a new trail over the Platte plains was preferable to contact with

the same point; thence continuing up the Platte to the mouth of the Sweet Water, where the north fork of that river was crossed, the route continuing up the Sweet Water to South Pass. Up to 1843, the Route ran from the South Pass westward to Green River, where the American Fur Company had a station, thence veering north westward to Fort Hall, Fort Boise, Walla Walla, thence down the Columbia to the Willamette Valley; but in 1843 the very large Oregon emigration of that year, directed by letter from Dr. Marcus Whitman, a Presbyterian Missionary to the Indians of Oregon, went *via* of Fort Bridger to Bear River. The route followed down this stream northward to what was then called "Beer Springs," but now "Soda Springs," and so made Fort Hall, whence the Route continued to Oregon as stated above. By this new route the emigrants avoided "the mountains about the western heads of Green River, and saved some distance." See Fremont's Report of his Second Expedition, pp. 128-134; and Bancroft's Oregon, Vol. I, p. 398).

24. Loaded wagons as early as 1829 had been driven to Wind River, north of the South Pass, and at different times to various mountain posts. In 1832 for instance Captain B. L. E. Bonneville, an army officer on leave, led a company of 110 trappers to the mountains "in search of profit and adventure." They travelled the Platte route with a train of 20 wagons some drawn by oxen. The wagons were loaded with Indian goods, provisions, ammunition, etc. They went through the South Pass to Green River, "being the first wagons to roll down the Western slope of the Rocky Mountains." A fortified camp was made on Green River which for a number of years was the meeting place between White traders and the Indians (See Bancroft's Hist. of Wyoming, pp. 681-2). But notwithstanding such expeditions as this, westward of Fort Laramie, in 1836, there was no beaten track for wagons as there was eastward of that place (See Bancroft's Oregon, Vol. I, p. 129, following "Hines' Oregon History," pp. 408-9). That year, however,—1836—the American Fur Company took one of its wagons to its Green River station, and Whitman, a Presbyterian missionary physician to the Indians, took another to the same point and thence to Fort Hall, where it was reduced to a two-wheeled cart and driven to Fort Boise, where Whitman was prevailed upon to abandon it. This was the farthest west, up to that time, a wheeled vehicle had been driven (See Bancroft's Oregon, Vol. I, p. 133, also note 2 end of chapter).

25. This journey was that of Captain John Bartleson's train of 19 vehicles from Kansas River *via* of South Pass to Soda Springs, where the company divided; thence Bartleson's division of 32 men, one woman and one child, went down Bear River, through Cache Valley, thence into Salt Lake Valley and round the north end of Salt Lake to the Humbolt River (See Bancroft's Hist. Cal., Vol. IV, pp. 268-271; and same author's Hist. of Utah, p. 29).

26. As the overland emigration to the great west and northwest is a movement of which the Mormon exodus or migration was an important incident, it is thought proper to deal briefly with the general subject. But as a statement even in mere outline would be too extended for a foot note, and would too long suspend the narrative of the regular text, the subject is dealt with in note 2 at the end of the chapter.

the western emigration pressing up the right bank of the stream, a large portion of which was from Western Missouri, and doubtless among the companies were many of the old enemies of the Saints, who less than a decade before had aided in their expulsion from that state.

Once only were the Pioneers tempted to abandon the north bank for the Oregon road before reaching Fort Laramie. This was on the 4th of May. On that date a company of nine French fur traders with three heavily loaded wagons were seen moving eastward on the south bank of the Platte. When opposite the Pioneer camp they sent over the river one of their number to ascertain who the north bank travelers were, and their destination. This was Mr. Charles Beaumont,—though the leader of the fur traders was Mr. Papan of the American Fur Company, enroute for the east with furs that had been collected at Fort Laramie. Mr. Beaumont reported a good road on the South side of the Platte, with plenty of feed, and their party had encountered no Indians after leaving Fort Laramie, sixteen days before. This was all in such marked contrast with the conditions under which the Pioneers were making the journey—scant feed, burning prairies, troublesome Indians, no trail—that a council of the whole camp was held that night, after Beaumont had departed, to take into consideration the wisdom of crossing the Platte in order to have the advantage reported of the south bank route. In the council it was decided that it would evidently be to the advantage of the present company to cross to the south bank route; but when the welfare of subsequent companies of Saints was considered, it was concluded that the advantage of the north bank route preponderated, and a decision was rendered accordingly. The spirit in which the matter was considered was admirable and perhaps is best reflected in the journal entry of Wilford Woodruff dealing with the incident:

“We were convinced that it would be better for us as a company to cross the river and take the old travelled road to Laramie as there was good grass all the way on that side, while the Indians were burning it all off on the north of the river where we were travelling. But when we took into consideration the situation of the next company, and the thousand that would follow, and as we were the Pioneers and had not our wives and chil-

dren with us—we thought it best to keep on the north side of the river and brave the difficulties of burning prairies to make a road that should stand as a permanent route for the Saints independent of the then immigrant road, and let the river separate the emigrating companies that they need not quarrel for wood, grass, or water; and when our next company came along the grass would be much better for them than it would be on the south side, as it would grow up by the time they would get along; and the vote was called and it was unanimous to go on the north side of the river; so the camp again moved on.”²⁷

The making of a new trail on the north side of the Platte was not a difficult thing, the country was flat, the streams to be crossed between the Loupe Fork and Fort Laramie were few and not difficult; and often the camp moved two and sometimes even four and five wagons abreast for the sake of moving in compact form.²⁸ The roads along the route between Loupe Fork and Fort Laramie are spoken of as “good” in various journal entries.²⁹ The greatest difficulty that was encountered was the crossing at Loupe Fork, where the company encountered some bars of quick sand in the river bed. A raft was constructed with which to ferry over the goods of the camp, the Pioneers thinking that by doubling their teams they could then take over the empty wagons. After a number of teams was thus crossed over the stream—which at the point of crossing was some eighty rods wide—it was discovered that by following in the same tracks the sand packed and hardened, “so that the teams began to move over with more

27. Wilford Woodruff's Journal, entry for 4th May, 1847.

28. *Ibid*, also “Fifty Years Ago,” May 4th, '47.

29. Erastus Snow's Journal—covering from 24th April, to 28th, “To-day we had good roads but very dry and sandy.” Entry 28th April “The country we passed over today is the most beautiful I ever beheld. A continuous unbroken plain covered with green grass.” May 12th, “We have traveled about 12 miles today, we have had a warm south wind and good roads.” May 20th, “We have had good roads along the river bank today, or rather a good chance to make a road, in which we played our part, and left a very good trail behind us, as good as 73 teams, seventeen cows, and 143 men could make”; and so from this entry, *passim*, “good roadways” are spoken of, with occasional mention of sandy hills to cross, or a marshy bottom, but no serious difficulties, to the 1st of June, when the company crossed to the South side of the Platte to the Oregon route. So also *Clayton's Journal*, *passim*, *Juvenile*, *Instructor*, Vol. XXI. Orson Pratt speaking of the whole course up the Platte says in his journal: “Our course was up the north bank of the Platte River, along which we traveled slowly; finding the roads very good, the country being level, and the soil somewhat dry and sandy.” *Mill. Star*, Vol. XII, p. 18.

ease, and finally most of the company forded with their loads by putting on three times the amount of ordinary team.”³⁰

Here also they brought into use what they called the “Revenue Cutter,” a boat made of sole leather on which they loaded some of their goods and ferried them over the river. This boat in the journey was placed on the running gears of a wagon, like a wagon bed, and filled with the fishing sein the company carried with them, and other fishing tackle and camp paraphernalia. Fish, by the way, at different points en route became an important article of diet, especially as a relief from fresh and dried buffalo meat.³¹

Before crossing Loupe Fork the camp was visited by the grand chief of the Pawnee tribe, named Shefmolan. Presents of powder, lead, tobacco, salt, flour and some trinkets were given to the chief, but he was not at all satisfied with the bounty of the camp, saying, through an interpreter, that the presents were not enough. The whites from his point of view were rich and had tea, coffee, sugar, and an abundance of everything, and the camp had given him but little. He said the whites would drive away their buffalo, and that the camp should go back, and not go on, “and other talk of the same import.” He refused to shake hands with President Young on departing from the camp. “All of which,” says Erastus Snow, “showed to us the influence the traders, the Missourians and others were using with the Indians against us, and which bade us be on our watch.”³² That night the guard was increased to one hundred, fifty on duty each half of the night; including a picket guard of ten in each watch; and here was utilized the well known antipathy of the mule for Indians, by stationing them with the pickets to help them note the approach of Indians if any were prowling about.³³ The cannon was also prepared for action. Indian fires were burning all round the camp through the night, and the Pioneers thought it necessary occasionally to fire a few guns, to serve

30. Erastus Snow's Journal, entry for 24th of April, 1847.

31. Woodruff's Journal, *passim*.

32. Erastus Snow's Journal entry for April 21, 1847. If, however, the childishness of the Indian nature be considered, the disappointment in the smallness of the gifts from so large a company, will be sufficient to account for the petulance of the chief.

33. Hist. of Brigham Young *Ms.*, Bk. 3, p. 85.



1862
Sloop "Cliff" N
at the pier

notice upon their red brethren that the camp was watchful.³⁴ The morning came in quietness, however, and the Pioneers heard no more of the wrathful chief.

Every care was taken to avoid giving offense either to the Indians or the Indian agents in these parts. As an example of this carefulness attention is called to the fact that on the 22nd of April the Pioneer company arrived at what used to be a government Indian farming station, and also the site of the Presbyterian Mission, at which "Father Case,"—now a member of the Church and also with the Pioneer company—had been employed by the government as farmer to the Indians. It was at this point also that Bishop Miller's company the year before had halted, and put up some hay and corn fodder for feed, and thence, contrary to the counsel of the Apostles, had turned northward to winter at Running Water on the Missouri. A few months before the arrival of the Pioneers at the place the Sioux Indians in one of their raids upon the Pawnees had burned down the government station, black-smith shop, houses, etc., everything in fact but the hay and fodder and the mission station. The result was that the iron work of many plows, wagons, etc., was lying about, many things that emigrants moving into a new country would be glad to take with them. President Young, however, called the camp together and told them "they might use some of the wasting hay and fodder for their teams, but they must not carry anything away, even to the value of a cent." (Clayton's Journal entry 22nd of April, 1847, also Erastus Snow's Journal entry same date. Snow says the hay and fodder was "saved"—i. e. put up "by the brethren who were here last fall"). The next day, however, the President seems to have recalled the fact that "Father Case" had been summarily dismissed from the government services by the Indian agents, and that without paying him his salary which was in arrears, and therefore the President so far modified his first instructions as to say concerning plow-irons and the like: "As the government

34. Erastus Snow's Journal, entry for April 21st, 1847. It was enjoyed as a good joke next day in the camp that some of the pickets "lost" their hats and guns by falling asleep while on duty during the night; their companions who discovered them "appropriated" these articles to the chagrin of the pickets caught napping. The ridicule to which they were subjected in the camp seems to have been a sufficient corrective, as the fault was not repeated. (See Clayton's Journal, entry for April, 22nd.)

is indebted to Father Case in a considerable amount on unsettled accounts, we are at liberty to take such of these materials and implements as we need; [but] we must make satisfactory settlement with Father Case for them, and he must inform the proper governmental authorities of the amount which he thus collects on account'' (Clayton's Journal entry April 23rd, '47).

Throughout the journey along the lower Platte,—the home of the four tribes of the Pawnee nation—these Indians were a source of constant anxiety to the Pioneer Camp because of their thieving propensities. They made several attempts to creep into the camp, evidently with the intention of stealing horses, and in one instance were successful in getting two of the best in the camp, one belonging to Dr. Richards, and the other to Elder Jesse C. Little. An effort to recover the stolen animals nearly led to an open conflict and bloodshed between the Indians and a party of the camp. The horses were stolen about eight o'clock on the evening of the 26th of April, and several parties went out to search for them, Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball with the rest, these two not returning to camp until eleven o'clock at night. On the morning of the 27th a party was sent back on the line of march to see if anything could be learned of the missing animals. They nearly covered the march of two days, when observing some movement in the tall grass between them and the river at the foot of a knoll, the horse-hunting party approached the place and when within a few rods of the moving object one of the party raised his gun to shoot, at which about twelve or fifteen Indians sprang from the tall, dry grass all naked, except for breech-cloths, and armed both with rifles and bows and arrows. The Indians approached the party of white men evidently with hostile intentions, but when the party of Pioneers presented their fire arms and warned the Indians not to come nearer, the latter changed their manner and asked for "bacco," and one sought to shake hands with a brother Mathews, and at the same time clutch the bridle rein of his horse. But Mathews presented a cocked pistol at him and shouted at him to "go," and the Indian hastily retreated. There were further efforts at parleying by the Indians, and they sought to have the white men accompany them to the river, but the invitation was de-

clined lest it might lead to ambush or to a stronger party of Indians. When the white men turned to leave the Indians fired several shots at them, whereupon the camp party turned upon their foe, but the Indians fled. No shots were fired by the camp party. The tracks of the missing horses were seen in this vicinity, and there was no doubt that the Pawnees had stolen them.³⁵

A real difficulty confronted the Pioneers in the matter of providing feed for their teams. In their anxiety to get to their destination in the mountains in time to plant crops that season they had started somewhat earlier than the western emigration usually started, indeed before the grass had begun to grow; and this had entailed upon them the added burden of taking along with them some grain for their teams. Moreover, as the camp advanced into the buffalo country they found the Indians giving the plains their spring-burning. That is to say, it was the custom of the Indians in the spring to set fire to the dry grass left over from the previous year, in order to give the new growth a better and earlier start, and thus bring the buffalo herds to these new pastures. The desire to have the grass of the plains start to grow as early as possible in the spring had led those interested in traveling along the route on the south side of the Platte to fire the grass in the fall, and thus provided earlier pasturage for emigrant and fur traders' trains. But the Indian spring-burning on the north side of the Platte often left the Mormon Pioneers only blackened plains in which to camp,³⁶ and their teams nothing but the stunted grain feed, supplemented by such isolated patches of dry grass as had escaped the flames, or the browsing of cottonwood trees growing on the streams and cut down for this purpose. As a result of this scant feed supply their teams weakened and often the day's journey had to be shortened on that account. It was observed in this connection that the ox teams endured the journey better

35. The story is told in great detail in all the Journals of this date—26th and 27th of April.

36. One instance of such burning is given by Orson Pratt: "The Indians for a number of days have been burning the old grass; and the fire when once commenced extends its ravages for scores of miles on all sides where it can find dry grass and other combustibles. The prairies and hills in all direction present a blackened surface, with only here and there small spots of green grass mingled with the dry." Orson Pratt's Journal, entry for May 4th, 1847, *Mill. Star*, Vol. XII, pp. 18-19.

than horses.³⁷ Later the company encountered another range difficulty, the immense herds of buffalo that thronged their route and ate down the grass. The first buffaloes were sighted on the first day of May, chiefly in two herds of about two hundred each. The hunters of the camp gave chase and during the day secured ten buffalo; which, the inexperience of the hunters with that class of game considered, was a good "bagging." After this buffalo were plentiful and constantly increased in numbers for some days, as the camp proceeded up the Platte; and they left the plains as clean swept of grass as did the prairie fires.³⁸

The march of the Pioneers was so completely under organization that even the killing of game was done by hunters who had been appointed for the camp.³⁹ An interesting item in connection with killing game enroute was the instruction of President Young not to kill more than could be used, or that the camp needed.⁴⁰ It appears, however, that the instructions, so reasonable, had to be enforced by sharp admonition.⁴¹

The distance of each day's march was recorded by the camp historian. This was ascertained at first by guessing at the distance;⁴² and later by tying a piece of red flannel to one of the spokes near the tire of a wagon wheel beside which a man walked—generally Wm. Clayton—who counted the revolutions

37. Hist. Brigham Young *Ms.*, Bk 3, entry for May 24th.

38. Erastus Snow's Journal, entry for May 6th. "Many of our animals are nearly famished for want of food, for every green thing is cut off by the buffalo." Orson Pratt's Journal for May 8th. Woodruff's Journal entry for 6th and 8th of May, Erastus Snow's and Young's Journals for the same date. Orson Pratt says in his journal entry for May 6th: "During the time of our halts, we had to watch our teams to keep them from mingling with the buffalo. I think I may safely say, that I have seen 10,000 buffalo during the day." The prairie appeared black, being covered with buffalo." "We have seen something, near 100,000 since morning," Orson Pratt's Journal, entry of May 8th, Hist. Brigham Young *Ms.*, Bk. 3, entry for May 6th, 1847.

39. See Journals quoted above in this chapter.

41. "This morning President Young gave some good instructions to the camp, and sharp admonitions to some for being wasteful of flesh; to the hunters for killing more than was really needed." Journal of Erastus Snow, entry of May 18th.

40. Hist. Brigham Young *Ms.*, Bk. 3, p. 88.

42. Clayton's Journal for the 8th of May; also "Fifty Years ago to-day"—April 10th, 1897. This "Fifty Years Ago to-day" was a series of daily entries in the *Salt Lake Tribune* in the semi-centennial year of the "Pioneer Journey," 1897, giving a brief digest of each day's happenings in the Pioneer Camp Fifty Years before, from the time of starting, April 5th, 1847, to the arrival of the Pioneer Camp in Salt Lake Valley, July 24th, 1847. The collection of incidents is, in the main, made from original sources of information, and is a valuable addition to the literature of the great journey.

of the wheel, which, multiplied by the circumference, gave the distance of each day's march.⁴³ About the 10th or 12th of May an "Odometer" was installed, by which the distance traveled was automatically measured. The Odometer was the joint product of William Clayton and Appleton M. Harmon, the latter a skillful mechanic. According to Orson Pratt it was constructed upon "the principle of the endless screw."⁴⁴ This machine is now in the Deseret Museum at Salt Lake City, and a cut of it accompanies this chapter, though evidently some parts of it are missing.⁴⁵

Whenever an opportunity presented itself to communicate with the camps of the Saints on the Missouri, the Pioneers availed themselves of it. Thus on the 4th of May when Beaumont crossed the Platte to meet the Pioneers, to which incident reference has already been made in this chapter, the camp halted long enough to write fifty-two letters to their friends and families at Winter Quarters, and the Twelve wrote an epistle to the Church encamped on the Missouri. These communications were entrusted to Mr. Beaumont who engaged to deliver "the mail" at Sarpee's agency near Winter Quarters, whence it would be forwarded to the Mormon encampments. Quite a supply of provisions was given Mr. Beaumont as compensation for his trouble.⁴⁶ Again on arriving at Fort Laramie letters were written some to be sent to Sarpee's agency, near Winter Quarters, thence to the camps of the Saints; and others to be held by one of the store keepers at the Fort,—who kindly consented to act as "post master" in the case, until the arrival of other "Mormon camps," when they would be delivered to the leaders of said companies.⁴⁷

Another means of communicating with the camps that would

43. Erastus Snow says "During the forepart of our journey we had to guess the distance, and sometimes over stated it"; Snow's Journal, entry for 20th of May.

44. Orson Pratt's Journal entry for May 12th, President Young gives the 10th of May as the time when the machine was completed. Hist. Brigham Young *Ms.*, Bk. 3, p. 88.

45. See note 3 end of chapter.

46. Woodruff's Journal, entry for 4th May: also Hist. Brigham Young *Ms.*, Bk. 3, same date.

47. Woodruff's Journal, entry for 4th June, speaking of this volunteer "post master" in the wilderness, whose name unfortunately he fails to record, Elder Woodruff says:—"He truly manifested much friendship toward us."

follow was the erection of posts at striking points of the journey with a message written upon it. For example: On the 8th of May, the north bluff of the Platte valley approaching near to the river, a cedar post was erected, on which the following inscription was written:

: :
 : From Winter Quarters, 295 Miles, :
 : May 8th, '47. Camp all well. :
 : W. Clayton.⁴⁸ :
 : :

Two days later a letter was addressed to the officers of the next camp, which it was expected would pass that point in about six or eight weeks. A piece of board 6x18 inches was sawed into a sufficient depth parallel to its surface and the letter placed in the track of the saw; cleats were then nailed on the top and sides to protect it from the weather, and the following direction written upon the Board:

: :
 : Open this Box and you will find a Letter: :
 : 316 miles to Winter Quarters, Pioneers. :
 : Latitude 41 degrees. :
 : :

The letter contained an account of the journey up to that point. The board was then nailed to a pole four or five inches in diameter and fifteen feet long and set in the ground about five feet.⁴⁹

At other times the whitened skull of a buffalo would be used for the same purpose. An engraving of one such "Bulletin of the Plains" accompanies this chapter.⁵⁰

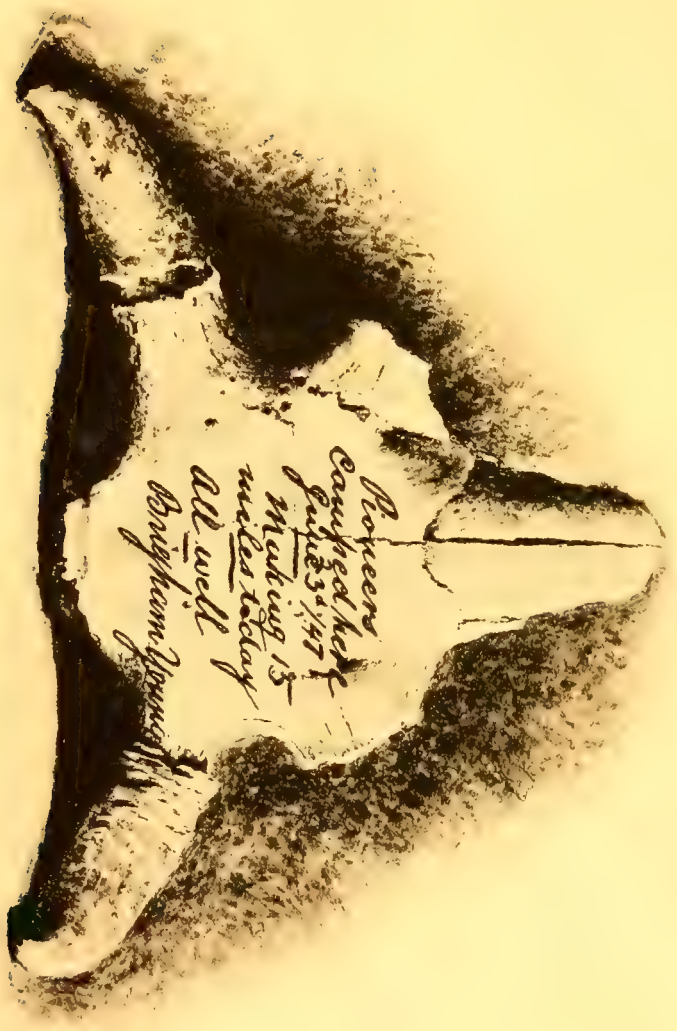
48. Clayton's Journal, entry for May 8th, '47.

49. Orson Pratt's Journal entry for 10th of May. Woodruff's Journal same date. The inscription is from the Latters Journal.

50.

*Pioneers
 camped here
 June 23rd, 1847
 making 15 miles to-day
 All well
 Brigham Young.*

At the sight of these words, traced on the skull of a buffalo, as a guide to the friends who were behind in the great hegira, imagination rouses itself. From the shadow of the past, long vanished yesterdays emerge. The West's wild, free, vivid day's return. With its hardships, its heroism, its romance, and its story of splendid achievement written across the landscape of half a continent, the Old Trail lives for us again." (Charles M. Harvey in Atlantic Monthly July, 1910).



Proven
coupled with
June 3, 1947
Meeting is
under today
All well
Birmingham, Alabama

A Bulletin of the Plains

Westward of Fort Laramie, where they were following the Oregon-California route, the Pioneers planted mile posts every ten miles, the distance being measured by their Odometer. They improved the road as they journeyed over it. "We fully work our pole tax," says Orson Pratt, in his journal entry for the 9th of June, "for we have ten or twelve men detached daily whose business it is to go in advance of the company with spades, iron bars and other necessary implements to work the road."

The Pioneer Journey in some respects resembled a scientific expedition. By means of his full equipment of the latest and best scientific instruments for ascertaining latitude and longitude, altitude and the state of the atmosphere, Orson Pratt recorded each day's encampment in respect of these particulars, except on such days or nights—few in number—when solar or luna observations could not be taken.⁵¹ At Fort Laramie he made very careful observations, using the tower in the central part of the Fort's buildings for this purpose. "By the meridian altitude of the sun," he records in his journal entry of the 2nd of June, "I determined the latitude of Fort Laramie to be 42 deg. 12 min. 13 sec. differing From Capt. Fremont only 3 sec. of a degree, or about 8 rods. By a mean of several barometrical observations during our short stay of three days, the height of the fort above the level of the sea was calculated to be 4,090 feet." On the 4th of June he makes this entry: "I again visited the Fort, and ascended the tower, which is built over the main entrance of the fort, from which I took the angular distance of the sun and moon, and from a mean of six sights with the sextant, determined the longitude to be 104 deg. 11 min. 53 sec." And so throughout the journey the careful man of science took and recorded his observations.

In like manner Elder Pratt noted the flora and fauna and the geological formation of the country through which the route of the company passed. Along the windings of the Platte, of course, there was great uniformity in the structure of the country and in vegetation and animals: yet such physical changes as

51. See Pratt's Journal as published in *Mill. Star*, Vol. XII. Where daily the record is given: also Woodruff's Journal *passim*.

came into view were carefully noted. After entering the mountain country west of Fort Laramie there was greater variety of scenery and physical structure, with corresponding variation in animal and vegetable life. A few extracts from Elder Pratt's Journal will illustrate the care with which he noted and recorded his observations in respect of these subjects:—

“May 25th: A hard frost last night, and at 5½ o'clock the barometer stood 26, 350, attached thermometer 40 deg., detached thermometer 35.8 deg. The morning is calm with a beautiful clear sky. * * * We travelled five and a quarter miles, when I halted a few minutes to take the sun's meridian which gave the latitude 41 deg. 41 min. 46 sec. * * * I here took a luna distance for the longitude; also by an imperfect trigonometrical measurement with the sextant at the distance of three miles, Chimney Rock appeared to be about 260 feet in altitude. * * * On account of the late rains the ground has been quite wet during the day. The soil being of soft marly formation causes the water to stand in ponds and pools, which have been numerous for 15 or 20 miles.”

“May 26th: * * * In about four and three-quarter miles we arrived at the meridian of Chimney Rock, our road being about three miles to the north of it. The Platte Valley is here about 3,790 feet above the level of the sea * * * Grasshoppers seem to be an inhabitant of this country: I noticed that they were plenty in dry places. Prickly pears are becoming more numerous. * * * No buffalo seen for several days; antelope yet plentiful.”

“June 5th: * * * Timber much more plentiful than below Laramie. It consists of ash, cotton-wood, willows, and box elder in low places, with mountain cherry, wild currants, pine, and cedar thinly scattered upon the bluffs. The wild sage grows in great quantities, and increases in size as the country increases in elevation. The wild rose flourishes in great abundance. The principle herbs and plants of this elevated region are highly odoriferous, perfuming the atmosphere with their fragrance. A thunder shower passed over just after sundown.

“June 7th: This forenoon we have gained in elevation very fast. Laramie Peak, about 12 or 15 miles to the South-West, shows from this position to good advantage. Its top is whitened with snow, that acts the part of a condenser upon the vapour of the atmosphere which comes within its vicinity, generating clouds which are precipitated in showers upon the surrounding country. This peak has been visible to our camp for eight or ten days, and I believe that almost every afternoon since, we

have been visited with thunder showers, which seem to originate in the vicinity of this peak.

*“June 9th: * * ** Our road this forenoon passed over a red clay formation, numerous strata of rocks appeared in various directions of the same red argillaceous formation * * * We observed some few stalks of wild flax in blossom, the first that we have seen.”

*“June 10th: * * ** The rock in the bluffs at this place would make excellent grindstones, being a fine grit sandstone. * * * On the right bank (i. e. the stream on which the camp was formed called “Fourche Boisée”) and about three-quarters of a mile from our ford we found an extensive bed of bituminous coal of superior quality.

“June 22nd: At 4 a. m. barometer stood at 24:250, attached thermometer 46 deg., detached thermometer 42 deg. The morning is calm and clear. Early this morning I visited the top of Devil’s Gate Rock, having with me my barometer and thermometer. By a barometrical measurement, the perpendicular walls were about 400 feet high above the river, which here cuts through a granite rock, forming a chasm about 900 or 1000 feet in length, and 130 feet in breadth. The rock upon the right bank runs back from the river about a quarter of a mile, and consists of alternated and perpendicular strata of gray granite and scoriated trap rock. I observed five alternate strata of trap rock trending to the north-east and south-west: these varied in breadth from one to five rods. The bed of the river in this chasm is nearly choked up by massive fragments of rock, which have been precipitated from above. About a quarter of a mile from the river, near the point of this granite hill, appeared some sandstone and conglomerate formation.”

And so Elder Pratt’s Journal continues to chronicle such matters to the end of the journey. The fact that the Pioneers had a man among them capable of doing such work: and also the fact that they had with them a large number of skilled artisans in many lines, and a still larger number of men of general affairs, marked off this company of Mormon Pioneers as an exceptional band of western emigrants.⁵²

52. “There were sailors and soldiers, accountants and students, bricklayers, carpenters, blacksmiths, wagon-makers, lumbermen, farmers, dairymen, stock-raisers, engineers, millers and mechanics of all kinds. They are the ones who were apportioned to perform the labor of building up the future city of the Great Salt Lake, the city of today bearing innumerable monuments of their skill and ingenuity, while in various other parts of the state are public works, factories and settlements which arose under their supervision. (Fifty Years Ago To-day, April 18, ’97.

The troubles experienced by the Pioneers from the thieving proclivities of the Pawnee Indians have already been detailed in this chapter. After leaving the Pawnee country about Loupe Fork they had no further trouble from the red men either of the plains or of the mountains. On the 24th of May, however, they received a friendly visit from the Sioux Chief Owastate-cha, and a band of his people numbering about thirty-five, including a few boys and women. The visit came about in the following manner: At the mid-day halt on that date two Sioux Indians came into camp; they were treated kindly, fed and they then passed on, not before signifying, however, that a band of their people were not far off. As the Pioneers were forming their night encampment they observed a party of Indians on the opposite bank of the Platte who by hoisting a flag and various maneuvers sought to indicate that they desired to visit the camp. President Young directed a flag to be hoisted in answer, "to let them know that they would be welcome;" and as soon as they saw the flag they began crossing the river. At first the precaution was taken to admit only the chief into the camp, but as the entirely friendly spirit of the band became manifest all were admitted. They had with them a U. S. flag and presented a written recommendation from Mr. Papan, one of the agents of the "American Fur Company." When night came the chief sent his men some distance—half a mile—from the camp to lodge, but he himself requested the privilege of staying with the Pioneers, and a tent was accordingly pitched for his accommodation. Notwithstanding the confidence entertained in the friendly disposition of these Indians precaution was taken to more securely stake down the horses that night, nothing however occurred to disturb the camp's rest.

The whole company of Indians were fed both on the night of the 24th and the next morning; there was some trading of horses between the Indians and the brethren, some peltries bought, also moccasins and other trinkets, and the Indians recrossed the Platte "in high glee," apparently well satisfied with their visit.⁵³ These Indians were much better dressed, according to Orson Pratt, "than the Indians on the frontiers [i. e. at Coun-

53. Erastus Snow's Journal entry for 24th of May, '47.

cil Bluffs], many of them wearing broad cloth, blankets, and fur caps, ornamented with an abundance of beads and other ornaments, having bows and steel pointed arrows. They were (of) the Dacotah tribe, which interpreted signifies 'cut throat,' but generally known to the whites by the name of Sioux."⁵⁴

The camp in its march usually observed the Lord's Day by resting from their journey and holding religious services. Only the emergencies of securing food for their animals, the necessity of making some point for encampment or fording streams to that end, seem to have occasioned the only breaches of the custom. There was at times, however, much merriment in camp. There were musical instruments brought along and those who could play them. There was dancing, too, occasionally, notwithstanding the absence of ladies;⁵⁵ the games of quoits, of checkers, some card-playing for amusement, scuffling, wrestling, the telling of humorous stories, loud laughter, the playing of practical jokes and the like were indulged. If these things were an offense in a company made up of churchmen engaged in a new dispensation of the Gospel of the Christ, and seeking then a home for the exiles of a religious persecution, it should be remembered that in the main the company was composed of young men. Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball were then forty-six years old, respectively; Willard Richards forty-three. These were the recognized leaders of the camp; the rest of the personnel of the Pioneers, with very few exceptions, ranged below this age, and many of them far below it; and they were possessed of the exuberance natural to youth, and that youth alive in a new atmosphere of freedom—of open plains and boundless physical prospects, to which environment their souls were unconsciously expanding.

All this may be urged in extenuation of the sport-loving spirit of the camp; but it did not appeal to the leader, Brigham Young, whom, it should always be remembered, was of Puritan extrac-

54. Orson Pratt's Journal, entry for 24th and 25th of May. Erastus Snow also says—"They were by all odds the cleanest and best appearing Indians we have seen west of the Missouri River." Journal entry 24th of May.

55. "While I write I hear the sound of music and dancing on the other side of the circle [i. e. of the wagoned encampment]. This is a very common recreation in camp, though we have to dispense with the ladies, a very great *desideratum*." Erastus Snow's Journal entry for 27th of May.

tion, and in sympathy with that stern school of moral uprightness by training as well as by birth; therefore what he regarded as the somewhat lax camp life of his associates did not escape censure. He had engaged if the camp would attend strictly to its duties, "abide his counsels and observe his directions, they should go safely, and they and their teams be preserved from the Indians and from every enemy."⁵⁶ When completing the organization of the camp on the Elkhorn he had predicted their success upon the condition of their faithfulness, humility, vigilance and prayerfulness while on the journey, "and if they would go in such manner as to claim the blessings of heaven."⁵⁷ He therefore reproved the camp from time to time for its tendency to light mindedness, and sternly reminded his brethren of their obligations to humility and sober mindedness.⁵⁸

Finally, respecting these matters, things reached a climax on Saturday the 29th of May. The morning of that day was cold and rainy. The horn for gathering up the horses and cattle was sounded, but instead of proceeding on the journey, President Young required each captain to call out his men and each group to stand by itself. It was found that when this was done the whole camp, excepting two, were present, and these two were out hunting. President Young then addressed himself to the camp in the following terms—the account is from Woodruff's journal:

"I think I will take for my text to preach my sermon from —(these words:)

"I am about to revolt from traveling with this camp any further with the spirit they now possess."

He then proceeded to say:

I had rather risk myself among the savages with ten men that are men of faith, men of mighty prayer, men of God, than to be with this whole camp when they forget God and turn their hearts to folly and wickedness. Yes, I had rather be alone; and I am now resolved not to go any further with the camp unless you will covenant to humble yourselves before the Lord and

56. Erastus Snow's Journal, entry for 16th of April, 1847.

57. Hist. of Brigham Young Ms., Bk. 3, p. 83.

58. See Journals of Young, Snow and Woodruff for the 18th of May, also for Sunday 23rd of May, '47.

serve him and quit your folly and wickedness. For a week past nearly the whole camp has been card-playing, and checkers and dominoes have occupied the attention of the brethren, and dancing and hoeing down—all this has been the act continually. Now, it is quite time to quit it. And there has been trials of law suits upon every nonsensical thing;⁵⁹ and if those things are suffered to go on, it will be but a short time before you will be fighting, knocking each other down and taking life. It is high time it was stopped.”⁶⁰

So he continued in this spirit to admonish and reprove the camp, showing the brethren how inconsistent the course of the camp had been for a week past or more, for men who were going “to seek out a location in the mountains for a resting place for the Saints, even the whole Church of God, who have been driven out from the Gentiles and rejected of them, * * * a resting place for the Saints where the standard of the kingdom of God would be reared, and a banner unfurled for the nations to gather unto.”⁶¹

Finally he called first upon his fellow apostles of the Twelve to know if they were willing to humble themselves before the Lord and covenant to do right; if so they must manifest it by the uplifted hand. Every hand in that council was raised. The same question was put to the High Priests, to the Seventies, to the Elders, and to the members, and all unanimously covenanted to repent of their sins and keep the commandments of the Lord. President Young then addressed himself to the few members of the camp who were not members of the Church—“as there were some present.”⁶² He informed them “that they would be protected in their rights, but they must not introduce wickedness in the camp, for it would not be suffered.”⁶³

59. This doubtless refers to ‘mock trials’ in the camp by courts instituted for amusement. In later years such courts were quite common in the camps while crossing the plains.

60. Woodruff’s Journal entry for 29th of May. Also Erastus Snow’s Journal, same date, and Hist. of Brigham Young Ms., Bk. 3, p. 90. In Erastus Snow’s account of President Young’s arraignment of the camp, in addition to the defects and the results pointed out by Elder Woodruff, he adds—“finding fault with one another, all of which would lead their minds away from the Lord to the neglect of their prayers and other duties; and if these things were suffered in this Church, and carried out to their ultimate limits, they could lead to insubordination and rebellion against the Priesthood, and to dissensions.”

61. Woodruff’s Journal, entry for the same date.

62. Ibid.

63. Ibid.

The day following—Sunday—was set apart as a day of fasting, humiliation and prayer. Prayer meeting was held by the whole camp; and a second meeting at which the Sacrament of the Lord's supper was administered. "The Lord seemed to accept the offerings of our hearts," wrote Erastus Snow that day, "and poured out his spirit upon us."⁶⁴ The Twelve and a few others, in addition to attending these public services, "went into the valley of the hills; and, according to the order of the priesthood, prayed in a circle." Two of the brethren were stationed on guard to protect these brethren from interruption by the Indians.⁶⁵

The repentance of the camp seems to have been most effectual as we hear no more complaint of their conduct en route for their destination.

On the 1st of June the Pioneers arrived opposite Fort Laramie. Here the Black Hills projected abruptly down from the north to the banks of the Platte River, and they learned that further progress with wagons on the north bank of that stream was impracticable, and preparations had to be made for crossing over to the south bank. The distance from Winter Quarters to the point they had now reached was 543 miles. The company had a good road from Winter Quarters to Loupe Fork, a distance of about 140 miles, but for four hundred miles the Pioneers had made a new trail across the plains, and now were about one-half the distance from Winter Quarters to Salt Lake Valley.

NOTE 1.—ROSTER OF THE PIONEER CAMP: The personnel of the pioneer band, was as follows. They are here given as divided into companies of "Tens":

FIRST TEN—Wilford Woodruff, Captain; John S. Fowler, Jacob D. Burnham, Orson Pratt, Joseph Egbert, John M. Freeman, Marcus B. Thorpe, Geo. A. Smith, Geo. Wardle.

SECOND TEN—Ezra T. Benson, Captain; Thomas B. Grover, Barabas L. Adams, Roswell Stevens, Amasa M. Lyman, Starl-

64. Snow's Journal, entry for 30th of May, '47.

65. The spirit in which the reformation was carried out is well illustrated by the course pursued by Wilford Woodruff on the day set apart for fasting and prayer. "In the morning I shaved, cleansed my body, put on clean clothing, etc., read a chapter in the Book of Mormon, humbled myself before the Lord, and poured out my soul in prayer before Him: and His spirit descended upon me, and I was blessed and prepared for the service of the day." (Woodruff's Journal, entry 30th of May, '47).

ing Driggs, Albert Garrington, Thomas Bullock, George Brown, Williard Richards, Jesse C. Little.

THIRD TEN—Phineas H. Young, Captain; John Y. Green, Thomas Tanner, Brigham Young, Addison Everett, Truman O. Angell, Lorenzo D. Young, Bryant Stringham, Joseph S. Scofield, Albert P. Rockwood.

FOURTH TEN—Luke S. Johnson, Captain; John Holman, Edmund Ellsworth, Alvarus Hanks, George R. Grant, Millen Atwood, Samuel B. Fox, Tunis Rappleyee, Harry Pierce, Wm. Kykes, Jacob Weiler.

FIFTH TEN—Stephen H. Goddard, Captain; Tarlton Lewis, Henry G. Sherwood, Zebedee Coltrin, Sylvester H. Earl, John Dixon, Samuel H. Marble, George Scholes, Wm. Henrie, Wm. A. Empey.

SIXTH TEN—Charles Shumway, Captain; Andrew Shumway, Thos. Woolsey, Chauncey Loveland, Erastus Snow, James Craig, Wm. Wordsworth, Wm. Vance, Simeon Howd, Seeley Owen.

SEVENTH TEN—James Case, Captain; Artemas Johnson, Wm. C. A. Smoot, Franklin B. Dewey, Wm. Carter, Franklin G. Losee, Burr Frost, Datus Ensign, Franklin B. Stewart, Monroe Frink, Eric Glines, Ozro Eastman.

EIGHTH TEN—Seth Taft, Captain; Horace Thornton, Stephen Kelsey, John S. Eldredge, Charles D. Barnum, Alma W. Williams, Rufus Allen, Robert T. Thomas, James W. Stewart, Elijah Newman, Levi N. Kendall, Francis Boggs, David Grant.

NINTH TEN—Howard Egan, Captain; Heber C. Kimball, Wm. A. King, Thomas Cloward, Hosea Cushing, Robert Byard, George Billings, Edison Whipple, Philo Johnson, Wm. Clayton.

TENTH TEN—Appleton M. Harmon, Captain; Carlos Murray, Horace K. Whitney, Orson K. Whitney, Orrin P. Rockwell, Nathaniel T. Brown, R. Jackson Redding, John Pack, Francis Pomeroy, Aaron Farr, Nathaniel Fairbanks.

ELEVENTH TEN—John S. Higbee, Captain; John Wheeler, Solomon Chamberlain, Conrad Klineman, Joseph Rooker, Perry Fitzgerald, John H. Tippetts, James Davenport, Henson Walker, Benjamin Rolfe.

TWELFTH TEN—Norton Jacobs, Captain; Charles A. Harper, George Woodward, Stephen Markham, Lewis Barney, George Mills, Andrew Gibbons, Joseph Hancock, John W. Norton.

THIRTEENTH TEN—John Brown, Captain; Shadrach Roudy, Levi Jackman, Lyman Curtis, Hans C. Hansen, Mathew Ivory, David Powers, Hark Lay (colored), Oscar Crosby (colored).

FOURTEENTH TEN—Joseph Mathews, Captain; Gilbroid Summe, John Gleason, Charles Burke, Alexander P. Chessley,

Rodney Badger, Norman Taylor, Green Flake (colored), Ellis Eames.

Besides the men, there were three women and two children in the camp. Their names are given in the text of the History, and their presence in the camp is also explained.

NOTE 2.—EMIGRATION TO OREGON AND CALIFORNIA 1834-1847: The published account of the Lewis and Clark Expedition of 1804-6 created a lively interest in the great west and northwest; and men of bold spirits saw the opening both for a life of adventure and a prospect of profit in the fur trade that might be opened with the native tribes of the vast region partly explored and in hunting and trapping either on their own account or for the fur companies then forming in the United States. This threw into the Inter Mountain West an irregular vanguard of the civilization that was to follow; for the trading posts of the fur companies, usually called "forts"—though for the most part without ordinance or garrisons or governmental authority—became the objective points to which the subsequent missionaries and settlers successively moved in their irregular march through and conquest of the west. Following these rough men of the wilderness came the missionaries to the Indians. The missionaries so far as they were Protestants and from the United States, began their work in the northwest in 1834. The first company was headed by Jason and Daniel Lee, sent out under the auspices of the Missionary Board of the Methodist Episcopal Church. They went *via* of Kansas River, the Forks of the Platte, Fort Laramie, Green River, Fort Hall, Walla Walla and down the Columbia to the Willamette valley. (History of the Northwest Coast Bancroft, Vol. II, p. 585).

The next company of Protestant missionaries for Oregon went under the auspices of the Presbyterian Church in 1835. These were Rev. Samuel Parker and Dr. Marcus Whitman. They traveled under the protection of a company of sixty trappers and hunters of the American Fur Company, and took the same route as the Methodist missionaries and with wagons as far as Fort Laramie; but at the rendezvous on Green River Dr. Whitman returned to the East to obtain teachers for the proposed mission.

Dr. Whitman in the spring of 1836, was again on the Missouri ready to start a second time for the northwest, and now accompanied by his wife whom during the winter he had married and persuaded to share his missionary labors. Also he had persuaded the Rev. H. H. Spalding and wife, both of Ohio to join him in missionary work. The wives of these missionaries were

the first white women to make the overland journey to the northwest.

There were almost yearly efforts at migrations to either California or Oregon after 1836, but none of any great importance until 1841, in which year a company of forty-eight men and fifteen women, formed into a company to go to California, subsequently joined by a small party of missionaries, hunters and gentlemen seeking pleasure—seventeen in all. John Bartleson was chosen captain of this company, and in emigrant annals the company usually bears his name; but John Bidwell was the historian of the camp. The missionaries carried their effects upon five carts; thirteen wagons made up the rest of the train. The route followed was the Kansas River, North Fork of the Platte, South Pass, Green River and “Beer” or “Soda Springs,” where the company divided, part going to Oregon *via* of Fort Hall, the others making their way down Bear River through Cache Valley, thence round the north end of Salt Lake to the sinks of the Humbolt and so to California. (Bancroft Hist. Cal., Vol. I, pp. 268-271, also Hist. Utah, p. 29).

In 1842 the main body of Western Emigrants was led by Elijah White. White had been in Oregon with the Lees, with whom however, he had quarrelled and as a consequence had returned to the east. But when the settlers of the Willamette Valley asked that a civil magistrate or Governor be sent to execute such laws of the U. S. as might obtain there, White was appointed Sub-Indian Agent with the understanding also that “The settlers if they chose to do so, could by mutual consent sustain the Sub-Indian agent’s claim to be regarded as a magistrate among them although without definite authority from the U. S. White was also authorized to use every reasonable effort to induce emigrants to accompany him. By the middle of May 1842, a company of 112 person, 52 being men over eighteen years of age, chiefly from Jackson and Platte, counties, Mo., rendezvoused about twenty miles southwest of Independence. The start was made on the 16th of May, the train consisted of 18 Pennsylvania wagons with a long procession of horses, pack mules and cattle. The company went *via* of the Kansas River, Forks of the Platte, Fort Laramie, South Pass, Green River and Fort Hall. At Fort Laramie they abandoned one-half the number of their wagons, at Green River a number of the wagons were cut up and pack saddles made of them; the remainder of wagons were abandoned at Fort Hall and the rest of the journey to the Willamette valley made up as a pack train. (See Bancroft’s Oregon, Vol. I, ch. X).

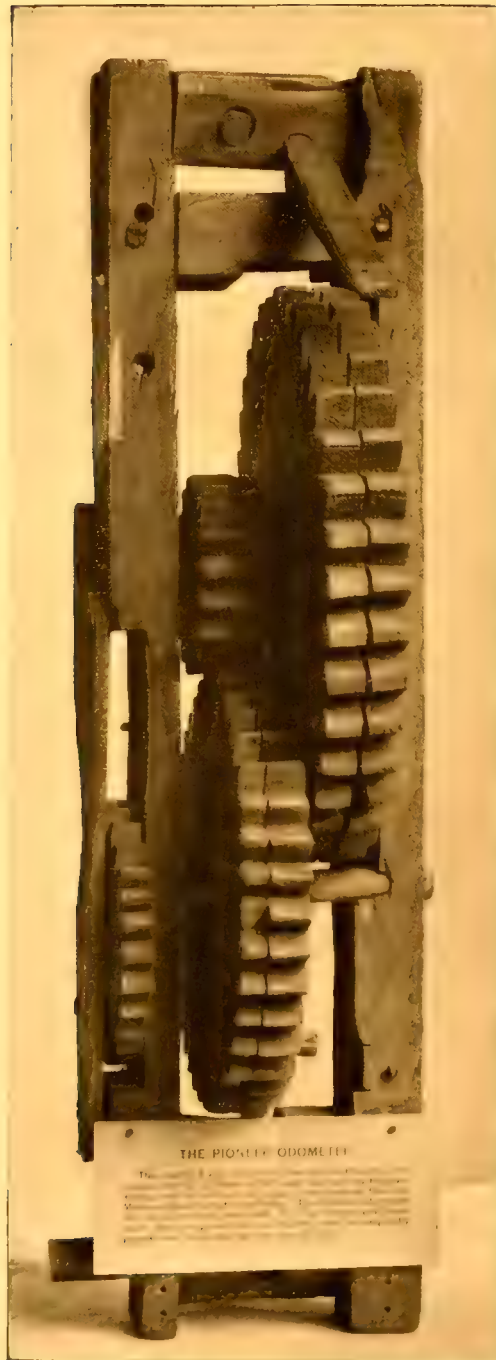
In 1843 a still larger emigrant company was formed near Independence, under various leading spirits from Arkansas, Ken-

tucky, Tennessee, Illinois, Iowa and Missouri, nearly one thousand in all: 120 wagons, and 5,000 cattle. This company verred from the usual route, in that after reaching Green River *via* of the Fort Laramie, they went *via* of Fort Bridger, and down Bear River to Soda Springs, and so to Fort Hall, where part of the company turned off with L. W. Hastings as leader for California. According to the register kept by McLoughlin, agent of the Hudson Bay Company at Fort Vancouver, on the Lower Columbia, the number of emigrants arriving in Oregon for 1843, were registered as 875, men, women and children. (See also U. S. History—Morris—p. 315, *note*).

The emigration of 1844 collected at different points on the Missouri, amounted in all to about 1,400 persons. One of the chief companies was that which assembled at Weston, Mo., under the leadership of Cornelius Gilliam of Platte county, who took a prominent part in mobbing the Saints at Far West in 1838. (See ante this History, ch. XXX.) His company numbered 48 families, 323 persons; 410 Oxen, 160 cows, 143 young cattle, 54 horses, 41 mules, and 72 wagons. The emigration followed the Platte route to Laramie, South Pass, Bear River, Fort Hall and so following to the Lower Oregon. (Bancroft's Oregon, Vol. I, ch. XVII.)

The emigration to Oregon in 1845 "was larger than any that had preceded it, three thousand persons are registered as arriving in the Columbia Valley that year;" following practically the same route of travel (Bancroft's Oregon, Vol. I, p. 508). Speaking of the Oregon California route *via* of Fort Hall, Bancroft says: "Let it suffice to regard the route to Fort Hall as a great national highway along which ox and mule trains passed westward during the season, not with the frequency or regularity or convenience of the more modern railroad trains, but yet without hardships and dangers so excessive as to prevent the travelers from being born and married and buried on the way." (Hist. Cal., Vol. IV, p. 575). Morris declares that in 1845 there were "seven thousand Americans and only a few British in Oregon." U. S. Hist., p. 315, *note*.

The emigration of 1846 was not so large as that of the previous year. The best evidence yet collected gives the number of emigrants leaving Missouri River points that year as 2,500 persons. Of these, from fifteen to seventeen hundred went to Oregon, the remainder to California, turning to the Oregon route at Fort Hall, (Bancroft's Oregon, Vol. I, ch. XX), though some went *via* of Echo and Weber Cannons and around the south end of Salt Lake; and one company—the Donner party, turning off at the head of the Weber, followed up Ogden's Fork of the Web-



The Pioneer Odometer

er, which was afterwards called "Canan Creek," now East Canon Creek—down emigration Canon to the road around the South end of the Lake: then bearing northwestward for the Humbolt River. In 1847 the number of emigrants to Oregon numbered from four to five thousand, following the same route *via* of the Platte, South Pass, Bear River, and Fort Hall. The above are exclusive of those who went to California *via* of Fort Hall and other routes. (Bancroft's Oregon, Vol. I, ch. XXI).

NOTE 3.—THE PIONEER ODOMETER: The following is the description of the Pioneer Odometer given by William Clayton: "The whole machinery consists of a shaft about eighteen inches long, placed on gudgeons, one in the axle-tree of the wagon, near which are six arms placed at equal distances around it, and in which is fastened on the hub of the wagon wheel, turning the shaft once around at every revolution of the wagon wheel. The upper gudgeon plays in a piece of wood nailed to the wagon box, and near this gudgeon, on the shaft, a screw is cut. The shaft lays at an angle of 45 degrees. In this screw a wheel works on an axle (fixed in the side of the wagon) of 60 cogs, and which makes one revolution for each mile traveled. In the shaft on which this wheel runs four cogs are cut on the forepart, which plays in another wheel of 40 cogs, which shows the miles and quarters of miles up to ten miles. The box incasing the whole is 18 inches long, 15 inches high and 3 inches thick." (Whitney's Hist. of Utah, Vol. I, p. 310).

According to the Deseret Museum Curator's report upon the machine now in that institution and the above description by the principal inventor, there are material differences both as to the size of the machine over all, and the number of cogs in wheels and in the levers for transmitting motion, etc. Which differences may be accounted for either by defectiveness in the description, or by the absence of parts of the machine, perhaps by both of these circumstances.

It is said on the label of the machine in the museum that it "was used by Brigham Young and his company to measure the distance from the Missouri River to Salt Lake Valley;" and that the "difference between the measurements made with this instrument and those made by the government surveyors, who subsequently passed over the route, *was less than 60 feet.*" Of course this use of the Odometer by Brigham Young and "his company" must refer to some journey made by the great leader subsequent to the Pioneer journey; for, as stated in the text of the History, the Odometer was not installed until about the 12th of May, when the Pioneer company was midway between Council Bluffs and Fort Laramie.

Historical Views and Reviews

PENETRATED INTO PHILIPPINES

LOUIS M. MURPHY, until recently a soldier in the United States Army, living near here, has done what no white man ever did before him—not even the armed soldier of the United States—and live to tell the story.

He lived among the head hunters, and what he did, strangely enough, any man might do if he pursued the same tactics and deported himself in the same manner. Murphy had been with the army in the Philippine Islands two years.

Having served his time, he separated himself from the soldiers and penetrated into the sequestered regions of the island where lived the hated head hunters, the savage Ibulaos, the tribe shunned by civilized men as one would shun a deadly pestilence. He lived among them without the least danger to his life.

“I never was threatened,” said Murphy. “It was an easy thing to do and anybody can do it if they know how.” Murphy said that the Ibulaos got a bad name from persons who attempted to go among them in civilized garb or the trappings of a soldier, and with all the insolence of some of the soldiers. These men go with the idea that the Ibulaos are to be subdued.

This is how Murphy did it: He went alone in the clothes of a common citizen and he made no attempt to civilize the savage during the first few hours he was among them. He knew a few words of their language, or dialect, and he used them cautiously and with tact. He also donned the Ibulaos habit of dress, which was severely simple, ate what they ate and looked on in silence as they performed their curious religious rites of worshiping the sun every morning.

"I lived better among them than when I was in civilization," he said in commenting on his experiences with the savage tribe. "My life was never threatened and the only time I thought they might have been planning to kill me was when they asked me to fire my revolver. I thought they wanted to catch me with an empty gun and did not fire."

Murphy was in the islands five years and ten months, and he says he was vaccinated 120 times. During the time he was there he took 800 pictures of people and scenes in the forbidden portions of the Philippines. These negatives are now being preserved by Mr. Murphy.



CAMPAIGN SONGS OF A CENTURY

The article bearing the above caption which is to be found in another part of this magazine, is a reprint of an article appearing in the New York Post, March 16, 1912.



ORIGIN OF WORD "SOCIALISM"

The words "Socialism" and "Socialist" are designations which cannot be very old. Although they are words formed from Latin roots, they are sought for in vain in Latin literature. Not only did the Romans not know these words, but even in those times not so long ago when Latin was used as the language of science and legislation these words were unknown. The University professor of Vienna, Carl Gruenberg, in his researches into the history of Socialism, has followed up the words "Socialism" and "Socialist." He has published a number of investigations as to the first appearance of these now indispensable words. His last work, which is devoted to the first, "Socialism," appeared in the "Archiv fuer die Geschichte des Sozialismus und der Arbeiterbewegung" (Records of the History of Socialism and the Working Class Movement), also published by him.

CATHOLIC PRIEST ORIGINATES WORD

These words were first employed in the early years of the nineteenth century. The assertion that they were used in connection with Babeuf's plans of the establishment of a communistic economic order and that they then had the same significance as to-day is incorrect. The words "Socialism" and "Socialist" are first met with in the year 1803. The cleric of Vicenza, Giacomo Giuliani, in his philosophical work, "*L'Anti-Socialismo Confutato*," uses the word "Socialism" as the opposite of individualism. In this work appear the newly coined words "*socialismo*," "*socialista*," "*socializzare*," with meanings far different from those of to-day, but still used as opposed to individualism, which expression, moreover, was unknown to the author. And so a Catholic priest was the first to make use of these words so fiercely hated to-day by his successors. But entirely independently a Protestant clergyman seems also to have hit upon these words. On November 12, 1831, appeared in the weekly *Le Semeur* an article entitled "*Catholicisme et Socialisme*." It was probably written by the Swiss pastor, Alexander Vinet, who in Geneva in 1846 published a book entitled "*Sozialismus Nach Seinen Grunsætzen Betrachtet*" (A Study of the Principles of Socialism). But the book contains not one word of Socialism itself. Socialism for Vinet meant the same thing as Catholicism. Hardly four months later the Saint-Simonist, H. Jencieres, published in *Le Globe*, the official organ of that school, a criticism of a book of Victor Hugo in which he employs the word "Socialism" as the opposite of individualism and by "Socialism" means the organic combination of human beings.



"SOCIALISM" IN 1830

Pierre Leroux, who left the ranks of the Saint-Simonists to found a real Christian Socialism and who earlier had been one of the publishers of *Le Globe*, used the expression "Socialism"

in his "Philosophie Sociale" with essentially the same meaning as attaches to it to-day. This was in the middle of the year 1830. He himself was opposed to Socialism and its adherents, whom he styled Socialists. But as early as April 12 of that year, hence prior to Pierre Leroux, Charles Pellarin, the follower of Fourier, applied the word "Socialists" to the Saint-Simonists. Therefore he had not yet arrived at a clear conception of the idea conveyed to-day by the word "Socialist."

In 1827, in the official organ of the followers of Robert Owen, the Co-operative Magazine and Monthly Herald, the Socialists were for the first time and upon English ground identified with the Communists. But nevertheless it was a long time before this word became a generally used expression. In 1833 and 1835 the word is again found in English newspapers; thence it may have traveled to France and received its new significance still usual to-day been employed by Pierre Leroux and later by the hostile historian of Socialism, Reybaud, to whom for a long time has been credited the coining of this word.



PROTESTANT MINISTER ALSO USED WORD

And so it appears that a Catholic priest was the first to coin this word, without however being acquainted with the significance later given it, or with the forceful meaning which it was to have later. Nor did the Italian priest realize that he had coined a word which was destined to find a place in every language of the world. The irony of fate also determined that a Protestant minister in French Switzerland should have hit upon the word independently. But in the sense in which the words "Socialism" and "Socialist" are used to-day we find them first used by an Owenite and therefore for a forerunner of the modern Socialists. From England the word was imported into France where it was used by the Christian Socialist, Pierre Leroux, who fought the Socialists as well as the individualists. The word was employed in Germany in 1840 by A. L. Churoa, who wrote under the name Rochan. Whether this was the first use

of the word "Socialism" in Germany cannot be positively determined by Professor Gruenberg. But the word "Socialism" was given a permanent place in the German language by Corenz Stein, who later was a professor in Vienna, in his famous book published in the year 1842, "Sozialismus und Kommunismus des heutigen Frankreich."



THE STORY OF THE MONITOR

The fiftieth anniversary of the famous battle between the Monitor and the Merrimac, was celebrated in New York City, March 10. The models of the first iron warship, all beautifully constructed by Captain Ericsson himself, were presented by the Metropolitan Museum of Art to the American Society of Mechanical Engineers, No. 29 West Thirty-ninth street. These models and the only oil painting in existence of Captain John Ericsson are now on public exhibition in the rooms of the society.

W. Thorne Erickson, of No. 220 Central Park South, the nearest living relative to the famous captain, who was his first cousin, thus tells the story of the famous craft.

"The Confederates had seized the Norfolk Navy Yard, but the commanding Union officers contrived to burn or sink all the ships before surrendering the post. The best one of these vessels, the Merrimac, was soon raised by the Southern commandant and rebuilt as a powerful ironclad, resembling in model a houseboat rather than a warship. I remember hearing the story of the old sailor on board the Cumberland, a Union cruiser, who was the first to sight the queer ship, reporting gravely to the captain: 'Quaker meeting house floating down the bay, sir.'

"On the morning of the 8th the ponderous, iron-covered Merrimac steamed out to attack the wooden Northern ship cruising in Hampton Roads. She immediately attacked the frigate Cumberland. Nearer and nearer the black monster came, without even replying to the solid shot of the Union vessel, whose broad-

sides fell like pebbles into the sea from the armor-plated sides of the huge ironclad. Finally the Merrimac crashed into the wooden side of the Cumberland and opened up a hole 'as wide as a church door.' With like ease the invincible Southern craft next sank the Congress, and then, as if she had done enough for one day, steamed back triumphantly to Norfolk, intending to continue her course of destruction on the morrow.



"YANKEE CHEESE BOX"

"Fortunately, that very night, a small, odd-looking vessel built of iron appeared in Hampton Roads to challenge the Southern terror in the morning. It was the Monitor, from New York, designed by my cousin, Captain John Ericsson. It floated nearly even with the water, and the only object on deck was a revolving turret with two guns, commanded by Lieutenant Worden, one of the bravest heroes of the Civil War. Its construction was strange, indeed. No wonder the Confederates mockingly described her as the 'Yankee cheese box on a raft.' She looked it.

"Anticipating the harm which the Merrimac would do, the Government finally decided to engage my cousin, then in New York, to build as quickly as possible, according to his own plans, a boat of iron, which he claimed could be made to float, and which they now agreed could alone save the Union seaports from the destructive shells of the terrible Merrimac.

"The construction was pushed night and day, for Washington was almost in a panic.

"On the morning of March 9, 1862, after three hours of frightful combat with the Confederate ship, during which the two vessels were at times in actual contact, the Merrimac's iron plates were split and shattered and she steamed back to Norfolk while the victorious little Monitor sent a series of farewell shots as she said proudly away.

"The vanquished Merrimac had sustained irreparable damages, and, as you know, she was afterward blown up by the Con-

federates. Thus ended the first battle in the world's history between ironclad men-of-war.

"The United States Government never paid Captain John Ericsson for his marvelous invention. My cousin, Aaron Erickson, of the late firm of Erickson, Jennings & Company, bankers, Rochester, N. Y., and who afterward became the director of the National Park Bank, No. 217 Broadway, during the years 1877-1880, financed the entire project."



MILES STANDISH KIN TO WASHINGTON

The Rev. Dr. Solloway, vicar of Selby Abbey, who has been a keen searcher for relics of the Washington family in England, has found another specimen of the Washington coat of arms in Chorley, Lancashire, his native town. Not long ago he discovered a Washington shield, previously unknown, at Selby.

The Chorley shield is of additional interest in that it was found in one of the quarterings of the coat of arms belonging to the Standish family of Duxbury. This is the family from which Miles Standish had descent, and the Washington Shield in the quartering indicates a few relationships between the Sandish and Washington families.

The Standish coat of arms was found by the Rev. Dr. Solloway in the ancient parish church of Chorley. The arms appear above the head of St. Lawrence in a stained glass window in the north side of the chancel. They are the arms of Alexander Standish, born about 1570, impaling the arms of his wife, Margaret Ashton.

The right or Standish portion of the shield has six quarterings, the fifth being gules, two bars argent, in chief three mullets of the last, for Washington.

There is nothing new in the relationship of Miles Standish to the Duxbury Standishes, for the Puritan captain traced his ancestry to Hugh Standish of Duxbury Hall. A good many Americans have visited Duxbury Hall, and some of them have dropped in at Chorley Church, but apparently none of them no-

ticed the stars and stripes of the Washington arms in the stained glass shield of Alexander Standish.

At Chorley the stars, mullets and bars are white while the field is red. In most Washington coats of arms the coloring has been the reverse, although there are instances of the Chorley combination.

Another representation of the Standish arms with the Washington quartering was found by the Rev. Dr. Solloway carved on the back of the big square Standish pew in Chorley parish church. The church is two miles away from Duxbury Hall.



TELLS OF LINCOLN

Men still living in Springfield, Ill., who knew Lincoln, have been recounting their memories of him for the benefit of a correspondent of the *Chicago Record-Herald*. Dr. William Jayne, who seems to be the dean of the group, first saw the future President at Petersburg, in his father's store. "I was only nine years old," he says. "I never shall forget, when Lincoln went out of the store my father turned to Mr. Edwards (his partner), and said: 'That young man will be Governor some day, mark my words.' " This must have been in 1846. "At that time," he continues, "his only distinction was the fact that he had served as captain in the Black Hawk War and had been in the House of Representatives. Still, he made such an impression that men like my father, who was a well-travelled man, regarded him as possessing qualities of leadership. I remember how my father's remark appealed to me. I thought that it was rather foolish talk. I had seen two Governors, Governor Reynolds and Governor Duncan, who used to drive over to Springfield in carriages with negroes on the box and a coachman in uniform. They were great dressers. I could not imagine a man in trousers that never came within six inches of his ankles rising to the heights attained by these graceful and gallant gentlemen. Lincoln was our great citizen, of course, but who of us thought that he would ever become President?

In October, 1859, I was talking with Mr. Lincoln—this was about the time that the Presidential talk began to be heard all over the country—and I asked him how about it. He said to me: ‘William, I am not fit to be President, but I would like to be Attorney-General of the United States.’ . . . That was only five months before the Wigwam Convention. Shortly afterward, however, he went to New York and made the Cooper Union speech. In my opinion, that speech brought him the nomination and elected him President.”



FRANKLIN HOME SOLD

The ancient three story and attic brick building at 111 Spring street, a small thoroughfare near Front and Race streets, Philadelphia, which was recently sold at public sale in the auction rooms of Samuel T. Freeman & Co. to Benjamin E. Sattler for \$900, was at one time the home of Benjamin Franklin.

He boarded here for several years after arriving in Philadelphia, and tradition has it that he occupied the one room in the attic.

The house is said to have been one of the first brick dwellings built in Philadelphia and was erected many years before Franklin lived in it. It is still in a good state of preservation.



THE BURIAL OF THE MAINE

The taking of the unsightly and sea-worn remnant of the Maine past the Morro to her fathoms deep sepulture, with the guns of Cabana firing a farewell and the Cuban flag on the fortress lowered to half mast, brings to mind the picture of the white hulled Maine, with the Stars and Stripes at her peak, steaming through the harbor entrance and saluting the red and yellow ensign of Spain on the morning of January 25, 1898.

At first light Captain Sigsbee had made a landfall on the coast

of Cuba to the west of Havanna, and in the early hours of the day he prepared his ship and crew with unusual pains for the run through the narrow channel to her mooring place in the bay in the sight of the expectant city. In his "History of the Navy" Maclay says:

"The officers put on their frock coats and the crew was dressed with exceptional neatness in blue. Having made these preliminary arrangements Captain Sigsbee headed his ship eastward and when abreast of the city sent her ahead at full speed with the national colors at the peak and the jack at the foremost head."

Photography shows us the old *Maine* forging through the channel on a fair day, her flags streaming out bravely in the northeast trade and the signal flags on the *Morro* announcing her approach. At the harbor mouth the scene is peaceful enough. The visitor is passing in close under the gaunt lighthouse of the *Morro*, where no sign of life is to be seen and a lone waterman is plying his oars in the foreground. From that day when the *Maine* entered the harbor on dress parade until she sank in ruin at her mooring buoy the crew remained on board and her commander punctiliously carried out his orders to maintain friendly relations with the Spanish authorities. Of their confinement to the ship "the crew," says Captain Sigsbee, "never complained, not in a single instance that I am aware of."

It is fitting that the *Maine*, all that is left of her, should go out ceremoniously with her last recovered dead on the cruiser escorting her and sink beneath the waves to be seen no more, her burial place to be known vaguely in the blue waters of the straits. The mystery of her loss fourteen years of speculation have failed to solve. "The facts will some day come to light," Secretary Long has said, "and it will probably be found that so far as the Spanish Government itself was concerned it was innocent of the design." In the hour of a duty well and decorously performed and as the fragment of the *Maine* disappears forever the American people are reluctant to believe that the Spain of Cervera was dishonored in the tragedy that sent so many brave and unoffending men incontinently to their death.

EAGLE AS REGIMENT'S MASCOT

"My regiment was one of the four which, with the Second Iowa Battery, composed what is known as the Eagle Brigade," writes Robert J. Burdette in the *Sunday School Times*. "It got its name from the fact that the Eighth Wisconsin Regiment of that brigade carried a young American eagle all through the war.

"Old Abe had the post of honor at the centre of the regiment, his perch being constructed of the American shield, and he was carried by a sergeant between the two flags, the Stars and Stripes and the regimental standard of blue emblazoned in gold with the State coat of arms.

"All the brigade adored him, and secured chickens for him—he was fonder of chicken than the chaplain and not half so particular about the cookery. To see him during a battle fly up into the air to the length of his long tether, hovering above the flags in the cloud of smoke, screaming like the bird which bore the thunderbolts of Jove, was to raise such a mighty shout from the brigade as would have blown Jericho off the map. Other regiments had dogs, bears, coons, goats. There was only one eagle in the army.

"He was an eaglet when the war broke out, and enlisted young, like many of the boys who loved him and fought beside him. He was captured on the Flambeau River, Wisconsin, in 1861, by a Chippewa Indian, Chief Sky, who sold him for a bushel of corn. Subsequently a Mr. Mills paid \$5 for him and presented him to C company of the Eighth Wisconsin Regiment, known as the Eau Claire Eagles. The soldiers at once adopted him as one of their standards, made him a member of the color guard, named him in honor of the greatest of the Presidents, and he never disgraced his name.

"Through thirty-six battles he screamed among the trumpets, smelling the battle afar off, fluttering among the thunder of the captains and shouting. Never once did he flinch. He was wounded in the assault on Vicksburg and in the battle of Corinth. At this battle it is said that a reward was offered by the Confederate General Price for the capture or killing of the eagle.

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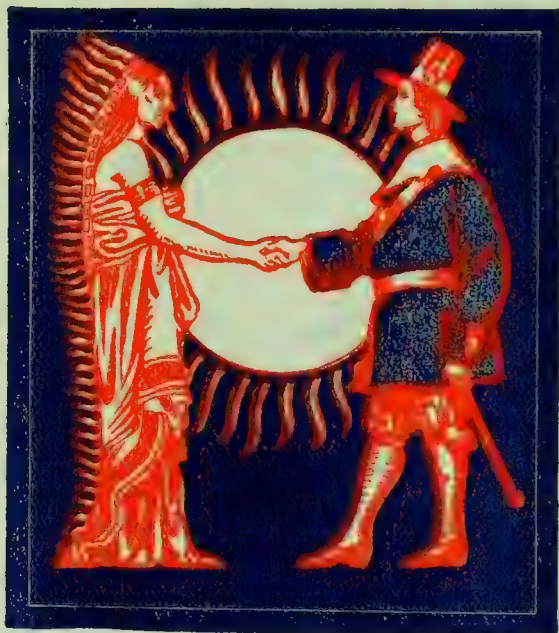






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CHARLES B. PIXLEY
Grandson of Col. David Pixley

AMERICANA

July, 1912

Incidents in the Life of a Revolutionary Officer

BY J. C. PUMPELLY

Historian Empire State Society, Sons of the American Revolution

ONE of the principal objects of the Society of the Sons of the American Revolution, of which I have the honor to have been one of the founders, is "to perpetuate the memory of the men who, by their services or sacrifices during the war of the American Revolution, achieved the independence of the American people." Of these men our society has already indexed the records of several thousand, and have placed upon the graves of very many enduring marks and tablets.

Among all those graves which have been thus identified, none deserves more honorable remembrance than that of my great grandfather, Colonel David Pixley. In the old Presbyterian burying ground at Owego, N. Y., on the headstone of his grave we read these few significant lines:

"In memory of Colonel David Pixley, who departed this life Aug. 25, 1807, in the 67th year of his age. He was an officer in the Revolution and was at the siege of Quebec under General Montgomery. He was the first settler at Owego in 1790, and continued its father and friend until his death."

David Pixley, son of David Pixley, of Westfield, Mass., was born in Stockbridge, Mass., March 27, 1741. He was a soldier in the expedition against Cape Breton in 1745, and at the "Alarm Call" in 1775 he enlisted as first lieutenant in Capt. Wm. Goodrich's company, Col. Patterson's regiment.

This name is spelt with two t's in the original Pixley commission, signed by "Joseph Warren, President P. T.," May 19, 1775, but this is, probably, a clerical error, because I have an original paper recommending a person for the office of sheriff dated at the town of Union, Tioga county, N. Y., Feb. 8, 1799, signed by both John Patterson and David Pixley, in which the name, as it is on the monument in Lenox, Mass., is spelt with but one t. Previous to his enlisting David Pixley married for his first wife Lois Whittlesey, December 8, 1763, in Stockbridge, Mass. He seems to have been from the first, both as soldier and pioneer, always a friend to and a power among the Indians, for there were thirty of them in his company when under Colonel Paterson, the regiment, perfectly equipped, marched from Lenox down to Bunker Hill, held the fortifications at Somerville, protecting the rear of the American forces, and shared the hardships and adventures of the siege of Boston. Just here it is interesting to note (see Life of General Paterson by his descendant, Prof. Egleston) that "on the same day eight years after, or April 18, 1783, an official end was put to the war by the announcement that the treaty of peace with England had been signed."

Paterson and his regiment were engaged in some of the operations near New York. In the Service Rolls of the army under Washington in New York in the Revolution on page 61, is the name of Lieutenant David Pixley in the corps of "Green Mountain Boys," and the officers were Ethan Allen and Seth Warner. About this time Lieut. Pixley was raised to the rank of colonel.

The larger part of Colonel Paterson's corps were killed in the ill-starred expedition to Canada under Montgomery and Arnold. He was made a Brigadier-General in February, 1777. He took part with the remnant of his command in the battles of Trenton, Princeton, and Monmouth. On the splendid monument on Monmouth battle plain is depicted in bronze the memorable council of war at Hopewell, called by Washington on the night before the battle, and in that famous group appears the figure of General Paterson, seated, and closely watching the Marquis of Lafayette as he stands replying so eloquently to the pessimistic

prognostications of the traitor, Charles Lee, who, with scowling and defiant face, is seated over on the left, while General Washington stands alert and masterful in the centre.

The writer, when president of the New Jersey society of the Sons of the American Revolution, and speaking at a meeting commemorating this battle at Monmouth, mentioned with pride the fact that this same Paterson was his ancestor's comrade in arms all through the war and that afterward the two veterans came to live near his own birthplace and died there.

Gen. Paterson acted as a member of the court martial that tried and condemned Major Andre, and when in command at West Point and on Dec. 8, 1783, his brigade was mustered out, I doubt not Pixley was with him. In 1803 this worthy general was a member of congress and living in Lisle, N. Y., where he died July 19, 1808.

About 1774, David Pixley married for his second wife Lydia Patterson, of Waterbury, Mass., my great grandmother, and her name appears on the membership roll of the Congressional church in Stockbridge in 1782.

When in that picturesque old town, I learned much of this noble lady's unostentatious piety and generous hospitality, especially to all those who were laboring for the advancement of Christ's kingdom. Her daughter Mary, who afterwards married my grandfather, was born in Stockbridge, May 11, 1777.

Colonel Pixley was one of the sixty original proprietors of the "Boston Purchase" or "Ten Townships," and first came into the Susquehanna region as one of the commissioners appointed by the Boston Company to treat with the Indians and obtain title to 230,400 acres of land between the Owego creek and the Chenango river, for which the company had paid the state 1,500 pounds.

In the winter of 1787-88 the commissioners met the Indians two miles above Binghamton (See Wilkinson's "Annals of Binghamton.")

By deed from Archibald Campbell, of Albany, dated Dec. 22, 1790, Colonel Pixley obtained title to 3,000 acres of land in what was then known as "Campbell's Location," in the town of Tio-ga, bounded east by the Owego creek and south by the Susque-

hanna river, "consideration five shillings and other good causes and consideration." (The price was about 50 cents an acre).

"Col. Pixley removed from Stockbridge and settled at Owego, Feb. 6, 1781, where he purchased property. His family consisted of his wife and three children, David, Amos and Mary. In May, 1791, he sold to Abner Turner, who came here that year, $49\frac{3}{4}$ acres on the west bank of the Owego creek where it meets the Catatonk creek. March 17, 1802, he sold 451 acres on the Owego creek, including his own homestead, to Capt. Eliakim, Noah and Asa Goodrich for \$5,000. He then removed to Owego and lived in an old farm house on the south side of Main street, west of and adjoining the Owego academy grounds, and there he died in 1807.

"When Col. Pixley settled on the west side of the Owego creek that town was known as Owego, and the east side of the creek was known as Tioga. The confusion arising from having the village of Owego in the town of Tioga on the east side of the creek was so annoying that in 1813 the names of the towns of Owego and Tioga were exchanged, the one for the other, as they now exist.

"Col. Pixley was county treasurer of Tioga county from 1798 to 1803, the only civil office he ever held there.

The Indians were in possession when David Pixley founded that little settlement on the Susquehanna, and it was not long before he became an influence among them and the favored adviser of their loved ruler Queen Catherine. March 28, 1797, Gov John Jay appointed Col. Pixley, Commandant of Militia. His old Colonel, John Paterson, came also to live in Tioga County, and there they both died. The writer has in his possession a recommendation for the office of Sheriff "To the Honorable Council of Appointment of the State of New York," duly signed by John Paterson, David Pixley, and five others, all "Members of the Court of Common Pleas and General Sessions of the Peace and for the said County of Tioga."

About 1793 Mary Pixley married her first husband, Dr. Samuel Tinkham, the first college graduate in colony or state and the first physician to settle in that vicinity. There were few clergymen and no magistrates in the settlement then, so Mary and the

THE CONGRESS OF THE COLONY OF THE MASSACHUSETTS-BAY.

To
David Pixley Gentleman — GREETING.

WE, reposing especial Trust and Confidence in your Courage and good Conduct,
Do, by these Presents, constitute and appoint you the said *David Pixley*
to be ~~Lieutenant of the~~ *Lieutenant of the* ~~5th~~ *5th* ~~Regiment of Foot~~ *Regiment of Foot* ~~raised by the Congress~~
afore said, for the Defence of said Colony.

You are, therefore, carefully and diligently to discharge the Duty of a *Lieutenant*
in leading, ordering, and exercising the said ~~Company~~ *Company* in Arms, both inferior Officers
and Soldiers, and to keep them in good Order and Discipline; and they are hereby
commanded to obey you as their ~~Lieutenant~~; and you are yourself to observe and
follow such Orders and Instructions as you shall, from Time to Time, receive from the
General and Commander in Chief of the Forces raised in the Colony afore said, for the
Defence of the same, or any other your superior Officers, according to military Rules and
Discipline in War, in Pursuance of the Trust reposed in you.

By Order of the Congress;

John A. D. 1775.
John A. D. 1775.
Secretary P. T.

doctor rode on horseback down to what is now Athens, where, still seated on their horses, they were married by a justice of the peace, who stood at the door of his house. The doctor died in 1804 and six months after his widow married my father's father, James Pumpelly, who was born in Salisbury, Conn., Dec. 2, 1775.

Feb. 2, 1808, one year after the death of Colonel Pixley, Lydia, his widow, also died, aged 63, and was buried beside her husband. Upon the tombstone of this worthy christian woman were inscribed these lines:

"A pattern she through every scene of life,
A pious Christian and a faithful wife,
A neighbor kind, a sweet and pleasant friend,
T'was thus she lived, and peaceful was her end."

In a copy I have of the sermon that was preached by Rev. Seth Williston at Mrs. Pixley's funeral I find the most unequivocal evidence of the truth of the above lines.

"She had," the minister says, "such a sense of the spirituality and perfection of the law that she saw infinite demerit in herself where others who have not such strict notions would have thought there had hardly been a fault."

David Pixley, Jr., was born at Stockbridge in 1764 and was the only son of Col. David Pixley by his first wife. He married Drusilla Bond. He was only 35 years old when he died in the town of Tioga, June 6, 1799. His body was the first one buried where the Tioga cemetery now is, which was then in the woods. His wife died June 1, 1822, aged 57 years, and her body is also buried there.

Extract from "An Historical Sketch of the Congregational Church, Stockbridge, 1888, Stockbridge, Berkshire County, Mass." (Page 33).

1789. Jonathan Edwards, Minister.
David Pixley, married, Dec. 8, 1762,
Lois Whittlesey, in Stockbridge, 1st wife;
2nd, about 1774, married Lydia Patterson in
Stockbridge.



Graves of David and Lydia Pixley in Presbyterian Burying Ground, Owego,
Tioga, Co., N. Y.



The Pixley House

(Page 64).

1782 Lydia Patterson Pixley.

1766 Abigail King Bliss Pixley

1772 Olive Pixley

1817 Phinias Pixley

1821 Alice Gifford Pixley

1764 Anna Pixley Whittlesay (Page 68)

“David Pixley, Jr., was a surveyor. He was one of the most influential of the proprietors of the ‘Boston Ten Townships.’ His children were Charles B., Jeremiah, Mary Ann, David and Jonathan. He lived on the west side of the Owego creek, a little less than half a mile below Leach’s mill.” Well I knew “Uncle Stephen” the owner of this well known grist mill, and so also did Miss Wilmot who some years since wrote a short poem from which I quote these lines:

“The splashing of thy moss grown wheel
Was music by a master’s hand,
A hymn whose sweetness He alone
Could feel and understand
Each time worn timber in thy frame,
Each window’s gloomy light—
Each cob webbed rafter dust strewn floor
Was valued in his sight—
But now ’tis still the crumbling mill
And its master sleeps upon the hill.

His work is done! the end has come
The pain and suffering have ceased
The genial voice is silent hushed
The shell outgrown the soul released
Has flown, to Him who gave it birth.
In after years his memory blest
Who kindly dealt with all mankind—
God give him peace. God give him rest
The same to thee old mill
As to thy master on the hill.”

“Amos Pixley died previous to the death of his father in 1807, leaving a wife and one son, Walter, who died unmarried.

“One of the sons of David Pixley, Jr., Col. Charles B. Pixley, was born in 1792, the year after the removal of his father to this country. He was at one time a hatter and kept a store in Lake street where he sold musical instruments, stationery, etc. He lived in Binghamton several years, where he married a sister of John A. Collier. He died Aug. 18, 1865, at the home of his sister, Mrs. Alanson Goodrich, in town of Tioga.

“Mary Ann Pixley, born in 1796, married Alanson Goodrich, son of Capt. Eliakim Goodrich, and died April 22, 1875.

“Jeremiah Jonathan, and David Pixley all removed to Oakland county, Mich. David Pixley's wife was Fidelia Jones, daughter of deacon Solomon Jones.

“At the time of Col. David Pixley's death he was the owner of nearly 9,400 acres of land all of which except 130 acres were situated outside the village of Owego.”

In concluding this all too insufficient sketch I think in the lives of these two worthy pioneers of my native town, we have clearly shown to you the value of a vision and the determination to be, not a biratus, but a real pathfinder on the great field of our life's battle. What Gov. Woodrow Wilson calls “a lifter,” and such was my ancestor when he left his home to fight seven long years for a nation's liberty, and after that to found a new home in a yet untrodden wilderness.

’Twas such men who left us the heritage we now enjoy and in our gratitude we cannot but recall with pride these words from the Scriptures:

“Inquire I pray thee of the former age and prepare thyself to the *search of the fathers*. Shall they not *teach thee* and utter words out of their heart?”

Audubon in West Feliciana

BY SARAH TURNBULL STIRLING

IN ye ancient days of 1826—which are nearly a century past—and when West Feliciana Parish, Louisiana, was at its loveliest with mystery of forest and fern laden ravine, the silver of creek bottom and the beautiful “red clay cuts,” a wanderer came home, and as the hospitable doors in West Feliciana were always open and the hearth fires bright, he was made welcome and dwelt amongst them; and their children’s children tell of the “Angel unawares.”

John James Audubon was born at Mandeville on the shores of Lake Pontchartrain, May 4th, 1780; his hundred and forty third birthday being now at hand.

From Mrs. Audubon’s “Memoirs of her Husband,” kindly loaned me from the “Cottage” library, I found that John was the son of Commander Audubon, who was the youngest but one of a family of twenty-seven, the children of a poor fisherman of Sable de Lorne in France. This worthy man was often seen with his wife and twenty-one children in church. The Commander says that when he was twelve years old his father gave him “A shirt, a warm dress, a cane and his blessing and sent me out to seek my fortune.” The boy shipped before the mast at Nantes and at seventeen was captain of a small trading vessel. Afterwards he bought a fleet of small trading vessels and sailed to San Domingo; there he got a Government appointment. Finally we see him at the court of Napoleon, devoted to the Emperor, and commander of a war vessel. It was in it, I suppose that he visited the French Colony of Louisiana and met the beautiful Anne Monette. They were married and had three sons and a daughter; John James, our Audubon, was the youngest of these.

When he was a few years old his parents went back to San Domingo, where his mother miserably perished in a revolt of the negroes. After that the Commander married again, presumably in France. Audubon's step-mother was devoted to him, but with a foolish devotion that allowed him to stay away from school, stuff himself on candy and dress extravagantly. John's father, finding this out on one of his visits home, hurried the young man off, with only a few hours notice, to school at Rochefort.

Mother Nature had taught Audubon to draw, and at Rochefort he was so fortunate as to have David as his first master. All his spare time at school was spent collecting specimens of birds, butterflies, small animals and fragments of strange looking rock. After his school days his father wanted him to be a soldier of Napoleon—a life that at that time would have satisfied almost any young Frenchman—but Audubon loved a free life, the rain on the mountains, the wind in the trees, sunshine, star-shine, and the song of birds, held a divine harmony for him, a harmony that found a home in his own soul, and is transmitted in his beautiful pictures and writings to us.

Audubon came over to America to manage one of his father's estates in Pennsylvania, called Mill Grove. Next to Mill Grove, is Falland Ford, where Mr. William Bakewell lived, and these two gentlemen hunted and fished together; and there he met and loved at first sight sweet Lucy Bakewell,—who, by the way, is the great, great aunt of our own veteran leader, Rev. A. Gordon Bakewell, the Rector of Trinity Chapel in New Orleans.

Our lover affected velvet coats and lace ruffles while out hunting, filled his home with specimens and dreamed of his life work the "Ornithological Biography," and if you will read Scott's "Peveril of the Peake," it is the romantic history of the house of Basquinlle or Bakewell. This pair "loved and married and lived happy ever afterwards."

Several years after the marriage, Audubon sold Mill Grove, and put the money into goods, which he and his partner loaded on an ark and came down the river as far as Hendersonville, Kentucky. He did not take kindly to commercial life, and every time the ark stopped, was off to the woods to collect specimens.

One most provoking time was once when they were ice bound in Kentucky, Audubon went off with some Indians to an inland lake where there was a quantity of white swans.

While wandering about the country he met Daniel Boone, and the first American ornithologist, Alex. Wilson. Naturally commerce did not prosper at this rate, and after many failures we find him in Natchez, Mississippi, (1820) painting portraits for a living. Mrs. Audubon and their two sons were living with her father, as often Audubon did not know where the next meal was coming from. Even at this time of great poverty, which was never hopeless with him, he was corresponding with President Harrison, President Monroe and Henry Clay.

In the meantime, Mrs. Audubon, with the boys, had come to New Orleans and was teaching there; so that Audubon got on a keel-boat and was towed down the river to Bayou Sara. On his way to see her, he was taken in here by Mrs. Lucretia Alston Perrie at Oakley, her plantation home three or four miles from the twin towns of Bayou Sara and St. Francisville. He did not stay long, but went on to New Orleans to his wife. Here, also, he painted portraits for a living, and endured the criticism of "Jarvis" who "objected to his manner of painting birds," but "Vanderlys" encouraged him, and with these ups and downs he turned again to West Feliciana and the friends he had found there. Audubon said himself that he believed Mrs. Perrie only engaged him to teach, that she might further his enterprise. She gave him sixty dollars a month to teach her daughter Eliza, half the day; he spent the other half in his beloved woods. Oakley is beautiful, set in its park of oaks and cedars, and is intact now except that its handsome young chatelaine has seen fit to change the Spanish built steps to a modern pair. On the dining room walls are pictures that Audubon painted and hung there.

In 1823 Mrs. Audubon came up to teach at Mrs. Jane Percy's, where she staid three or four years. The Percy home was "Hollywood" on the big Bayou Sara Creek. Later she taught at Mrs. Wm. Garrett Johnson's, and it seems Mr. and Mrs. Audubon made frequent visits to the home of Dr. Nathaniel Pope in St. Francisville, as described so charmingly by Mrs. John

Monroe Sherrouse in a chapter by itself. Miss Lula Robinson, a granddaughter, kindly loaned me the Mms. to make extracts from, but I think it too valuable and interesting to tamper with. Mrs. Sherrouse is an enthusiastic member of the Audubon Monument Association. The rest of the information I have (1911) is from Mr. Clarence Percy, Sr., Mrs. James Stewart and Mrs. Wm. Walker. In all these homes a life long friendship commenced and an ideal time for the Audubons. They were together, each with perfect love and perfect faith in the other, and each with congenial occupation.

Mrs. Audubon made three thousand dollars per year teaching and gave her husband the money to travel on and study,—out of Nature's book, not in college. She had perfect confidence in him, and he, in himself. Thus she was his help meet in a life time of weary waiting and disheartening misfortune. They lived in West Feliciana sixteen years,—as happy as any they ever spent in all their married life, she making money in the homes of their friends, teaching select schools; fifteen scholars at a time, that she might pour it all in his hands for his life work.

Here is a list of all the scholars that could be remembered. that I am very sure will be precious to their descendants:

Miss Margetta Percy, (Mrs. George W. Sargent).

Miss Sarah Percy, (Mrs. Dr. Provan).

Miss Christine Percy, (Mrs. Dr. A. Dashill). (John Woodhouse Audubon loved Christine).

Miss Julia Ann Randolph, (Mrs. James Stewart).

Miss Sallie Ann Randolph, (Mrs. Jones Stewart).

Miss Augusta Randolph, (Mrs. W. C. S. Ventress).

Miss Francina Ratcliffe, (Mrs. Gen. Brandon).

Miss Amy Mathews, (Mrs. Maj. Chase).

Miss Isabelle Kendrick, (Mrs. David Fluker).

Miss Marshall of Mississippi, whom she taught at the Percy's.

At the Johnson's—

Miss Susan Johnson, (Mrs. Pleasant Harbour).

Miss Malvina D. Johnson, (Mrs. Dr. Warren Stone).

Miss Jane Montgomery, (Mrs. McDermott).

Miss Susan Montgomery, (Mrs. Smiley).

Miss Jane Harbour, (Mrs. James Hill).

Miss Mary Harbour, (Mrs. Dr. M'Ghoon).

Miss Margaret Butler of the "Cottage".

Miss Mary Rucker, (Mrs. James Leake).

And the Mascot, little Ellen Johnson, who married Mr. Wm. Broadner Walker.

The Audubons were so noble, refined and sincere, that the "for true" fairy tale of their happiness comes down to us through the vista of years and changes that have happened since then. The tale is told of how she made a companion of nature for his sake; the long walks they took together on the white sand of the creek bottom and the beautiful West Feliciana hills. How the seasons came and went with happiness, and were counted by the "drumming" partridge, the call of the whip-poor-will, the changing opal on the dove's breast, and the long flight of birds to the southward when winter winds blew.

Audubon, as was his wont, would dress in his old brown hunting suit (perhaps homespun or leather), and go off for weeks in the forest to live with the birds and beasts—and he said, "spirits." While at Mrs. Percy's he made his book so complete that he began to travel about to get subscribers for it that he might get it published. In 1824 he went to Philadelphia and there met Prince Canino Le Sueur, Sully, Peale, Joseph Bonaparte and daughter, DeWitt Clinton, and the Rev. John Hopkins, who converted him to Episcopacy.

He also had a sweet and affecting visit to Mill Grove, and rushed out to the place where Lucy Bakewell had promised to marry him, and gave thanks for their marriage. Then he started home in a skiff from Pittsburg and came all the way down to Bayou Sara. On arriving there before day in the morning, he got a horse and started out to see his wife, who was only about twenty-five miles off at "Hollywood." His "bump of locality" was so strong that he never dreamed of getting lost, but just outside of town, in his haste, he missed his way and rode around and around in the quicksand until he was almost drowned. I have had the place pointed out to me.

Audubon commenced to teach again after his arrival, giving

his wife's pupils music, drawing and French. He also had a dancing class of sixty in Woodville, Mississippi, which was near by. When he had made two thousand dollars, he again sailed for Europe, arriving in England on the 20th of July, 1826. His business was to have plates made of his paintings, that his book could be published.

Here he met Mr. Roscoe, Lord Stanley, Baron Humbolt, Sir Walter Scott, Sir Thomas Lawrence, Hannah More, Miss Edgeworth, and at Edenburgh, Francis Jeffries, Lord Elgin, and Lady Mary Clark. All these became his patrons; Sir Walter Scott showed his book to George the IV, who pronounced it "fine."

Audubon's star was then in the ascendant. He got many subscribers, dressed well, was feted and made honorary member of societies and had a good time generally, which he enjoyed with all his simple and boyish nature. But over the sea and far in the Louisiana hills, a little dark-haired and grey-eyed woman was working and waiting for him, so he ran away from it all to Manchester, to a place where she had played when a child, and gathered wild-flowers and spars to bring her.

On November 9th, 1827, the first book was published. One of the worst misfortunes that ever happened to man was that the publishing house burned and every one of his pictures destroyed, and he had to come home and make them every one over. We find him at Rev. John Bachman's in Charleston. (John and Victor both married the daughters of this gentleman.)

The years are slipping away, Audubon is on the heights now, he has walked nearly over America, listened to every bird song, lain for hours motionless as the log he resembled watching his beloved nature. A figure colossal he stands on America his keen ear catching every bird-note from the whirl of the humming bird to the beat of the eagle's wings, and cry of the sea birds far out in the Western breakers.

John and Victor have lived their happy boyhood in West Feliciana and are working at Louisville, Kentucky, Mrs. Audubon is still teaching, now at Mrs. Garrett Johnsons. (1826).

One day of sweet memory I went to Baton Rouge to see Mrs.

Wm. Walker, "Little Ellen Johnson" the youngest of the Johnson sisters, too young to go to school, but privileged to Mr. Audubon's lap, while he taught or painted; also to hold his specimens while he practiced taxidermy, or hold the branches of trees, while he posed his birds true to nature and painted them.

I am familiar with Beech Grove, her old home, and Mrs. Walker's crepe cap and silver curls seemed turned to gold again and a sunbonnet lilted by one string, as "Little Ellen" led me by the hand up the steep steps to the north room, which was studio and schoolroom, with a long table down the middle of the room in lieu of desks, to hold his specimens.

The big, dark closet behind us where Miss Sarah Johnson used to keep the pictures he gave her,—one was the unfinished portrait of Mrs. Audubon and the boys. The Yankees took or destroyed them all. The room is long and low, four windows north, east and west; the paper mulberries are softly clashing together, and telling of the wild, as in Audubon's time, and the huge pink and white japonicas are keeping watch over the little "Box" hedge as of yore. This was the view he had from the north window, and over the woods to the hazy blue hills. Almost in the foreground was a tall leafless pine, once the resting place of an eagle. Audubon killed it, painted the picture, and gave it to Mr. Johnson.

Down in the beautiful grassy yard, shaded by oaks and sycamores, the Johnson and Audubon children played, forming a friendship that nothing could break. One day John hitched a calf to a little cart and took Ellen to ride and dumped the young lady in the pond. John had to fish her out, a sight to behold.

It was in that north room that Audubon finished his own portrait by looking in a mirror and painting his reflection. It was begun by a friend, presumably Bachman. That portrait was until recently in the possession of Mrs. John Hampden Randolph, the daughter of Mrs. Walker, but she, unfortunately, sold it to Mr. David Murrell, of Paducah, Kentucky. The picture is not life size, but the portrait of a rather dark, thin Frenchman with particularly fine grey eyes; the dark wavy hair is thrown back from a beautiful brow, the lips thin, sweet and expressive; it is a speaking likeness and wrought by the hand of the master.

Another picture of him Mrs. Randolph has, is a cabinet photograph of a man a little past middle age in hunting dress, with his favorite dog. This picture was sent Mrs. Randolph by Audubon's granddaughter. Professor Randolph then kindly lighted me to the dining room to show me his portion of the pictures from his father's subscription. The rest had been divided among ten brothers and sisters. The Professor's father, John Hamden Randolph, having been one of the dancing class at Woodville.

There has been a little controversy over the "Turkey" picture; I have heard there were two "gobbler" pictures but have never seen but one of them so can't describe it; that was given to Mr. David Fluker of Asphodel Plantation near Thompson's Creek. Mrs. A. Doherty, of Baton Rouge, has a picture of a turkey hen and young.

Audubon was once taken very sick and was cared for by Dr. John B. Hereford in his own home, Oak Grove. When convalescing, he wandered around in the neighborhood and at a place which we call "The Doctor's Spring" to this day, he saw and painted the mother and her brood. She is on a little knoll, which makes a background and is covered with Louisiana grass. All of Audubon's bird pictures are life-size and show some natural peculiarity. Now this turkey mother is listening, with one foot up and her head slightly turned; you think every minute she will put that foot down, but she doesn't and is not going to do so, until she finds out what she is listening for. One little turkey has fallen over, right under her feet, to catch a tick on its wing. Two young ones are reaching after bugs under the leaves, and the others, taking advantage of this listening moment to pick grass seeds. This beautiful picture he presented to Dr. Hereford in gratitude, and, this with some other of his paintings, is among Mrs. Dougherty's chief treasures. She was Miss Hereford.

Mr. Clarence Percy told me of the visit John Woodhouse made to West Feliciana in 1850, or '60. How he rushed around to places of "Auld lang syne," remembering everything, after all those years. The Audubons had left West Feliciana in 1836 for their own New York home. Mr. Percy said that he

himself, was quite a dandy at that time, but was only too glad to follow John about and hear his wonderful adventures with man and beast in the Rocky Mountains. And then his reminiscences as they went through hill and vale, creek and wood. He quite disdained a horse and walked to all the old haunts, his unerring memory guiding him. "He did not think there were as many birds as when he was a boy," and would exclaim again and again at the "beauty" of the *Magnolia Grandiflora* and say it was the most beautiful tree in the world. He pointed to a tree in a yard and told how he had climbed into it once and a snake poked its head out of a hole. He was so startled that he fell backward, and in answer to the children's jeers said; "If you go up in that tree you will see the scarest snake you ever saw."

On the Bayou Sara Creek he showed me the place he and his father used to fish and bathe in. One place was the waterfall on the Joe Roberts property, called the silver bath; a favorite resort for the men and boys of that day. His face would beam with delight as he related the sports of his boyhood, and he would exclaim, "West Feliciana is one of the brightest spots on earth to me." He showed me the place where his father watched the "habits of the beaver," and it is still remembered on the old Doherty property, now the home of Mrs. Burckhalter. And the red clay too, he took particular notice of,—his father had made fine paint of it.

His jokes reminded me of one in his mother's school. Ann Mathews wanted to pay a compliment to Mr. Audubon by saying good night to him in French; so she asked one of the girls how to do it. "Go to him" very courteously said this mischief, "and say, 'Bon Soir Chat.'" Ann did it, in all innocence, and what was her horror to find she had said "Good night, cat." It made Mr. Audubon quite angry.

When John went to visit the Johnsons, he sent word for the girls to "come and see an old friend." The three sisters entered together, and John caught all three rapturously and kissed them. Ellen said, "they were delighted to see him."

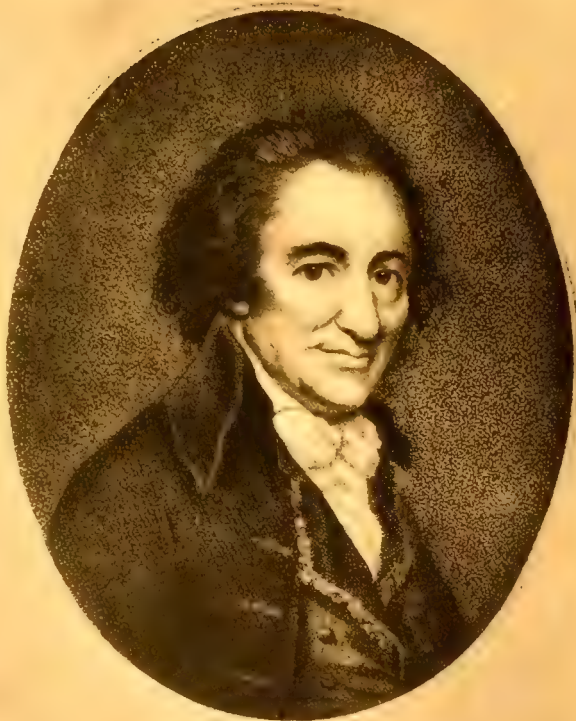
Mrs. Jane Dashill afterward visited them in New York, and said she had never seen such simple, happy-minded people. The

three Audubons were working on "Animals of America" when she was there. These good and gifted people lived on adjoining estates, a happy family party with children and grandchildren about them.

On Thursday, January 27th, 1851, this great man died, and, at his own request, was buried in Trinity Chapel yard; which also adjoined their estate on the Hudson.

I do not think it out of place to mention the old residents of Natchez, Mississippi, that Audubon was friends with. I am indebted to Mr. Percy for these. Also Judge Elijah Smith and his sons Charles Percy and William Sydney Smith; W. W. Mercer; Geo. W. Sarent; Wm. J. Minor; James Collander Williams; David and Elijah Hunt; Campbell and James C. Wilkins.

Mention is made also of a beautiful picture of Natchez, eight by four feet. Fort Rosalie, the river-road, and Mrs. Smith driving to town in a gig, with a bob-tailed horse. In Ante Bellum days this was owned by a gentleman named Profflet, and hung in his jewelry store, where is it now? Surely it ought to be in the State Capitol or Corcoran Gallery.



L. Bonville del. sculp.

THOMAS PAINE.

Ex-Député à la Convention Nationale.

Was Thomas Paine Infidel at Heart

ERNEST C. MOSES.

WITH a profound sense of wisdom and justice Thomas Carlyle wrote: "For all right judgment of any man, it is useful, nay, essential, to see his good qualities before pronouncing on his bad." On this basis of judgment to secure a fair estimate of the real Thomas Paine we should first recognize and comment on the great services rendered by him to America in the Revolutionary struggle, also reviewing a few extracts from his writings which give some idea of the humane character of Paine. Thus a reasonable knowledge of his influence for good as presented in his major achievement and in the best declarations from his pen on metaphysical subjects will help each reader to find his own answer to the question raised in the subject of this article.

After the coalition of the American Colonies had been established through the work and plan of Benjamin Franklin in 1774-75 the idea of their independence from the dominion of Great Britain commenced to dawn as a natural consequence in the thought of the anti-tory leaders of that period. The next great need of that crucial turning point called for a writer who could illumine the idea and give it a right impetus in the public mind. The leading patriots were convinced that political separation from foreign authority was inevitable, but the people of that epoch were not assured. They needed to better understand why political independence was really the only solution of the problems before the country. They were willing to go forward once they were persuaded that political separation was fully justified. But no newspaper had publicly urged the measure in the right way; no man of inspiration to write and courage to

stand for independence had come to the front to promote the idea on the basis of reason, justice and unfettered progress for America.

This great need of a thorough advertisement of the independence idea by an intelligent and urgent appeal to the common sense of the people was finally met early in January of 1776 through Thomas Paine, who was then living in Philadelphia. He was one of the most generous patriots and liberal thinkers of that period of history, a man of unusual perseverance and courage. He accomplished much for the liberating of human thought from the bondage of fear and tradition by his voluminous writings. However much he may have darkened his own reputation by irrational attacks on the Christian religion Paine will always be remembered as a very influential factor in the cause of American liberty. In fact it can be said that the rising sun of American Independence appeared full orb'd in 1776 largely because of the grand work of this noted Englishman who obeyed an impulse far higher than man's imagination when he placed his heart and his fearless talents at the service of the American cause .

Thomas Paine was born in Thetford, England, in poverty, and grew up to manhood surrounded by influences which caused him early in life to question and distrust the "divine right of kings." The monarchical system of government seemed to oppress him and he witnessed many evidences of its injustice in his own immediate surroundings. He learned the trade of stay-maker with his father and then worked into political life with experiences which only served to intensify his feelings of hostility to the methods of government in vogue in England at that time. Early in the seventies he met Dr. Benjamin Franklin in London who recognized his fine abilities and he suggested that Paine would find a grand and needy field for his talents in America. His whole heart and sympathy were then strongly enlisted in the cause of the American states, and he was glad to make it his own.

So Paine decided to go to America and throw his energies on to the side of freedom and progress for the New World. He landed in Philadelphia November 30, 1774, and with letters of

recommendation from Franklin he quickly secured a position with Robert Aiken, printer, and publisher of the *Pennsylvania Magazine* in Philadelphia, at a salary of about \$250 per year. His pen was soon industriously engaged in the cause of justice and liberty.

On October 18, 1775, an article from his pen appeared in the *Pennsylvania Journal* under the title of "A Serious Thought" which was one of the earliest forecasts of independence ever published in the States. In this article he berated the wrong colonial methods of the English ministry, its treatment of the Indians, and prophesied the final emancipation of the African slaves in America. This article closed with the following grand summary:

"I hesitate not for a moment to believe that the Almighty will finally separate America from Britain. Call it Independency, or what you will, if it is the cause of God and humanity it will go on. And when the Almighty shall have blest us and made us a people dependent only on Him, then may our gratitude be shown by an act of continental legislation which shall put a stop to the importation of negroes for sale, soften the hard fate of those already here, and in time procure their freedom—*Humanus*."

In reading these prophetic lines and many others which proceeded from the fluent quill of Paine, one may indeed wonder with cause, how the man could ever have been justly called an "infidel." He usually expressed himself with great reverence when *Diety* was mentioned, and most of his life indicated a continuous desire to benefit his fellow beings. Indeed, his life was a fair paraphrase of his famous declaration: "The world is my country; my religion is to do good."

None of the writings of Thomas Paine more clearly indicate his wonderful perception of the indestructible facts which should govern humanity than his "Rights of Man." An extract from this very logical defense of man's social privileges will tell us something of the mental calibre of the man who fired the zeal of the Americans to take their stand for liberty and progress in 1776. On the fundamental law and origin of man he writes as follows:

“Why not trace the rights of man to the creation of man? I will answer the question. Because they have been upstart governments, thrusting themselves between and presumptuously working to *unmake* man. If any generation of men ever possessed the right of dictating the mode by which the world should be governed, it was the first generation that existed; and if that generation did it not, no succeeding generation can show any authority for doing it, nor can set any up. The illuminating and divine principle of the equal rights of men (for it has its origin from the Maker of man) related not only to the living individuals, but to generations of men succeeding each other. . . . Every history of creation . . . agrees in establishing one point, the unity of man; by which I mean that men are all of one degree, and consequently that all men are born equal. . . . The Mosaic account of creation whether taken as divine authority, or merely historical, is full of this point, *the unity or equality of man*. The expression admits of no controversy—‘And God said, let us make man in our own image. . . . In the image of God created he him; male and female created he them.’ . . . If this be not divine authority it is at least historical authority, and shows that the equality of man, so far from being a modern doctrine, is the oldest on record! . . . It is one of the greatest of all truths and of the highest advantage to cultivate. By considering man in this light and by instructing him to consider himself in this light, it places him in a close connection with all his duties, whether to his Creator, or to the creation of which he is a part.”

It would appear from these declarations that the prime reason why Thomas Paine was not better understood and appreciated in his own time was the fact that he was fully one century ahead of his contemporaries and critics. Thousands will to-day unite in stating that viewed in the right light Paine’s analyses are as true and indestructible as “the rock of ages.” They live by reason of their own inherent vitality and bless all who are willing to understand their glorious foundation.

It was Paine’s famous pamphlet entitled “Common Sense” which appeared in January, 1776, that aroused the American people to a realization of their duty and their political rights.

This little pamphlet projected at just the right moment did more than the writings of a decade preceding to strengthen the sentiment of total separation from Britain. After giving ample reasons for such action he stated that "the blood of the slain, the weeping voice of nature crys out 'TIS TIME TO PART!'" He opposed every suggestion of reconciliation, reminding the people that in reality—"the last cord is broken." Commenting on their natural rights Paine wrote:

"The Almighty hath implanted in us these inextinguishable feelings for good and wise purposes. They are the guardians of His image in our hearts. They distinguish us from the herd of common animals. The social compact would dissolve and justice be extirpated from the earth, or have only a casual existence, were we callous to the touches of affection."

In conclusion of a re-issue of "Common Sense" he wrote:

"On these grounds I rest the matter. And as no offer hath yet been made to refute the doctrine contained in former editions of this pamphlet, it is a negative proof that either the doctrine cannot be refuted or that the party in favor of it are too numerous to be opposed. Wherefore, instead of gazing at each other with suspicious or doubtful curiosity, let each of us hold out to his neighbor the hearty hand of friendship and unite in drawing a line, which like an act of oblivion shall bury in forgetfulness every former dissention. Let the name of Whig and Tory be extinct; and let none other be heard among us than those of a good citizen, an open and absolute friend; and a supporter of the rights of mankind and of the free and Independent States of America."

Thomas Paine was really a man of generous heart, courage and wonderful intelligence. He was never a "man of destiny" in the common estimation of the term, for in social matters he was too radical to please the people. But he nevertheless was a man of great genius and the memory of his political services should always be held in high esteem by our people. It hardly seems just to classify him as an infidel. He disagreed with many schools of popular theology, but this did not prevent him from loving his Maker and humanity, whom he served most effectively in the cause of American liberty.

The one glaring fault of Thomas Paine was an intemperate radicalism. His attitude toward the established institutions of his day was often expressed in premature declarations which did not fit the times nor temper of the people. It was his habit to unwisely push certain propositions in the realm of moral beliefs onto the public thought before the people were in any measure ready to receive or accept them.

While the great agitator displayed wonderful wisdom in some of his political writings, he seemed far from being right in his unwise hostility to all the established religions of his day. Without doubt he was right in regard to the question of complete independence of the American Colonies, and in some measure he may have held correct concepts respecting religious matters. But his criticisms of existing methods of religious worship were destructive rather than constructive. That is, his sweeping denunciations of the churches of his time in effect would have taken away from their adherents whatever of good their beliefs brought them, without giving them a moral philosophy or means of worship which they could prove to be better. At least, he was not successful in establishing a following of believers who could show by their fruits that Paine had given them better concepts of God and man, and of man's moral duties, than they received from the churches against which he continually directed his keen invectives and condemnations.

Paine's pronounced hostilities against all the established religions of the eighteenth century brought down upon his unprotected head the anathemas of those whom he opposed, and the counter forces of human thought seemed to react upon him and embitter his stay on earth. His friends often remonstrated with him, but he usually set aside their advice and permitted his pen and voice to continue an antagonism which was harmful to both himself and humanity in general.

As one of the conspicuous leaders in the cause of American liberty in a period of great political unrest, the sensitive Paine was much affected by the mental collisions produced in America and Europe by the separation between church and state in the New World. Political independence and religious liberty were closely woven together in America. There was both ec-

clesiastical despotism and royal caprice to deal with. Paine struck out with one arm for political liberty while the other moved for religious emancipation because the fermentations of the hour often controlled him unconsciously. His strictures against religion were without doubt the result of the whip-sawing which was going on at that time in the public mind because of the radical severance of church and state in the new order of affairs.

In his "Age of Reason" Mr. Paine certainly made it plain that he had a high regard for the fundamental goodness of the teachings of Christ Jesus, however little he may have understood their spiritual import or true methods of practicing them. On page 26 the writer tells us that—"The morality that he (Jesus) preached and practiced was of the most benevolent kind. . . . it has not been exceeded by any." On page 76 of the same work Paine declared some ideas of beneficence which were indeed consonant with, and without doubt based on, the principles and precepts taught by Jesus in his Sermon on the Mount,—in these words: "The only idea we can have of serving God is that of contributing to the happiness of the living creation that God has made."

Again, in his Recapitulation (p. 83) Paine's declaration of his understanding of human duty was quite in accord with the Master's famous commandment—"that ye love one another." Paine wrote: "The moral duty of man consists in imitating the moral goodness of God toward all His creatures. That seeing, as we daily do, the goodness of God to all men, it is an example calling upon all men to practice the same towards each other; and consequently that every thing of persecution, of revenge between man and man, and every thing of cruelty to animals is a violation of moral duty." The Master Christian taught the same idea of imitating the deific nature when he said in the famous hillside sermon: "Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect."

Paine also declared the same idea on another page of "Age of Reason" wherein he wrote: "It is from the study of the true theology that all our knowledge of science is derived; and it is from that knowledge that all the parts have originated. The

Almighty . . . by displaying the principles of science in the structure of the universe has invited man to study and to imitation. It is as if He had said to the inhabitants of this globe that we call ours: 'I have made an earth for man to dwell upon, and I have rendered the starry heavens visible to teach him science and the arts. He can now provide for his own comfort, and learn from my munificence to all, to be *kind to one another.*'"

From these glimpses into the best sentiments of Thomas Paine, who can doubt that his heart and face were turned toward the light, however much he may have battled with, and spread abroad, his own misconceptions of the Bible and Christianity. No valid or extenuating excuse ever has been found, or can be found to justify Paine's labored attacks on the Bible. They fall to the ground in every age as would paper-wads against the iron-clad sides of a modern dreadnaught. The Scriptures are indeed the most sacred literary possessions of advanced humanity, and Paine's mistreatment of them has stained his memory with a hue quite at variance with the indelible color of his true philanthropic character.

It might be said that the views which he expressed on religion often obscured the real Tom Paine and misrepresented his true moral nature. But in spite of this mental impressment he accomplished much good for his fellow citizens, for in the political arena and in industrial affairs he was a man of wisdom, courage and philanthropy.

Paine once submitted some of his writings which antagonized religion to Mr. Franklin, and the sage displayed much wisdom and tolerance in his kindly advice to the writer. Franklin's answer will serve to-day as a mirror which gives us some idea of the sentiments that were evidently uppermost in Paine's composition. The philosopher's friendly criticism read as follows:

"I have read your manuscript with some attention. By the argument it contains against a particular Providence, though you allow a general Providence, you strike at the foundations of all religions. For without a belief of a Providence that takes cognizance of, guards, and guides, and may favor particular

persons, there is no motive to worship a Diety, to fear his displeasure, or to pray for his protection.

“. . . You yourself may find it easy to live a virtuous life, without the assistance afforded by religion; you having a clear perception of the advantages of virtue and the disadvantages of vice, and possessing a strength of resolution sufficient to enable you to resist common temptations. But think how great a portion of mankind consists of weak and ignorant men and women, and of inexperienced, inconsiderate youth of both sexes who have need of the motives of religion to restrain them from vice, to support their virtue, and retain them in the practice of it. . . . And perhaps you are indebted to her originally, that is, to your religious education, for the habits of virtue upon which you now justly value yourself. . . .”

“I would advise you therefore not to attempt unchaining the tiger, but to burn this piece before it is seen by any other person; whereby you will save yourself a great deal of mortification by the enemies it may raise against you, and perhaps a good deal of regret and repentance. If men are so wicked with religion, what would they be without it? I intend this letter as proof of my friendship, and therefore add no profession to it; but subscribe myself simply yours.”

B. Franklin.

Paine was not much affected by this discourse and continued to stir up the waters of human belief without offering anything to the people to nourish the cravings of their moral natures.

His teachings were therefore rather demoralizing to the religious beliefs entertained by the people of his own times, and much reading of his critical works to-day still makes detrimental impressions on human thought. Therefore, it seems clear that more salutary results can be secured by turning the searchlights of estimation onto the positive elements of his character, and by ceasing to give his hostile views of Christianity the negative influence which many have ascribed to them.

Paine's experiences point to the fact that the law of progress demands of all reformers that they shall refrain from bitterly attacking any established institutions which in reasonable degrees are helpful to the people. It also tells us that the true philanthropist can only succeed by offering the people something better than their traditional establishments afford.

How fallacious it is for men to ruthlessly criticise and condemn the institutions of moral education evolved in the upward trend of civilization, while they present to their fellow beings no higher strainings of truth to bring them nearer to heaven—to awaken them to the well-springs of harmony within them! The higher criticism can only be manifested with success by those who are willing to retain “all the good the past hath had” and who are equipped to meet the human needs of to-day by more of practical good than inherited systems are capable of supplying. If a fair consideration of the unique career and writings of Paine emphasizes no more than the foregoing fact, the study of his life would not be in vain.

But a just review of the career and influence of Paine on American affairs viewed through the lens of unbiased modern criticism brings out far more than a solitary lesson to religious reformers. There were three sides to his life and only two are worth remembering. They are these:

First: The impulses and works of Thomas Paine preponderated largely on the side of liberty and the general uplift of humanity. This side of his character proved that he loved his brother man and desired to advance the reign of justice and benevolence throughout the world.

Second: His strictures against religion were very largely protests against academic Christianity; and these may be heeded even to-day. Paine believed in practical Christianity, but found this element often sadly lacking on the part of some of its most eloquent professors. Therefore, he fusiladed the wrong concepts of Christianity which existed in his own day, rather than the real element of truth within it.

Third: The intemperate views of religion which cropped out of his writings were the froth and fumes of a profound chemicalization in public thought due to the separation of state affairs from ecclesiastical dominion in America during the eighteenth century. These views of religion never represented the true Thomas Paine; therefore they are neither worth considering at length nor remembering. The good he accomplished lives on, and that is why there never has been a pen lacking to defend his memory and to acknowledge his virtues.



James

John Wesley Jarvis

BY WILLIAM M. VAN DER WEYDE

THE most ephemeral of all things is fame. The "bubble reputation" only too often dissolves into air like the foam on the wave crest. We soon forget.

One of America's greatest artists, famous in his day and now forgotten, is John Wesley Jarvis. One hundred years ago Jarvis stood at the forefront of American portrait painters. None of his contemporaries excelled him in his clever handling of the brush, and a great many celebrated men sat before his easel for their portraits. Today it is only the visitor to art collections, or the student pondering the records of a century ago, that encounters Jarvis' name. So fugacious, so evanescent a thing is fame!

Some fine examples of Jarvis' work are displayed on the walls of the Governors' Room and in the Aldermanic Chamber of the New York City Hall. The collection includes portraits of Commodore Perry, Commodore Hull, General Brown, Commodore Bainbridge, Commodore Swift and Commodore McDonough. They all evidence genius of a very superior order. The New York Historical Society also has a number of works of Jarvis, among them portraits of DeWitt Clinton, Robert Morris, John Randolph and John Standford.

Jarvis painted two very fine portraits of Thomas Paine, the great author, statesman and philosopher. One of these is owned by the Thomas Paine National Historical Association and is now on exhibition at the Thomas Paine National Museum. The other portrait seems to have been lost. Diligent search for it has not revealed its hiding place. The lost portrait shows Paine at the age of 68, when he was again living in America after his

return from France, where he had taken an active part in the revolution. It is a very striking likeness of the old patriot, the face beaming with characteristic benevolence and the eyes exhibiting their wonderful old time fire. A wood cut copy of this painting was printed in the "Bible of Nature," published in Albany, 1842. This is the only copy of this Paine portrait known.

Jarvis, like Paine, was born in England. He came to America in 1785 when but five years old. He was named after his uncle, the famous John Wesley, founder of Methodism, with whom he lived in his infancy. At five he was sent to Philadelphia to join his father who had settled in that city.

When still very young Jarvis showed talent with the pencil and an inclination toward the artistic. He developed a liking for engraving and when still in his teens did some creditable work on boxwood. Then he came to New York where he developed his talent for painting. At twenty years of age he was already known as a clever sketcher and had the reputation of invariably "catching the likeness."

In New York Jarvis made the acquaintance of Joseph Wood, also a painter and also young. Both were extremely Bohemian in tastes and found themselves to be of very congenial temperaments. Wood was an accomplished musician, playing a number of instruments, his favorites being the violin and flute. Jarvis had already achieved reputation as a *arconteur*. The two formed a partnership and went into the business of making silhouettes, then very popular. They rented a ground floor on Park Row, not far from the present Brooklyn Bridge entrance and displayed before the door a large frame filled with silhouettes cut out of black paper and gold leaf. Over the frame was a sign with the words "Jarvis & Wood, Silhouettists."

In these days silhouettes as portraits were as popular as today photographs are, and the really clever portraitist in scissored black paper had all the business he cared to handle. In consequence Jarvis and Wood prospered. They charged one dollar each for the silhouettes cut out of paper and five dollars apiece for those made of gold leaf. The profits averaged \$100 daily, and this the partners divided at the end of each day. Jar-

vis devised a "profile machine"—as he called it—which greatly sided in the making of the silhouettes and also saved much time.

Having earned considerable money in the making of silhouettes, Jarvis and Wood, both ambitious, determined to do more serious work. They wanted to paint portraits instead of cutting them out of paper. In 1804 the two young men hung up their shingle as "portrait painters" at 28 Wall street. Jarvis at the same time conducted an engraving establishment at 28 Frankfort street.

Both Jarvis and Wood were very popular. Jarvis kept "bachelor's hall" in an old-fashioned building on a side street, and with Wood's assistance kept open house to all friends in their interesting circle. Wood furnished the music—always of the liveliest sort—at these Bohemian gatherings, and Jarvis amused the company by his droll and witty stories. The fun was "fast and furious" till the "wee sma' hours." Jarvis was never so fortunate as to be able to keep in his apartment such a thing as a drinking glass, and when the visitors arrived he immediately produced a shaving mug from which all drank in turn to the merriest of toasts.

It is recorded of Jarvis that "he was social by instinct, convivial by temperament and capable of vigorous artistic effects. He had a host of acquaintances and was very imprudent and reckless. He possessed great humor, keen observation and violent prejudices and was noted for his genial fellowship."

Jarvis was very egotistical and craved notoriety. He dressed fantastically and attracted much attention on the streets. In the winter he generally wore a long coat trimmed with fur. Two huge dogs always accompanied him on his walks. At times he affected the extremes of fashion and for that reason was noted by the passing pedestrians. At other times he called attention to himself by the shabbiness of his attire.

A description of Jarvis' room is interesting. "His rooms were in chaotic condition. There was a juxtaposition of artistic implements and domestic utensils, palettes in all conditions being strewn about the place, as well as decanters, dresses, a cradle, an easel, musical glasses, books, lay figures, all sorts of things—picturesque but rarely comfortable. Yet amid this parapher-

nalía of art and economy the richest 'feast of reason and flow of soul' would be often realized. At Jarvis' midnight parties canvas-back ducks would be eaten with a one-pronged fork and rare wines drunk without the aid of a corkscrew."

In 1805 Jarvis and his friend Wood added miniature painting to their work and moved from Wall street to 37 Chatham street. Jarvis still maintained his engraving establishment on Frankfort street, and there also taught drawing. Among his pupils was Henry Inman, destined to later become a famous American painter.

Jarvis was very popular in his circle of friends, which included Washington Irving, Robert Fulton, Bass Otis, the painter, Col. John Fellows, Elihu Palmer, Thomas Addis Emmett, Thomas Paine, and other noted persons of that time.

Jarvis was very fond of Paine and the two often had long talks together on all manner of topics, from the rights of women and arbitration among the nations of the world to old age pensions and the abolition of negro slavery, subjects very dear to Paine since he was the pioneer in advocacy of each.

In 1806 Jarvis and Wood removed to 40 Wall street and Jarvis took up living quarters at 85 Church street. Toward the end of the year he invited Paine to move his effects to the Church street house and come there to live with him. Paine had been in bad health and was uncomfortably and unhappily situated in his lodgings, and was glad to avail himself of Jarvis' invitation to take rooms at his house. Jarvis was still a young man, while Paine was nearly seventy years of age, but the difference in their ages did not affect their *camaraderie* in the least. Gilbert Vale, who personally knew Jarvis, published in 1840 a Life of "Thomas Paine." In this biography he says that at Jarvis' home Paine soon recovered his health and the two "became good companions; the one the greatest wit of the age and the other, though now an old man, not deficient in sprightly thoughts or conversation, and abounding in information."

At Jarvis' Church street home was painted the portrait of Paine which I have previously spoken of as lost. Here, too, was doubtless made by the versatile Jarvis, the plaster bust of Paine which is now at the New York Historical Society, a plastic

representation of the great author in his old age so like the lost portrait made at about the same time that each is convincing evidence of the truthful representation in the other. Both are doubtless excellent portraits of Paine at sixty-nine years of age. The bust of Paine never received its final touches from the sculptor, and is still in an unfinished state.

Jarvis had entirely given up all his work in silhouettes and was devoting himself to painting. Occasionally he modelled something in clay but this he did only as a diversion and very seldom. So, too, he occasionally cut from paper the silhouette of some friend. While Paine lived with him at the Church street house Jarvis made his silhouette. It is a very clever piece of work. Paine appreciated the genius of Jarvis in this as in other directions and presented the silhouette to Elihu Palmer, a well-known Deistical preacher and "teacher of natural religion," who was a great admirer of Paine. Mrs. Palmer, after her husband's death, sent the silhouette to a relative in England, and she in turn sent it to Dr. Moncure Conway, the editor of Paine's works and author of the "Life of Thomas Paine." Thus the quaint silhouette of Paine fashioned by his friend Jarvis has been preserved for future ages.

Bass Otis, a painter of some reputation early in the last century, was a friend of Jarvis, and the two had at one time some sort of partnership. Jarvis painted a portrait of Otis and Otis in turn painted Jarvis. Otis also painted a portrait of Paine, which is now on exhibition in Independence Hall, Philadelphia.

Tuckerman in his "Book of Artists," refers to the eccentricities of Jarvis and tells of "his love of notoriety, his fantasy in costume, his imitative skill, remarkable conversational talents, independent habits, his fund of amusing stories, costly dinners and improvised suppers." He says that Jarvis displayed "dogmatical pride and relished an opinion antagonistic to the multitude."

To Thomas Paine he was devotedly attached. Paine had advanced opinions, both political and religious, that were "antagonistic to the multiude." In these opinions Jarvis heartily concurred. Paine's "Rights of Man" and "Age of Reason," Jarvis

pronounced the greatest works ever written in humanity's behalf, an opinion in which very many people concur today.

When living at Jarvis' home Paine shrewdly foresaw the effort that would be made by some fanatics to circulate a story of death-bed repentance and recantation when he was dying. He told Jarvis he felt confident that attempts would be made to convert him to Christianity, and that after his death a tale would be spread about of his ultimate conversion. "Now I am in health, Jarvis," he said, "and in perfect soundness of mind, now is the time to express my opinion." Then he called Jarvis to witness that his opinions had not changed and he solemnly repeated his belief in all that he had written in the "Age of Reason."

Jarvis a couple of years later saw Paine's prophecy come true. When Paine lay on his death bed, weak and suffering, clergymen and others forced their way to his side and tried to extort from him some sort of recantation. Even his own physician was guilty of so annoying the dying man. But not a word of retraction were any of his visitors able to force from his lips. To the repeated urging of his physician to announce at last a belief in the matters he had written against the staunch old Deist, replied, "I have no wish to believe." These were his last words on the subject of religion. But, as Paine foresaw, a tale was circulated as soon as his death was announced that he had recanted. The fable was proved such by living witnesses and eventually the author of the story, one Mary Hinsdale, confessed to her having concocted the yarn out of nothing. She had never even seen Thomas Paine.

Jarvis and other friends knew the story was false and did what they could to stop its circulation, but to quote the old saying, "lies travel fast," and for a long time the yarn received credence.

When Paine died—June 8, 1809,—Jarvis made a death mask of his old friend's face. The death mask is now at the Thomas Paine National Museum.

Jarvis survived Paine thirty years, during which time he accomplished much good work. In 1815 he had his studio on lower Broadway at Bowling Green, in the house that was built as a

residence for the President of the United States, later becoming the Governor's house and subsequently the U. S. Custom House.

Jarvis, despite the fact that he was an extremely successful portrait painter and earned a great deal of money at the zenith of his career, died in extreme poverty at the home of his sister, Mrs. Childs.

He was a man of rare talents and one of the most gifted portraitists America has ever known. American art owes much to this clever painter of a century ago, but she has forgotten to pay her debt. Recognition came to John Wesley Jarvis only in his lifetime. The most ephemeral of all things is fame.

History of the Mormon Church

BY BRIGHAM H. ROBERTS, Assistant Historian of the Church.

CHAPTER LXX

THE PIONEER JOURNEY: FROM FORT LARAMIE TO SALT LAKE VALLEY

FORT LARAMIE was situated about two miles from the South bank of the Platte, on the left bank of the Laramie River, and about a mile and a half from its confluence with the Platte. The Laramie is a mountain stream and its pure, clear water, for the Pioneers, was in pleasant contrast with the muddy, yellow waters of the Platte. It took its name from a French trapper who in the earliest fur hunting times was killed on the stream by the Arapahoe Indians.

The walls of Fort Laramie were built of clay or unburnt brick, being about 15 feet high "and of a rectangular construction, measuring on the exterior 116 by 168 feet. Ranges of houses were built in the interior adjoining the walls, leaving a central yard of about 100 feet square. The post belonged to the American Fur Company, and was occupied by about eighteen men with their families under the charge of Mr. Boudeau."¹ A mile further down the river, but nearer to the right bank of the Platte than to the Laramie stream, was "Fort Platte," founded

1. "Such is the description of the Fort by Orson Pratt, see journal entry for June 1st. It differs but slightly from Col. Fremont's description of five years before. The latter adds the following concerning the entrances to the Fort: "There are two entrances, opposite each other and midway the wall, one of which is a large public entrance; the other smaller and more private, a sort of postern gate. Over the great entrance is a square tower with loop holes, and like the rest of the work, built of earth. At two of the angles, and diagonally opposite each other are large square bastions, so arranged as to sweep the four faces of the walls" (Report of First Expedition 1842, p. 39). For a brief History of Fort Laramie see note I end of chapter.

in 1842, but at the time of the arrival of the Pioneers it was vacated and just crumbling into ruins.²

When it was learned that the north bank of the Platte could be followed no further, the Pioneers obtained the use of a good flat boat from the agents of the American Fur Company at the Fort for the sum of \$15.00, and the 2nd, 3rd and part of the 4th of June was occupied in ferrying their seventy-three wagons over to the South bank of the Platte. While the ferrying over was in progress a pit of charcoal was burned and the blacksmiths at three portable forges set to work to repair wagons, shoe horses, etc., preparatory to encountering the harder roads of the mountains; and by the time the ferrying was completed the camp was in condition to resume its journey.

Arriving on the Oregon trail, for the Pioneers, was like coming back into the world again after a temporary absence-like renewing social relations that had been severed. The first item of news they received from the outside world was conveyed to their camp on the evening of its arrival opposite Fort Laramie. This was by two brethren Robert Crow and Geo. Therlkill, from what is known in our annals as the "Mississippi Company of Saints,"³ which had wintered at Pueblo two hundred and fifty miles south of Fort Laramie, with the several detachments of the Mormon Battalion that had been invalided and sent there for the winter. Part of this Mississippi Company—seven wagons and seventeen people, chiefly the Crow and Therlkill families—had been at Fort Laramie for two weeks, anxiously waiting the arrival of the first company of Saints from Winter Quarters with whom they expected to cross the mountains. The rest of the Mississippi Company were with the detachments of the Battalion at Pueblo and would start for Fort Laramie about the first of June, expecting to follow the Pioneer trail into the mountains; the Battalion detachment, of course, then expecting to go

2. As a matter of fact this "fort" was never completed, "having one side open towards the river." It was erected by Sabille Adams and Co. See Bancroft's *Hist. of Wyoming*, p. 685.

3. The Mississippi Company of Saints were converts chiefly from Monroe County, Mississippi, who under instruction from President Young had left their homes in the South, to take up the journey westward. For the history of this company, see note 2 end of chapter.

on to California, as per their orders.⁴ The Mississippi brethren could give information of the detachments of the Battalion at Pueblo, of the four deaths that had occurred, but nothing of the main part of the Battalion except its departure from Santa Fe.

The next day Amasa M. Lyman, Thomas Woolsey, Raswell Stevens and J. H. Tipets were designated as a party to go to meet the detachments of the Battalion and the remainder of the Mississippi company of Saints and hasten their journey to Fort Laramie, in order to follow the Pioneers into the mountains. This party of four men departed on their mission about mid-day of the 3rd of June, not without anxious solicitude on the part of the camp for their safety, as it was a dangerous mission owing to hostile bands of Indians on their route.

At Fort Laramie the Pioneers learned of the immense emigration en route from the Eastern states to Oregon and California that year. While the Pioneers were still at the Fort a party of four men arrived from St. Joseph, Missouri, having made the journey in seventeen days. They had passed 2,000 wagons in detached companies enroute for the west, and some of the advanced companies would reach Fort Laramie within a day or two.⁵

The first and second day out from Fort Laramie the Pioneers were in contact with two companies of Oregon emigrants, one of which they overtook, consisting of eleven wagons; and one which overtook them, consisting of twenty-one wagons.⁶ On the 8th of June they met a small number of wagons loaded with

4. Woodruff's Journal entry for June 1st. Also Hist. Brigham Young, *Ms.* Bk. 3, p. 91. The names of the Mississippi detachment were as follows:

Robert Crow,	Ira Minda Almarene Crow,
Elizabeth Crow,	George W. Therlkill,
Benjamin B. Crow,	Maltilda J. Therlkill,
Harriet Crow,	Milton Howard Therlkill,
Elizabeth J. Crow,	Jas. Wm. Therlkill,
Jno. McHenry Crow,	Archibald Little,
Walter H. Crow,	James Chesney.
Wm. Parker Crow,	Lewis B. Myers,
Isa Vinda Exene Crow.	(Fifty Years ago today, June 4, 1897).

This company had a splendid outfit, strong, fresh mule teams, four to a wagon, and good wagons. John Brown gives the number of wagons as six. Brown's Journal for 1847, p. 63).

5. Orson Pratt's Journal entry for June 3rd, 1847. These emigrants were represented to be from Missouri, Iowa and Illinois. See Erastus Snow's Journal of same date.

6. Orson Pratt's Journal entry for 5th and 6th of June. Erastus Snow gives the number in the 2nd company as 19 wagons. Journal entry 6th of June.

peltries, traveling east from the west side of the Rocky Mountains—from Fort Bridger. The company—nine in all—was led by Jas. H. Grieve—"from whom we learned," says Brigham Young," that Mr. Bridger was located 300 miles west, that the mountaineers could ride from Bridger to Salt Lake in two days, and that the Utah country was beautiful."7

Grieve also told the Pioneers of a boat made of buffalo skins his party had concealed at the crossing of the north Fork of the Platte, near the mouth of the Sweet Water, and gave the Pioneer company permission to use it. A company of about forty men and nineteen wagons was sent forward as an advanced detachment to secure the Grieve boat, build a raft, kill game, and make all preparations for ferrying the whole company over the river.⁸

On the 9th of June the Pioneers were overtaken by a pack train of from fifteen to twenty horses with a small party of men enroute for San Francisco Bay, *via* of the Great Salt Lake.

The Pioneers were now passing over the most pleasant part of their journey. Writing of the camp at Deer Creek, half a mile back from the right bank of the Platte, Erastus Snow says:

"This is the most delightful place we have seen since we left the states,—a large creek of clear water with a stony bottom, and the way our boys are hauling out the fish is not so slow. Excellent feed, thrifty timber, plenty of game, beautiful scenery; and, added to this, one of our miners had discovered a very excellent bed of bituminous coal up the creek, a sample of which he has brought into camp; also a quarry of excellent sandstone. I have been agreeably surprised in the country of the Black Hills, over which we have traveled a distance of ninety miles from Fort Laramie. Instead of sand and continual barrenness, without water, as I had expected, we have found hard roads through the hills, and at convenient distances beautiful creeks skirted with timber, and bottoms covered with grass, though

7. History of Brigham Young, *Ms.* Bk 3, p. 93. Wilford Woodruff says: "We visited the traders and got some information from the Salt Lake country which was flattering: good account was given of it." Journal, entry 8th of June.

8. Hist. Brigham Young, *Ms.* Bk. 2, p. 92. In this incident I follow the text of Young's History. Woodruff's Journal gives the number of wagons in the detached company as fifteen; Snow at "about twenty," entries for 9th of June.

9. Orson Pratt's Journal entry for June 9th. These "Packers" seem to have given out different stories as to where they were from and whither bound, hence there are different accounts of them in the journals of the Pioneers.

the country otherwise presents generally a rough and barren appearance."¹⁰

On the 12th of June the main company of the Pioneers arrived at the Platte ferry, to find that their advanced company was employed in ferrying over the Oregon emigrants, carrying their goods over in the "Revenue Cutter"—their leather boat,¹¹ floating over the empty wagons by means of ropes; but the stream was so swift and deep that the wagons would roll over several times *in transit* in spite of all efforts to prevent it. Ordinarily the Platte was fordable at this point, but this was the season of high water. The brethren received for ferrying over the Oregon emigrants "1,295 lbs. of flour, at the rate of two and a half cents per pound; also meal, beans, soap and honey at corresponding prices, likewise two cows, total bill for ferrying \$78.00."¹²

The ferriage price agreed upon was from \$1.50 to \$2.00 per wagon, paid in the articles and at the prices named above. "As flour was readily worth \$10 per cwt. at that point, it was a good bargain" is one comment-non-Mormon, however;¹³ "We received it as the providence of God in getting the supplies we needed," is what Erastus Snow said of it.¹⁴

The Pioneer company remained five days at the Platte crossing. They made various experiments in ferrying over their wagons, first stretching a rope across the stream and trying to float single empty wagons over attached to the aforesaid over-stream rope, and drawn by other ropes; but the current, deep and swift, rolled them over and over as if they were logs, much to the injury of the wagons. Then the experiment was made of fastening from two to four wagons together to prevent capsizing *in transit*, but the mad stream would roll them over in spite of all the ingenuity and care of the men. Then small rafts were tried with a single wagon, but the difficulty of polling a raft in water

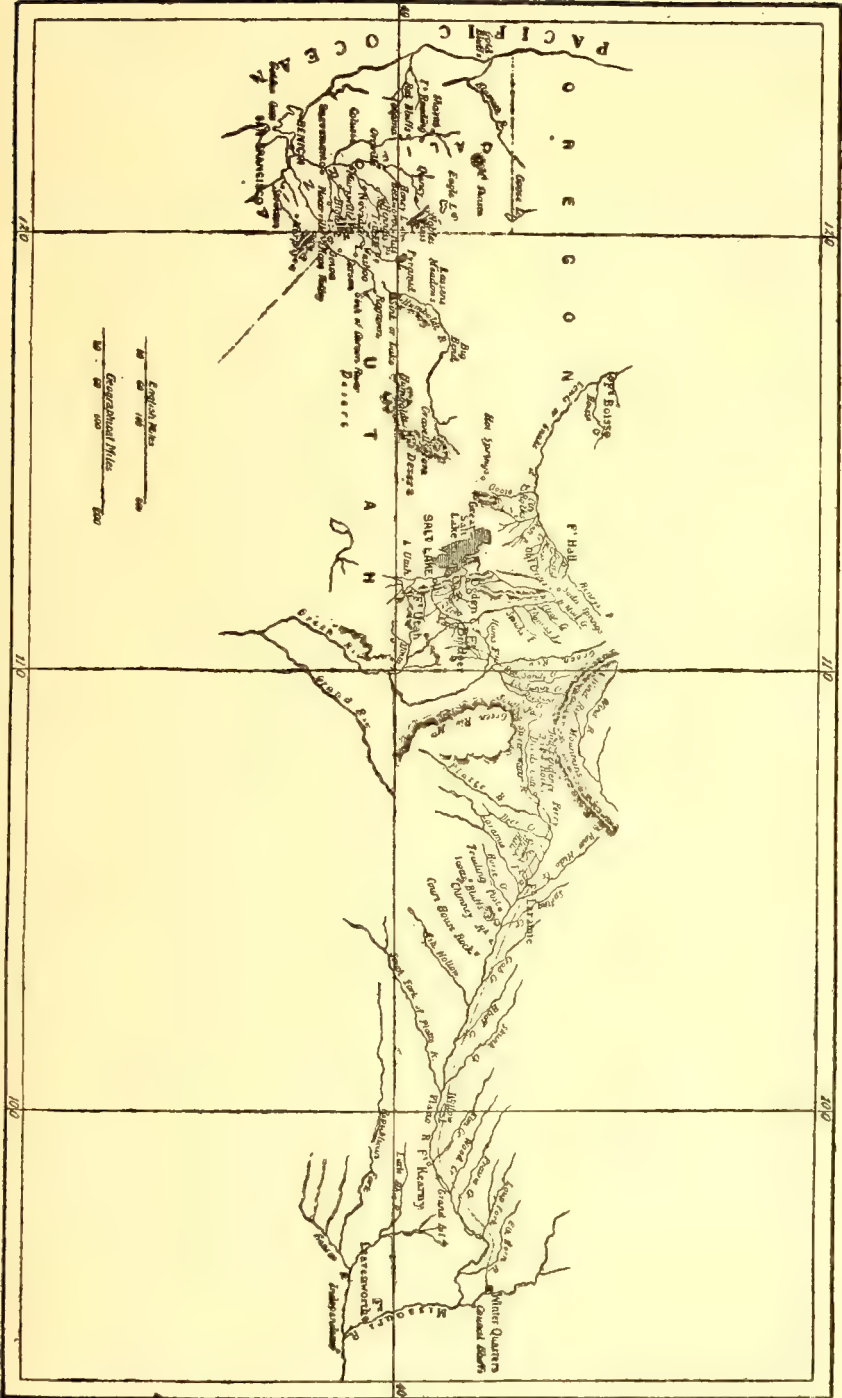
10. Journal, entry 10th June; *Improvement Era*, Vol. XV., p. 165.

11. This boat was capable of carrying from 1,500 to 1,800 lbs. Orson Pratt's Journal, entry for 12th of June.

12. Hist. Brigham Young, Bk. 3, p. 94. "It looked as much of a miracle to me," says Wilford Woodruff, "to see our flour and meal bags replenished in the midst of the Black Hills, as it did to have the children of Israel fed on manna in the wilderness." Journal, entry for 13th of June.

13. "Fifty Years Ago To-day," June 12, 1897.

14. Erastus Snow's Journal, entry for 13th of June.



The Pioneer Route—Winter Quarters—to Salt Lake Valley, 1847

so deep and swift was so great that frequently they would be swept down from one to two miles, though the stream was not more than from forty to fifty rods wide.¹⁵ The plan that proved the most successful was to use a raft,—of which two were made—constructed with oars, well manned, with which a landing with a single wagon could be effected in about half a mile. In this way wagons even partly loaded could be ferried over, but most of the goods of the camp were carried across in the leather boat—the “Revenue Cutter.”

Meantime a company of the pioneers had been at work on the construction of a large ferry boat capable of carrying over loaded wagons for the use of the large companies of Saints about now starting from the Elk Horn;¹⁶ besides companies of Oregon emigrants were daily arriving, and very willing to pay from \$1.50 to \$2.50 per wagon to be ferried over; so that the prospect was that the ferry would be very profitable to those who would establish it. Accordingly a company of ten men—one of whom was a blacksmith—under the leadership of Thomas Grover was left in charge of the ferry, and the main company continued its journey. Their course now followed up the Sweet Water River, which they forded back and forth several times—to the South Pass, along the Oregon route. They were in frequent contact with companies of Oregon emigrants, and occasionally met companies of traders, trappers and mountaineers moving eastward. Near the South Pass, for instance, at which the company arrived on the 26th of June, they met a number of men from the Oregon settlements, led to this point by one Major Moses Harris, who had been a mountaineer for twenty or twenty-five years. He had extensive knowledge of the country from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific. “We obtained much information from him in relation to the great, interior basin of the Salt Lake,” says Orson Pratt, “the country of our destination. His report like that of Captain Fremont’s is rather unfavorable to the formation of a colony in this basin, principally on account of the scarcity of timber. He said that he had traveled the whole cir-

15. Erastus Snow’s Journal, entry 13th of June.

16. From that point, between the 18th of June and the latter part of that month, 560 wagons started for the west, bringing with them 1,553 souls. These companies had 2,213 oxen, 124 horses, 887 cows, many of which had to do service under the yoke; 358 sheep, 716 chickens, and a number of pigs. (Whitney’s Hist. of Utah, Vol. I, p. 188), also Hist. Brigham Young, *Ms.* Bk. 3, p. 94.

cumference of the lake, and there was no outlet to it.”¹⁸ Harris had with him “some Oregon News papers; also [copies of the] *California Star*, published by Samuel Brannan,¹⁹ the leader of the Brooklyn Colony of Saints to California.

It was at this encampment also, called by some “Pacific Springs”—“fourteen miles from the last crossing of the Sweet Water”—that the Pioneers met a somewhat noted mountain character in the person of Thomas L. Smith who had a trading post on Bear River, in the neighborhood of Soda Springs. He described Bear Lake, Cache, and Marsh Vallies, all of which he had visited in the course of his trapping and trading expeditions. “He earnestly advised us,” says Erastus Snow, “to direct our course northwestward from Bridger, and make our way into Cache Valley; and he so far made an impression upon the camp, that we were induced to enter into an engagement with him to meet us at a certain time and place some two weeks afterwards to pilot our company into that country. But for some reason, which to this day has never to my knowledge been explained, he failed to meet us; and I have ever recognized his failure to do it as a providence of the Allwise God. The impressions of the Spirit signified that we should bear rather to the south of west from Bridger than to the north of west.”²⁰

On the 28th of June the Pioneers met James Bridger, Mountaineer and guide, also a member of the American Fur Company. Himself and two companies were enroute for Fort Laramie. He expressed a desire for a conference with President Young and the Twelve; they were equally anxious to have an interview with him. An early encampment was accordingly made and the mountaineers invited to spend the night with the camp.²¹ Mr. Bridger “being a man of extensive acquaintance with this interior country,” says Orson Pratt, “we made many

17. “Myself and several others came on in advance of the camp (i. e. to the South Pass), and it was with great difficulty that we could determine the dividing point of land which separates the waters of the Atlantic from those of the Pacific. . . . The South Pass for some 15 or 20 miles in length and breadth is a gently undulating plain or prairie thickly covered with wild sage from one to two feet high. . . . The elevation above the sea level is 7,085 feet. The distance of this pass from Fort Laramie, as measured by our mile machine, is 275 1-2 miles. Orson Pratt’s Journal entry 26th of June.

18. Orson Pratt’s Journal, entry for 26th of June.

19. Hist. of Brigham Young, *Ms.* Bk. 3, entry for June 27th, 1847.

20. Utah Pioneers, pp. 44-5. See also note 3 end of chapter.

21. Woodruff’s Journal, entry for 28th of June.

inquiries of him in relation to the 'Great Basin' and the country south. His information was rather more favorable than that of Major Harris."²² "Mr. Bridger . . . camped with us and gave us much information relative to roads, streams, and country generally."²³ "Bridger considered it imprudent to bring a large population into the Great Basin," says President Young," "until it was ascertained that grain could be raised; he said he would give \$1,000 for a bushel of corn raised in that Basin."²⁴ President Young replied: "Wait a little, and we will show you."²⁵

At Green River, which the Pioneers reached on the 30th of June, Samuel Brannan, leader of the Brooklyn Colony rode into their camp, direct from San Francisco. He and two companions had made the journey *via* of Fort Hall. He brought news from the Colony of Brooklyn Saints now settling in the San Joaquin Valley; of the Battalion which had reached the Pacific coast; of the founding of the *California Star*, a file of sixteen numbers of which he had brought with him; of the richness of California's soil; of her salubrious climate; of the conquest of the country by the United States; and of the Brooklyn colony's anticipation of the arrival of the Pioneers on the Pacific coast doomed, however, to disappointment. The reception given to Brannan was

22. Orson Pratt's Journal entry for 28th of June.

23. Erastus Snow's Journal entry 28th of June. Also Woodruff's Journal to the same effect.

24. History of Brigham Young, *Ms.* Bk. 3, p. 95. Erastus Snow in his great reminiscent Discourse on the "Utah Pioneers" (p. 43) delivered in Salt Lake City, July 25th, 1880, said Bridger's offer was "for the first ear of corn raised in the valley of the Great Salt Lake or the valley of the Utah outlet," meaning Utah Lake Valley, some 30 miles south of Salt Lake. Snow in his discourse spoke extemporaneously and from memory. There is a sense in which Bridger's offer of \$1,000 for a bushel of corn raised in the Salt Lake Valley can be understood other than regarding it as an expression of belief in the impossibility of the thing, *viz.*, an expression of hope that it might be done—a reward for a desired demonstration of the thing. Wilford Woodruff's Journal account of the interview with Bridger would warrant such a view. He says: "He (Bridger) spoke more highly of the Great Basin for a settlement than Major Harris did; that it was his *paradise*, and if this people [i. e. the Saints] settled in it, he wanted to settle with them. There was but one thing that could operate against it becoming a great grain country, and that would be the frost. He did not know but the frost would kill the corn" (Journal, entry for 28th of June)—he would give a \$1,000 to have a demonstration that this was not so, as Salt Lake Valley, "his paradise," would then be known as a desirable place for settlement. Bridger was evidently tiring of his isolated, half-outcast life, and desired to settle with white people, proven by the fact of his purchase of a farm less than ten years later at Westport, Missouri, and his attempt to settle down to a regular life. (Bancroft's Hist. Wyoming, p. 685, note).

25. Erastus Snow in Utah Pioneers, p. 43.

evidently not very cordial. There was recollection of course of the contract he had made with ex-Postmaster General of the United States, Amos Kendall, "A. G. Benson & Co.," which, if carried into effect, would have loaded the material progress of the Saints with intolerable burdens. It was in vain that he urged the advantage of the Pacific slope as a place of settlement for the Saints,²⁶ though he remained, and was identified with the activities of the Pioneers, until their movements indicated permanent settlement in what he regarded as a barren waste.

At Green River ferry the Pioneers remained until the 3rd of July, detained by the necessity of making rafts with which to effect the crossing of that stream as its waters were high. The camp moved three miles from the ferry down the right bank and there spent the fourth of July—"Independence Day," some of them noted in their Journals,²⁷ also "the Lord's Day." At this encampment it was decided that a few of the Pioneers should return eastward to meet the large emigrating companies of saints now enroute from Winter Quarters, and act as their guides to Green River. Five volunteered,²⁸ taking with them the "Revenue Cutter"—wagon, as it constituted a sort of light wagon and there were not horses enough to spare to mount the "pilots," as the returning company was called. Brigham Young with Dr. Willard Richards, Heber C. Kimball and others accompanied this party back to Green River ferry. Here they saw a group of thirteen horsemen on the opposite bank with their baggage stacked on one of the Pioneer rafts preparatory to crossing over the river. It was soon learned that the party was an advanced

26. Brannan had made a brave march of more than 800 miles to confer with the Church leaders, and that with only two companions. Orson Pratt thus describes that journey: "He left the Bay of San Francisco on the 4th of April last, expressly to meet us, accompanied by only two persons; and, having at this early season of the year braved the dangers of the deep snows upon the mountains, and the wild and savage tribes of Indians that roam over these terrific regions, he arrived in safety at our camp; having also passed directly over the camping ground where about 40 or 50 California emigrants had perished, and been eaten up by their fellow-sufferers only a few days before. Their skulls, bones, and carcasses lay strewn in every direction. He also met the hindmost one of these unfortunate creatures making his way into the settlements. He was a German, and had lived upon human flesh for several weeks." The party that perished as described above was the ill fated Donner Party, of which more later.

27. Journal of Wilford Woodruff, entry for 4th of July.

28. Their names were Phineas H. Young, Geo. Woodward, Aaron Farr, Eric Clines and Rodney Badger.

company of Captain James Brown's Pueblo detachment of the Mormon Battalion, and they were given three cheers. "I led out," says President Young, "in exclaiming 'Hosannah! Hosannah! Give glory to God and the Lamb, Amen!' In which all joined simultaneously."²⁹ The members of the Battalion were conducted to the camp where also they were received with great rejoicing. They were in pursuit of horse thieves who had stolen about a dozen of the Battalion horses of which they had recovered all but one or two, and they understood that these were at Fort Bridger to which place they were enroute. They reported the Pueblo detachment as not more than seven days drive east of the Green River.

It was decided by the council at this Green River encampment, after the arrival of the party of Battalion members, "that Thomas S. Williams, and Samuel Brannan return and meet Captain Brown and the Battalion company from Pueblo;" and in as much as they have neither received their discharge nor their full pay, Brother Brannan shall tender them his services as pilot to conduct them to California."³⁰ Brannan and Williams, however, did not leave the Pioneer camp on their mission until the 9th of July,³¹ by which time the camp had arrived at Fort Bridger. This trading post was located on a delta formed by several branches of Black's Fork of Green River. "The Post" says Orson Pratt, "consists of two adjoining log-houses, dirt roofs, and a small picket yard of logs set in the ground and about eight feet high. The number of men, squaws and half breed children in these houses and [surrounding] lodges, may be about fifty or sixty."³²

At this point the Pioneer company left the Oregon road, "taking Mr. Hasting's new route to the Bay of San Francisco," journalizes Orson Pratt; "this route is but dimly seen as only a few wagons passed over it last season,"³³ "We took a blind

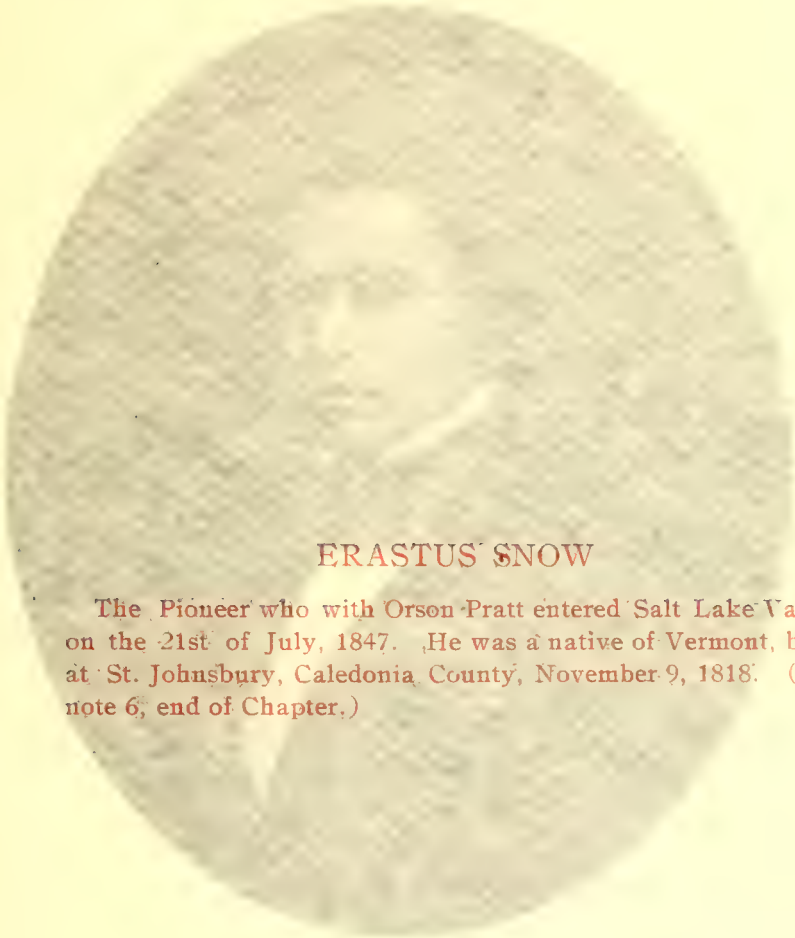
29. Hist. of Brigham Young, *Ms.* Bk. 3, p. 97.

30. History of Brigham Young, *Ms.* Bk. 3, p. 97. Thomas S. Williams, named in the above quotation, was Sargent Williams of Company D. in the original Battalion organization, and was the officer in command of the company of 13 which had overtaken the Pioneers. Journal of John Brown, 1847, p. 67.

31. Orson Pratt's Journal, entry for the 9th of July.

32. Ibid, entry of 7th of June. The "post" was founded in 1842 by its then—1847—present owners and was abandoned in 1853. Bancroft's Hist. of Wyoming, p. 684.

33. Orson Pratt's Journal entry for 9th of June.



ERASTUS SNOW

The Pioneer who with Orson Pratt entered Salt Lake Valley on the 21st of July, 1847. He was a native of Vermont, born at St. Johnsbury, Caledonia County, November 9, 1818. (See note 6, end of Chapter.)



Erastus Snow

trail," is Erastus Snow's account of the departure from Fort Bridger; "the general course of which is a little south of west, leading in the direction of the southern extremity of the Salt Lake, which is the region we wish to explore. Fortunately for us a party of emigrants bound for the coast of California passed this way last fall, though their trail is in many places, scarcely discernable."³⁴

On the 10 of July the Pioneers came to a small tributary of Bear River, less than two miles from the main stream. The next day being Sunday, the camp rested, as usual. Here they met Miles Goodyear and a small company from the Bay of San Francisco on their way home to the states. They had come *via* of the Weber and what was afterwards called Echo canon, to this point. The party numbering four, was under the leadership of a Mr. Craig. Goodyear had acted as their guide from his trading station, sometimes referred to as his "farm"³⁵ at the mouth of the Weber River. In addition to acting as guide to the Craig party Goodyear had intended to meet the Oregon emigration, with whom he hoped to do some trading. Learning from the Pioneers that the Oregon emigration had taken the northern route, he decided to go down Bear River and intercept their line of travel, while the Craig party pursued its journey eastward.

Before leaving the Pioneer camp, Mr. Goodyear had considerable conversation with various members of the Pioneer company; but respecting Salt Lake Valley as a promising place for a settlement "He too," says Erastus Snow, "was unable to give us any hope; on the contrary, he told us of hard frosts, cold climate, [that it was] difficult to produce grain and vegetables in any of this mountain region. The same answer was given to

34. Erastus Snow's Journal, entry for 9th of June.

35. His effort at farming consisted in fencing a small patch of land on the banks of the Weber, in 1846, "and [he] had tried the experiment of sowing grain and vegetables in a small way;" in which, however, he was not very successful. (See Erastus Snow's Discourse, Utah Pioneers, p. 45). In Fifty Years Ago To-day, Goodyear's "farm" is erroneously located "in the Bear River Valley;" and he is credited with being "the Pioneer farmer in Utah." See Fifty Years Ago To-day July 11th, 1897. Goodyear came to the west from Iowa, with the Whitman-Spalding missionary party in the spring of 1836. He was then a lad of sixteen, and traveled with the missionaries in the capacity of a servant to Fort Wyeth, on Snake River where he left the missionaries to join a fur hunting expedition; and so drifted into the business of Indian trader and mountain guide. (See Bancroft's Hist. of Oregon, Vol. I, p. 127).

him as to Mr. Bridger, 'give us time and we will show you.'"³⁶

From the arrival of the camp at Green River, various members had suffered from what they called "mountain fever." At the camp on Bear River President Young himself was severely stricken with the malady. The main encampment moved westward, but eight wagons and a number of leading brethren remained at Bear River with the President, expecting to follow in a few hours. Closing his journal entry for the day's march, Orson Pratt rather sadly says—"Mr. Young did not overtake us to-night." His next day's entry in the journal begins—"Early this morning we dispatched two messengers back to meet Mr. Young, being unwilling to move any farther until he should come up." These messengers were Joseph Mathews and John Brown.³⁷ They found President Young had been too ill to move, but was improving. Heber C. Kimball returned to the main encampment with the two messengers. Many were sick with the fever at the main encampment, and it was thought advisable to stop over for a few days and send forward a company in advance to mark out the road more clearly. "Those of the Twelve present," says Orson, Pratt "directed me to take 23 wagons and 42 men, and proceed on the journey and endeavor to find Mr. Reed's route across the mountain, for we had been informed that it would be impracticable to pass through the canon [i. e. the Weber canon] on account of the depth and rapidity of the water."³⁸ This doubtless was Goodyear's report, for we had just conducted the Craig party through Weber canon. Here it is necessary to say a word on the routes over which pack companies and companies with wagons had passed into Salt Lake Valley. The Bartleson route down Bear River

36. Woodruff speaking of the meeting with Goodyear said: "He has settled at Salt Lake, has a garden and vegetation of all kinds, he says doing well. He spoke of three roads to Salt Lake." Journal Ms. entry for 10th of July. The three roads referred to were (1) the road *via* Bridger, down Bear River *via* of Soda Springs, Cache valley and so to the north end of Salt Lake, Capt. Bartleson's route, 1841, also the route of Fremont to Salt Lake 1843 (See this History, chapter LXIX, note 2, Emigration to Oregon 1836-1847): (2) the route *via* of Weber Canon, down which Hastings had led two companies with wagons: (3) the Donner-Reed route which led up Ogden's Fork of Weber River, or Canon Creek, down Emigration canon, to the south end of the Salt Lake where it again picked up Hastings's new road.

37. Brown's Journal, 1847, Ms., p. 67.

38. Pratt's Journal, entry for the 13th of July. See also note 4 end of this chapter on Pratt's appointment to the leadership of this "Advanced Party," and for the names of the party see note 5, end of chapter.

via of Soda Springs through Cache Valley, is sufficiently described in foot note 34, of chapter LXIX, and in note 2 at the end of that chapter. Of the other two, the one down Weber canon, and the other up Ogden's Fork or Canon Creek, over the passes at the head of it, and down Emigration canon to the south end of the lake, more should be said.

In 1845 Lansford W. Hastings, who first went to Oregon in 1842, thence to California, became an enthusiast on the Americanization of the Pacific coast, especially of California; and at Cincinnati in 1845 published "The Emigrant's Guide to Oregon." Describing the most direct route to California, he said:

"The most direct route would be to leave the Oregon route about two hundred miles east from Fort Hall; thence bearing w. s. w. to the Salt Lake; and thence continuing down to the Bay of St. Francisco."³⁹

In the spring and early summer of 1846 Hastings traversed this route eastward from California, and met the Oregon-California emigrants at Bridger and induced two companies, known as the Young and Harlan companies to accept his leadership and take this "cut off."⁴⁰ His associate, Hudspeth, led a train of packers known as the Bryant party, over the same route;⁴¹ that is, from Bridger *via* of Echo Canon, Weber canon, the south end of Salt Lake, to California. It is said, however, that the Bryant company "left letters advising others with families and wagons not to attempt it [i. e. their route]—letters which are said "not to have been delivered."⁴²

The Young and Harlan companies guided by Hastings in person "had much difficulty in finding a way for their wagons, lost much of their live stock in the Salt Lake desert, but at last reached the old route and were the last to cross the Sierra"⁴³—that is for the season of 1846.

The Donner party on reaching Bridger also determined to take "the Hastings cut off;" and left Bridger on the 28th of July, 1846, only a few days behind the Young and Harlan companies led by Hastings. Before reaching Weber canon, how-

39. Hist. Cal. Bancroft, Vol. IV, p. 399.

40. Hist. Val. Bancroft, Vol. V, pp. 528-9 and foot notes.

41. Ibid, p. 530.

42. Hist. Cal. Bancroft, Vol. V, pp. 529-30.

43. Ibid.

ever, they received a letter from Hastings "advising a change of route to avoid obstacles encountered by the other company in Weber canon."⁴⁴ A Mr. James F. Reed⁴⁵ of the Donner party—and by some accounted the real head of the party,—with two companions were sent to overtake the advanced companies, obtain additional information and explore the route. It is said that Reed and his companions overtook Hastings and his companies at Black Rock at the south end of Salt Lake and about twelve miles directly west of the present site of Salt Lake City.⁴⁶ After consultation had with Hastings, Reed and his companions returned to their encampment at the head of Weber canon. Their march to overtake Hastings and their explorations had occupied a week's time.⁴⁷

From what they regarded as the head of Weber Canon the Donner-Reed party turned southward, going up the stream which Orson Pratt a year later named Canon Creek. They crossed over the hills to avoid the deep gorge or canon through which this creek passes, calling it "Reed's Pass;" thence via of Big and Little Mountain down Emigration canon into Salt Lake Valley, where they picked up Hastings road around the south end of the lake. The whole of August had been consumed in making the journey from the head of Weber canon to the "open country on the lake shore."⁴⁸

The Donner-Reed party numbered 87 persons; 36 being men, 21 women, 30 children, five of the latter being infants; 49 of the whole number belonged to four families, Donner, Graves, Breen, and Murphy.⁴⁹ How many wagons were in the camp is no where

44. Hist. Cal. Bancroft, Vol. V, p. 531.

45. "Reid" in Mormon Pioneer Journals, but Reed in Bancroft's works.

46. Whitney's Hist. of Utah, Vol. I, p. 296.

47. Hist. Cal. Bancroft, Vol. V, p. 531.

48. Hist. Cal., Vol. V, p. 531.

49. It is reported in some of our Mormon annals that the Donner Party was from Missouri; but that is not borne out by the facts. Its composition as to the states whence its members started from was as follows:

Twenty-nine were from Springfield, Illinois, and constituted the original Donner-Reed Party—"Reed being the most prominent member of it."

Thirteen were from Marshall county, Ill.

Ten from Keokuk, Iowa.

Thirteen from Tennessee.

Four from Belleville, Ill.

Three from Jackson Co., Mo., and one other, Luke Halloran, was from Missouri.

Four were Germans, a family, who had been in America but two years.

stated, so far as I can learn; but since the party, in the main, was made up of well-to-do people, and therefore "well enough provided with the necessary outfit"; and especially was it so with George Donner—from whom the party takes its name—who "was a man of some wealth, and was carrying a stock of merchandize to California for sale"⁵⁰—it is probable, I say from these circumstances, that the camp had even more than the usual number of wagons with which such companies traveled. From eighteen to twenty-five wagons would certainly be a conservative estimate for a company having in it thirty-six men, with 51 women and children, and carrying a stock of goods to California for sale.

This was the party that was caught by the snows in the high passes of the Sierras along the Truckee River and at Lake Tahoe; and which suffered so terribly before relief could reach them. Thirty-nine of the 87 perished, a number of them becoming the victims of the cannibalism of those who survived; and whose remains were strewn about the shores of Lake Tahoe when Samuel Brannan passed that point enroute for the Pioneer Camp; and whose remains—such as could be found at the time—were buried by General Kearney's party, when passing the lake in June, 1847, enroute for the east. Twelve of Kearney's party, it will be remembered, were members of the Mormon Battalion.⁵¹ The work of burial was "completed in September by the returning Mormons of the Battalion."⁵²

Ten from various parts of the United States, two of them being of the Spanish race. (See Bancroft's notes, (Hist. Cal., Vol. V, pp. 530-1 where the names of the Donner party, as well as whence they started for the west, are given). It appears from the above that only four of the 87 were from Missouri.

50. Bancroft's Hist. Cal., Vol. V, p. 531.

51. See this History, chapter LXVI, footnote 41.

52. Bancroft's Hist. Cal., Vol. V, p. 543. "There was nothing remarkable in the composition of the [Donner] company," says Bancroft, "which included rich and poor; American, Irish and German; Protestant, Catholic and Mormon" (Hist. Cal., Vol. V, p. 531). The "Mormons" were represented by the family of a Mrs. Lovenia Murphy, a widow with three sons and two daughters, one of whom, Harriet, was married to Wm. M. Pike. "Mrs. Murphy had lived at Nauvoo and later at Warsaw," according to Bancroft, "accepting an engagement to cook and wash for the emigrants with a view to reach with her children the ultimate destination of the Saints" (Hist. Cal., Vol. V, p. 531, note). She was among those who perished in the mountains. Sargent Tyler of the Mormon Battalion saw one of the daughters of Mrs. Murphy—Mary—who had meantime married a Mr. Johnson, in California—and from her learned the story condensed by Bancroft. Tyler credits "Sister Murphy" with good motives, but thinks she made a mistake in leaving the Saints to go with this party. (Tyler's Mormon Battalion, p. 312). Tyler gives the name

We may now return to the march of the Pioneers. Orson Pratt's company of 23 wagons and 42 men, known in our records as "Pratt's Advance Party," was sent, as we have seen by his own statement, "to find Mr. Reed's route across the mountains." Elder Pratt's company started on the morning of the 14th of July, following what was called the "Red Fork" of Weber River, the creek running down Echo canon.⁵³ It was followed thirteen miles to its junction with the Weber River. On the 15th the Advance party continued down the Weber, "and encamped about one mile above the canon, which at the entrance is impassable for wagons. The road [Hastings'] crossing the river to the right bank makes a circuit of about two miles, and enters the canon at the junction of a stream putting in from the right bank."⁵⁴ Orson Pratt and John Brown rode five miles down Weber canon until convinced that it was the "ten mile canon" they had heard of and which the Donner Party had been warned against taking by Hastings. Meantime other parties from Pratt's camp, led by Stephen Markham, had followed up the stream on the right bank of the Weber in search of Reed's trail. "Mr. Brown and I also went in search," says Orson Pratt, "traveling along the bluffs on the south. We soon struck the trail, although so dimly seen that it only now and then could be discerned, only a few wagons having passed here one year ago, and the grass having grown up, leaving scarcely a trace."⁵⁵

The next day word was sent back that Reed's route had been

as Murry. Wilford Woodruff, who baptized Mrs. Murphy, while on his mission in Tennessee, says she apostatized and joined the mob (see Journal 1847, entry for 10th July), by which he means no more, perhaps, than that she lived among those who were mobbing the saints in Illinois.

53. Our journey down "Red Fork," says the leader of the "Advance Party," has truly been very interesting and exceedingly picturesque. We have been shut up in a narrow valley from ten to twenty rods wide, while upon each side the hills rise very abruptly from 800 to 1200 feet, and for most of the distance we have been walled in by vertical and overhanging precipices of red pudding-stone, and also red sandstone dipping to the north-west in an angle of about 20 degrees. . . . The country is very mountainous in every direction." Orson Pratt's Journal entry for the 14th July.

54. Orson Pratt's Journal, entry for the 15th of July; and John Brown's Journal 1847, p. 68. "Brother Pratt and myself, who acted as pilots and pioneers of the camp, went down and examined the canon, but did not find it practicable."

55. Orson Pratt's Journal, entry for 15th of July, John Brown's journal, 1847, p. 68. After describing the examination of the road down Weber canon, Brown adds: "We then examined the other pass to the south, through which a small company of California emigrants passed the year before, but we could scarcely see their trail."

found, "which we had anticipated would be troublesome to find," says Orson Pratt.

The journey was resumed, following Reed's route up a small stream, a company of about a dozen men going in advance of the wagons with spades, axes, etc., "to make the road passable which required considerable labor."⁵⁶ The camp moved about eight and a half miles during the day, their road in the last two miles of the journey leaving the small stream up which they had traveled to cross a ridge into another ravine in which they camped. They spent some four hours in labor with picks and spades on the latter part of the road. After an encampment was made, Orson Pratt and a Mr. Newman went further down the road to examine it. "We found that Mr. Reed's company last season," journalizes Orson Pratt, "had spent several hours labor in spading, etc., but finding it almost impracticable for wagons they had turned up a ravine, at the mouth of which we had camped, and taken a little more circuitous route over the hills." On the morning of the 17th after examining the road over which they had passed the day before for some distance back, and satisfying himself that no more practical route could be found, Elder Pratt directed that the camp spend several hours labor on the road over which they had already passed before resuming their march. Meantime he and John Brown rode on a head to explore the road they were following. A little over three miles brought them again to what Orson Pratt had called Canon Creek,⁵⁷ and Brown "Big Canon Creek."⁵⁸ "We followed the dimly traced wagon tracts up this stream for eight

56. Pratt's Journal, 16th of July.

57. "This creek passes through a canon about 40 rods below, where it is for a few rods shut up by perpendicular and overhanging walls, being a break in a mountain, which rises several hundred feet upon each side. The creek plunges underneath a large rock which lay in its bed, near the foot of the canon, blockading the same and making it wholly impassable for wagons or teams."—Pratt's Journal, entry for 17th July. It was this mountain gorge which Reed, the year before, found it necessary to go round, hence "the circuitous route over the hills," back to the canon's creek again followed by Pratt and Brown as described in the text.

58. July 16, we sent a messenger back to the main camp to report progress and bring us word from our brethren. On the 17th moved over to Big Canon Creek." Erastus Snow who was with the main part of the camp says when reaching this point "We . . . struck a large creek, which proved to be a branch of the Weber River, which Elder Pratt named Canon Creek, from the fact of its entering a tremendous, impassable canon just below where the road strikes it, and also winds its way between these mountain cliffs and empties into the river between upper and lower canons on that stream." Journal entry 19th of July.

miles," writes Orson Pratt in his journal, "crossing the same thirteen times. The bottoms of this creek are thickly covered with willows from 5 to 15 rods wide, making an immense labor in cutting a road through for the emigrants of last season. We still found the road almost unpassable and requiring much labor. The mountains upon each side rise abruptly from 600 to 3000 feet above the bed of the stream. Leaving our horses at the foot, we ascended to the summit of one which appeared to be about 2,000 feet high. We had a prospect limited in most directions by still higher peaks: the country exhibited a broken succession of hills piled on hills, and mountains in every direction."⁵⁹

Having spent two-thirds of the day in working on the road passed over on the 16th, for the benefit of the main part of the camp following them, Pratt's camp had moved but four and a half miles from their encampment of the night before.

The 18th of July being Sunday, as usual, camp was not broken, and religious services were held in the morning. The latitude was ascertained to be 40 deg. 54 min. 7 sec.; "A luna observation was taken for the longitude," says Orson Pratt, "I also obtained an observation of the altitude of the moon for the time."⁶⁰

Soon after sunrise of the 19th the two pioneers of this advance company, Orson Pratt and John Brown, started along the route of last year's emigrants to examine the road and country ahead. They continued along the road over which they had passed the day before and ascertained that it left Canon Creek near the point where they had turned back to camp, and followed a ravine running west. This they ascended for four miles when they came to a dividing ridge from which they "could see over a great extent of country." Here they tied their horses and on foot ascended a mountain on the right for several hundred feet. "On the south west we could see an extensive level prairie, some few miles distant which we thought must be near

59. Orson Pratt's Journal, entry for 17th of July. Also Brown: "We . . . ascended a high mountain on the left of the road; we could see nothing but mountains except a beautiful park which lay up the Creek." Journal 1847, p. 69.

60. Journal entry for 18th of July.



ORSON PRATT

Mormon Pioneer and prominent Apostle of the New Dispensation, Born in Hartford, Washington County, New York, 10th day of September, 1811. See note 4, end of Chapter 1.



Orson Pratt

the lake.”⁶¹ It was; and this is the first view any of the Pioneers had of Salt Lake Valley. Returning to their horses the two pioneers went down the south west side of the mountain, the descent of which was very rapid. The small stream they were following “passed through a very high mountain,” where they judged it impossible for wagons to pass. They found too that near the point they had reached the wagon trail made the year before “ascended quite abruptly,” and “passed over a mountain and down into another narrow valley, and thus avoided the canon.”⁶² From this point the two pioneers returned to find their camp which had moved forward six and a quarter miles from their position in the morning. Also to learn that the main Pioneer encampment had nearly overtaken them.

Before beginning the day's journey on the 20th, Orson Pratt wrote a description of the road and country he had reconnoitered the day before, and deposited it in a conspicuous place for the benefit of the main camp soon expected to pass that point. The camp moved but six miles over the mountains, working the road enroute.

On the 21st Pratt's advance company resumed its journey, made five miles and camped for noon, having passed over Little Mountain, descending on the west side until they came upon a swift running creek to which they gave the name of “Last Creek,” later called Emigration Creek, since it runs down Emigration Canon.

The main camp of the Pioneers reached Orson Pratt's camping place of the 19th, on the 20th; and there they found Pratt's description of the road; “on Perusal of which,” writes Eras-

61. Pratt's Journal entry for 19 July. Brown says: writing of the events of the 19th: “We went a head as usual to explore the route. Went as far as the top of the Big Mountain. Here we had a view of the valley for the first (time). We went on to the mountain to the right and saw what we supposed to be one corner of the lake, which intelligence we carried back to the camp causing all to rejoice.” Journal 1847, p. 69.

62. Pratt's Journal entry for the 19th of July. Erastus Snow's description of the pass is worthy of a permanent place in the history of this Pioneer Journey: “The pass over the summit was narrow, peaks of the mountain rising on each side for three-fourths of a mile. This pass is the only notch or opening of the mountains known in this region of the country that is at all practicable for a road, except through the canyon down the bed of the Weber River, which is very rough, and passable only in the lowest stages of water, and scarcely passable for wagons up the stream at any stage. From the summit of the pass, for the first time, I got a sight of the valley of the Utah outlet. (i. e. valley of the Jordan) extending from the Utah to the Salt Lake.” Pratt registers the altitude of the pass to be 7,245 feet above the sea.

tus Snow, "Elders [Willard] Richards and [Geo. A.] Smith determined on sending me with a letter to overtake Elder Pratt, and accompany him to the valley and assist in exploring and searching out a suitable place for putting in our seed." Accordingly on the morning of the 21st, Erastus Snow, mounted, rode alone over Pratt's route of the day before and overtook him on the afternoon of the 21st. Leaving the camp to proceed with their task of improving the road down Emigration Canon, Elders Pratt and Snow proceeded down the canon "four and a half miles," where the creek passes through a small canon "and issues into the broad valley below." "To avoid the canon the wagons last season," says Orson Pratt, "had passed over an exceedingly steep and dangerous hill:"⁶³

"Mr. Snow and myself ascended this hill, from the top of which a broad open valley, about 20 miles wide and 30 long, lay stretched out before us, at the north end of which the broad waters of the Great Salt Lake glistened in the sunbeams, containing high mountainous Islands from 25 to 30 miles in extent. After issuing from the mountains among which we had been shut up for many days, and beholding in a moment such an extensive scenery open before us, we could not refrain from a shout of joy which almost involuntarily escaped from our lips the moment this grand and lovely scenery was within our view."⁶⁴

The two pioneers descended the butte at the mouth of the canon, and proceeded over the gentle declivity of the east slopes of the valley to a point on one of the several streams that enter from the east range of mountains, where tall canes were growing, "which looked like waving grain." The course they had followed bore a little south westward, and on reaching the stream—since called Mill Creek⁶⁵—on the banks of which the canes grew—they remembered that the instructions of President

63. Erastus Snow's Journal, entry for July 20th.

64. Pratt's Journal, entry for 21st of July. Of this view of the valley obtained from near the mouth of Emigration Canon Erastus Snow says: "From the view we had of the valley from the top of the mountain we supposed it to be only an arm of prairie extending up from the Utah Valley, but on ascending this butte we involuntarily both at the same instant, uttered a shout of joy at finding it to be the very place of our destination, and beheld the broad bosom of the Salt Lake spreading itself before us." Journal entry for 21st July.

65. Erastus Snow, *Utah Pioneer*, p. 46.

Young had been to turn to the north on emerging from the valley and there plant their seeds.⁶⁶ Accordingly they turned northward from the point they had reached and came to what was called afterwards and is now City Creek—on both sides of which Salt Lake city soon afterwards began to rise. It was a hot day that 21st of July when those two pioneers entered Salt Lake Valley. On the 23rd Orson Pratt reports the thermometer as standing at 96 degrees. It must have been about the same on the 21st. The two Pioneers had but one horse between them, so that they walked and rode by turns. A few miles from the mouth of the canon Erastus Snow discovered he had lost his coat, having taking it off and thrown it loosely before him on the saddle from which it had slipped to the ground. This occasioned his return over their trail to find it, and meanwhile Orson Pratt walked northward alone until he arrived at the beautiful crystal stream that issued from the ravine leading down from the distant pine clad mountains to the north east; and thus became the first of the Pioneers to stand upon the present site of Salt Lake City.⁶⁶

His companion rejoining him on Emigration Creek a few miles below where it issues from the canon of the same name, they returned to their encampment about nine o'clock at night, having made a circuit of some ten or twelve miles in the valley. Their camp, meantime, had moved forward from their noon encampment about three miles, while the main encampment had come up within a mile and a half of Pratt's Advance Company.

66. The fact that President Young thus directed the movements of the Advance Company of Pioneers is beyond question. Following is extracted from John Brown's Journal, for 1847, p. 69, *Ms.* Writing of the incidents of the 19th of July, and speaking of his own and Elder Pratt's return from Big Mountain, he says: "Our messenger [O. P. Rockwell sent to President Young's camp on the 16th to report the progress of the Advance company] had returned to us and brought word that the President was better. He had started the main camp on, and was still stopping with a few wagons to rest a little longer, *telling the brethren when they got into the valley to turn a little north and put in their seed of all kinds, a small quantity of each to try the soil.*" And so Erastus Snow, in describing the advent of Orson Pratt and himself into Salt Lake valley, he says: "We could see the canes down in the valley on what is now called Mill Creek, south of the lower grist mill, which looked like grain: and thither we directed our course. But when we reached it and ascertained what it really was, and remembering the last injunction of President Young, we turned Northward and crossed Mill Creek on to City Creek [present site of Salt Lake City], which appeared to us the point of our destination as indicated by the President." (*Utah Pioneers*, p. 46).

66. *Life and Labors of Orson Pratt*, by his son, Milando Pratt, 1891, *The Contributor*, Vol. XII, p. 188.

The following morning a party of nine, headed this time by Orson Pratt and Geo. A. Smith, the latter from the main encampment of the Pioneers, rode out into the valley to explore it, directing the remainder of the camp to proceed with the road making down into the valley.

Arriving at the little canon at the entrance of the valley, Pratt's exploring party concluded that by cutting a way the thick timber and underbrush, together with some digging a better and safer road could be made than the one leading over the steep and dangerous hill passed over by the company of emigrants of the previous year. A note calling the attention of the working camp to this fact was left in a conspicuous place, and the explorers moved on. "For three or four miles north," writes Orson Pratt, "we found the soil of a most excellent quality. Streams from the mountains and springs were very abundant, the water excellent, and generally with gravel bottoms. A very great variety of green grass, and very luxuriant, covered the bottoms for miles where the soil was sufficiently damp, but in other places, although the soil was good, yet the grass had nearly dried up for want of moisture. We found the drier places swarming with very large crickets, about the size of a man's thumb.⁶⁷ This valley is surrounded with mountains, except on the north: the tops of some of the highest being covered with snow. Every one or two miles streams were emptying into it from the mountains on the east, many of which were sufficiently large to carry mills and other machinery. As we proceeded towards the Salt Lake the soil began to assume a more sterile appearance, being probably at some seasons of the year overflowed with water. We found as we proceeded on, great numbers of hot springs issuing from or near the base of the mountains. These springs were highly impregnated with Salt and sulphur: the temperature of some was nearly raised to the boiling point. We traveled for about 15 miles down after coming into the valley, the latter part of the distance the soil being unfit for agricultural purposes. We returned and found our wagons en-

67. An ominous presence this, in view of events to be recounted later; but at the time their presence was first noticed, there was no premonition that these, black, ugly crickets would become a terror to the settlers—a menace to their very existence.

camped in the valley, about 5 miles from where they left the canyon."⁶⁸

But this encampment was made on the stream first visited by Elders Pratt and Snow, since called Mill Creek, and President Young's directions to turn northward after emerging into the valley influenced this main encampment as it had done Elders Pratt and Snow the day before, and accordingly in the forenoon of the 23rd, the camp moved between three and four miles north to the banks of City Creek. At that time the stream divided into two branches just below the present Temple Block, in Salt Lake City, one branch reunning west and the other turning south. It was on the south branch of the creek that the main Pioneer encampment was formed at noon on the 23rd of July. The camp was called together and, as was most fitting, the noble Pioneer who had piloted the way so much of the distance in the journey, and especially over the last and most difficult stages of it, and as was his right by virtue of being the senior Apostle present, Orson Pratt led in prayer—a prayer of thanksgiving and of dedication: "thanksgiving in behalf of our company," writes the Apostle who prayed—"all of whom had been preserved from the Missouri River to this point;" and then the dedication of themselves and the land unto the Lord "and imploring his blessings" upon it.⁶⁹ After this there was re-enacted the scenes of organized industry we have witnessed at Mt. Pisgah and Garden Grove in Iowa, and at the founding of Winter Quarters—men divided into groups—some to clear the land preparatory to plowing; others to unpack and get ready the plows; others to care for the stock and perfect the camp arrangements. At the first attempt at plowing the ground was found hard and dry, and several plows were broken in the

68. Orson Pratt's Journal, entry for the 22nd July. John Brown who was one of the company of nine who made this detour into the valley agrees in all the essentials reported by Pratt (See Journal 1847, *Ms.*, pp. 69-70. Ditto Erastus Snow, Journal entry for 23rd July.

69. Orson Pratt's Journal, entry for 23rd of July. Erastus Snow says: "At noon on the 23rd we made our camp on City Creek, below Emigration Street, or the street where the street railroad runs east from the Clift House, and just below that on the old channel of the creek; the creek divided just below this Temple Block, one branch running west and the other south. It was on the south branch of the creek we formed our camp on the noon of the 23rd; and here we bowed ourselves down in humble prayer to Almighty God with hearts full of thanksgiving to Him, and dedicated this land unto Him for the dwelling place of His People."

70. Erastus Snow in "Utah Pioneers," p. 46.

effort.⁷⁰ A company was set at work to put a dam in the creek and flood the land—the beginning of Mormon and Utah irrigation, to be worked out later into scientific systems to bring to pass the redemption of arid and semi-arid regions of America and of the world. Several acres were plowed that afternoon, and towards evening the valley was visited by a light thunder shower.⁷¹

Here I return to bring up the last division of the Pioneer Company. A half day's drive from the Sunday encampment of the 11th of July, made on the 12th, found Brigham Young so stricken with fever that it was impossible for him to go further, so that here occurred the first division of the camp, by reason of the main body going on six and a half miles for its night encampment, and eight wagons remaining with Brigham Young. The later division by the detachment of Pratt's Advance Company from the main camp, the march of both divisions, and their reunion just upon entering the Salt Lake Valley is already detailed.

Brigham Young remained at the noon encampment formed on the 12th until the 15th, when the small number of wagons that made up the last division of the camp, with the sick leader on a bed made up in Wilford Woodruff's carriage—came up to the main encampment and together in the afternoon moved some distance into Echo canon. On the 16th the drive through Echo canon was made. The canon received its name, as will be supposed by the reader, because of the wonderful reverberation of sounds that are produced in the tortuous windings of the canon's perpendicular walls, and among the crags and peaks rising above them. The report of a rifle, the crack of a whip, the shouts of the teamsters at the ox teams straining at their yokes, the lowing of cows, the rumble of the wagons over rough roads—these sounds were picked up and repeated, echoed and re-echoed, from point to point as if every particular crag or angle of the canon had a magic tongue to mock the new sounds made by man's entrance into these solitudes.

At the juncture of the creek running through Echo canon with

71. Pratt's Journal entry for 23rd of July. There was not enough rain however, to lay the dust, and at three o'clock the thermometer stood at 96 degrees.

the Weber, reached early on the 17th, it was found that President Young's condition was such that he could not travel further and camp was made. The members of the Twelve with this division of the camp retired and held prayer in temple order for President Young and the rest of the sick in camp.⁷² The 18th being the "Lord's Day," religious services were held; the sacrament of the Lord's supper administered, and special prayer made in the camp for the recovery of President Young and the sick generally. They had an excellent meeting says the chronicler, "The Holy Spirit was upon us, and faith seemed to spring up in every bosom. In the afternoon the President, who had been nigh unto death, was sensibly better, and the effects of the prayers of the brethren were visible throughout the camp."⁷³

On the 19th this part of the camp divided again, about forty wagons moving on over Pratt's route, and fifteen staying with President Young, who, though some better, was not able to renew the journey. He remained in this encampment on the Weber until the 20th, when fifteen miles were made, and encampment made on Canon Creek,⁷⁴ where three other wagons with sick men had camped. Here this company remained over until the 21st, both on account of the sick and to repair wagons that had been damaged by the roughness of the roads. On the 22nd this rear division of the camp made but four miles, which Elder Woodruff declares to be the worst four miles of the journey. The next day 23rd of July, President Young passed over Big Mountain and from its summit he had a view of part of Salt Lake Valley. His account of the incident is as follows:

"July 23rd: I ascended and crossed over the Big Mountain,

72. Woodruff Journal entry for 17th of July.

73. Erastus Snow Journal, entry for 18th of July.

74. From the Journal of Wilford Woodruff it is learned that this "Canon Creek," so named by Orson Pratt for reason previously given, was known as "Ogden's Fork," doubtless because of some connection of Peter Skeen Ogden with this region, as trapper and Indian trader; and the road over the hills to avoid the passage through the canon was called "Reed's Pass," after James F. Reed of the Donner company who passed over the route the year before. The passage in Woodruff's Journal is as follows: "Brothers Kimball, Benson and Lorenzo Young, went through the canon of Ogden's Fork, which is the name of the creek we camped on (Canon Creek). The route we are taking is "Reed's Pass," which we have named "Pratt's Pass" in consequence of his going on to make the road. (Journal *Ms.* entry for July 21st). Then in his Journal entry for 22nd he remarks: "We traveled four miles today on East Canon Creek, where the "Pratt Pass" leaves the Fork for good and turns to the West." *Ibid.*

when on its summit I directed Elder Woodruff, who had kindly tendered me the use of his carriage, to turn the same half way round, so that I could have a view of a portion of Salt Lake Valley. The Spirit of Light rested upon me, and hovered over the valley, and I felt that there the Saints would find protection and safety. We descended and encamped at the foot of the Little Mountain.'⁷⁵

The last stage of President Young's great Pioneer journey was made on the 24th of July, from his camp at Little Mountain down into and through Emigration Canon, and out into the valley of the great Salt Lake. It was about two o'clock in the afternoon when he and all the rear of the Pioneer company arrived at the "City Creek" encampment. There appears to have been no special demonstration in the camp upon the arrival of the great leader of the western movement of his people; if there was, all the journals are silent upon the subject. President Young's own narrative of the day's events is very simple:

"*July 24th*: I started early this morning and after crossing Emigration Canyon Creek eighteen times, emerged from the canyon. Encamped with the main body at 2 p. m. About noon, the five-acre potato patch was plowed, when the brethren commenced planting their seed potatoes. At five, a light shower accompanied by thunder and a stiff breeze."⁷⁶

So closes the account of the great Pioneer Journey from Winter Quarters, on the banks of the Missouri, to the valley of the Great Salt Lake.

NOTE 1. HISTORY OF FORT LARAMIE: Fort Laramie was erected in 1834, by William Sublette and Robert Campbell. It was for a time called Fort William after Sublette. It was established with the design of monopolizing the trade of the Indian tribes from the Missouri on the north east to the Sweet Water on the

75. History of Brigham Young, *Ms.* Bk. 3, entry for July 23rd. Wilford relates a similar incident as occurring at the mouth of Emigration Canon and on the 24th. His statement is as follows: "When we came out of the canon into full view of the valley, I turned the side of my carriage around, open to the west, and President Young arose from his bed and took a survey of the country. While gazing on the scene before us, he was enwrapped in vision for several minutes. He had seen the valley before in vision, and upon this occasion he saw the future glory of Zion and of Israel, as they would be, planted in the valleys of these mountains. When the vision, had passed, he said: "It is enough. This is the right place, drive on." Utah Pioneers, p. 23.

76. Hist. Brigham Young, *Ms.* 3. Journal entry for the 24th of July, 1847. For Wilford Woodruff's journal account of President Young's and his own entrance into Salt Lake Valley, see note 6, end of chapter.

west of the Black Hills. In 1835 it was sold to Milton Sublette, James Bridger and three other fur hunters, who had hunted with the American Fur Company. The Fort was rebuilt in 1836 by the new owners at an outlay of \$10,000; and for a time was called "Fort John," but gradually became permanently known as Fort Laramie. It continued to be a fort of the American Fur Co., until 1849, when it was sold to the U. S. government and for many years was an important post in the Indian wars of the west. (Condensed from Bancroft's Hist. of Wyoming, pp. 583-4).

NOTE 2. THE MISSISSIPPI COMPANY OF SAINTS: The Mississippi company of saints originally consisted of fourteen families from Monroe county, Mississippi, who under the leadership of William Crosby and John Brown left their homes April 8th, 1846, for the west, expecting to fall in with some of the first camps of the Saints enroute from Nauvoo to the Rocky Mountains. This company arrived at Independence, Mo., in the latter part of May where they were joined by Robert Crow and family from Perry county, Illinois, and William Kartchner, members of the Church, and a small company of emigrants enroute for Oregon. The united companies had in all twenty-five wagons, and organized for the western journey by choosing William Crosby Captain, with Robert Crow and John Holladay counselors. It was not until they had reached the Indian country on the south bank of the Platte that the party for Oregon learned that they were traveling with a party of "Mormons." They soon after discovered that their Mormon friends were not traveling fast enough for them and so parted company and went on ahead. They numbered fourteen men, and six wagons. The Mississippi company with the Illinois addition numbered twenty-four men with nineteen wagons. This latter company followed up the south bank of the Platte to within a few miles of Fort Laramie, where not being able to obtain any definite information concerning the advanced companies of the Saints from Nauvoo, they resolved to go no further west that fall, but to seek a suitable location on the east side of the mountains at which to winter, and meantime learn something definite as to the movements of the main body of the church. At their last encampment on the Platte they met a Mr. John Kershaw who suggested that the head waters of the Arkansas River would be the best place at which they could winter as corn was being raised there and it was near the Spanish country where supplies could be had. This was also the destination of Mr. Kershaw who was traveling with two ox teams and was acquainted with the route, accordingly on the 10th of July they left the Oregon route and started south and finally reached Pueblo on the 7th of August, where

the company went into winter quarters, having made a journey from the initial point in Mississippi of about 1,600.

At Pueblo the Mississippi Saints learned that the main body of the church had halted for the winter on the Missouri, and that five hundred of their men had gone into the army of the U. S. and were enroute for California.

The camp of saints at Pueblo was organized into a branch of the church, and then eight men of their number, including the captain of the camp, William Crosby, and John Brown, on the 1st of September, start on the return journey to Monroe county, Mississippi, to bring out their families to join in the western movement of the church in the spring.

The returning party of Mississippi brethren arrived at their homes on the 29th of October, and began preparations to move their families to Council Bluffs. While so engaged messengers arrived from Brigham Young that they leave their families another year in their old homes, but that they fit out and send all the men that could be spared to go west as pioneers. Accordingly a small company of men, including four colored "men servants," were fitted out with two wagons, and under the leadership of John Brown were conducted to Council Bluffs, where, after a trying journey in which two of the colored men died, they arrived a few days before the Pioneer company left winter quarters. Five of the party led by John Brown joined the Pioneer company, viz. himself, Mathew Ivory, David Powell,⁷⁷ and the two remaining colored servants, Hark Lay and Oscar Crosby. Hence when the Pioneer company at Fort Laramie on the 1st of June, 1847, met part of the Mississippi company of saints as stated in the text, it was a happy reunion of long separated fragments of the Mississippi Company of saints.

The account here given of the Mississippi company of saints is condensed from the Journal of Elder John Brown. Valuable extracts from that Journal will be found in the Improvement Era for July, 1910, compiled by his son John Z. Brown.

NOTE 3. THE MEETING OF THE PIONEERS WITH THOMAS L. SMITH: This Thomas L. Smith is known to fame in the Mountain trapper lore as "Peg-leg Smith." He was in Jedediah S. Smith's Expedition to California in 1826, but is generally represented as a disreputable character (See Bancroft's Hist. of Utah, p. 23 and note; also Linn's Story of the Mormons 386). Linn sarcastically refers to this circumstance of meeting with Thomas L. Smith and the arrangements entered into with him for examining the valleys he had spoken of, as an incident "which narrowly escaped changing the plans of the Lord, if he had already selected Salt Lake Valley" ("Story of the Mormons," p. 385); a remark which discloses the spirit of Linn's

work. It has been established in these pages beyond question that the destination of the Saints, even before leaving Nauvoo, (and even before Joseph Smith's death) was known to be somewhere within in the "valleys of the Rocky Mountains" (See ch. LXIII); but no one ventured to designate any particular spot or valley as the exact place at which settlement would begin. And it was lack of knowledge as to this exact spot or place at which beginning a settlement would be made that was the cause of such expressions as implied doubt as to the destination of the Saints. Following are examples of such expressions: "They . . . [the Saints] had started out desertward, for—where? To this question the only response at that time was, 'God Knows'" (Eliza R. tinue to travel the way the Spirit of the Lord should direct us" (Erastus Snow in *Utah Pioneers*, p. 44).

NOTE 4. ORSON PRATT, PIONEER OF THE PIONEER COMPANY: The appointment of Orson Pratt to the leadership of the special party that was to become the pioneer party of the Pioneers in the last stages of their journey, is one that came about by a natural force operating among men, by which men that are fit rise to their proper place. Orson Pratt was appointed to this leadership because in the things now required—engineering skill and science—he had been leading all along. His place was always in the van, and even leading that van, and this from the very nature of the duties required of him, as being placed in charge of and using, the splendid set of scientific instruments carried in the camp—and which he alone, perhaps, could use. Hence it will be found both in his own journal and in the journals of others that he is always in the lead, and consulted with reference to all the engineering problems that confronted the Pioneers on their journey. (See Pratt's journal in *Mill. Star*, Vol. XII, *passim*; for being on lead at important points, see pp. 18, 146, 162). Of the Pioneer journey resembling in some respects a scientific expedition I have already spoken in the text of chapter LXIX of this History, and of Elder Pratt's ascertaining, and registering the latitude, longitude, altitude, geological structure, together with notices of the *flora* and *fauna* of the country through which the Pioneer route passed. Also in the matter of the construction of the Pioneer Odometer it is quite probable that the scientific principles on which it was constructed were largely furnished by him. The following entry in his journal for the 6th of May, would justify such a conclusion:

77. This name is recorded Powers in the list of Pioneers, but in the Journal of John Brown it is several times recorded Powell, see Brown's Journal for 1847, pp. 54, 56.

“For several days past, Mr. Clayton, and several others, have been thinking upon the best method of attaching some machinery to a wagon, to indicate the number of miles daily travelled, I was requested this forenoon, by Mr. B. Young, to give this subject some attention; accordingly, this afternoon, I proposed the following method: Let a wagon wheel be of such a circumference, that 360 revolutions make one mile. (It happens that one of the requisite dimensions is now in camp). Let this wheel act upon a screw, in such a manner, that six revolutions of the wagon wheel shall give the screw one revolution. Let the threads of this screw act upon a wheel of sixty cogs, which shall evidently perform one revolution per mile. Let this wheel of sixty cogs, be the head of another screw, acting upon another wheel of thirty cogs, it is evident that in the movements of this second wheel, each cog will represent one mile. Now, if the cogs were numbered from 0 to 30, the number of miles traveled will be indicated during every part of the day. Let every sixth cog, of the first wheel, be numbered from 0 to 10, and this division will indicate the fractional part of a mile, or tenths; while if any one should be desirous to ascertain still smaller divisional fractions, each cog between this division, will give five and one-third rods. This machinery (which may be called the double endless screw) will be simple in its construction, and of very small bulk, requiring scarcely any sensible additional power, and the knowledge obtained respecting distances in traveling, will certainly be very satisfactory to every traveller, especially in a country but little known. The weight of this machinery need not exceed three pounds.”

At the time of his pioneering the way into Salt Lake valley in July, 1847, Orson Pratt was thirty-six years of age, of only medium height, spare-built, but hard and sinewy, capable of great physical endurance, intense and long mental application. Tireless energy was his, and absolute devotion to assigned duty; simple faith mingled with large and absolute trust in God marked the outlines of the character in this Mormon Pioneer—this apostle of Jesus Christ in the New Dispensation of the Gospel.

NOTE 5. ROSTER OF ORSON PRATT'S "ADVANCE COMPANY." Following are the names of the forty-two men who made up Pratt's Advance Company:

Orson Pratt (commanding), Stephen Markham (aid), John Brown, C. D. Barnum, Charles Burk, Francis Boggs, A. P. Chessley, Oscar Crosby (colored), Lyman Curtis, James Chessney, Walter Crow, John Crow, Robert Crow, Walter H. Crow, Benjamin B. Crow, John S. Eldrege, Joseph Egbert, Nathaniel

Fairbanks, John S. Freeman, Green Flake (colored), John S. Gleason, David Grant, Hans G. Hansen, Levi Jackman, Stephen Kelsey, Levi N. Kendall, Hark Lay, Joseph Mathews, Elijah Newman, David Power, Lewis B. Myers, O. P. Rockwell, Jackson Redding, Shadrach Roundy, James W. Stewart, Gilbroid Summe, Horace Thornton, Marcus B. Thorpe, George W. Therlkill, Norman Taylor, Seth Taft, Robert Thomas.

NOTE 6. ERASTUS SNOW: This Pioneer was in his 28th year when with Orson Pratt he entered Salt Lake Valley on the 21st of July, 1847. He had been sent forward from the main encampment expressly to join Elder Pratt and assist him in the selection of a place for settlement. Accordingly Elder Pratt took him for his companion on the last day of the necessary advance exploration of the route to be traveled by the main company. Erastus Snow was then a young man of marked judgment and ability, as witnessed by the fact of his being sent forward from the main encampment to assist the Captain of the Advanced Company of the Pioneers in selecting a place of settlement. Less than two years later he was ordained one of the Twelve Apostles of the New Dispensation, and throughout his long life was a most faithful and devoted servant of God, prominent in all the activities of the Church both in foreign lands and in the organized Stakes of Zion. He was preeminently successful as a Pioneer, and after Brigham Young easily the most active and prominent in the founding of settlements in the inter-mountain West. We shall have occasion to speak frequently of his work in the progress of this History. Here, however, it is proper to say that the Church of Jesus Christ in the New Dispensation has developed no more saintly or manly character than Erastus Snow; neither has the Church had a more devoted servant than he was; nor the Lord Jesus Christ a more faithful Apostle. He died on the 27th of May, 1888.

NOTE 7. THE ARRIVAL OF BRIGHAM YOUNG IN SALT LAKE VALLEY: (The complete entry in Wilford Woodruff's Journal for July 24th, 1847).

"*July 24, 1847:* This is an important day in the History of my life and the history of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints. On this important day, after traveling from our encampment six miles through the deep ravine-valley ending with the canon through the Last Creek, we came in full view of the great valley or basin [of the] Salt Lake and the land of promise held in reserve by the hand of God for a resting place for the Saints upon which a portion of the Zion of God will be built. We gazed with wonder and admiration upon the vast, rich, fertile valley which lay for about twenty-five miles in length

and 16 miles in width, clothed with the heaviest garb of green vegetation in the midst of which lay a large lake of Salt Water of — miles in extent, in which could be seen large islands and mountains towering towards the clouds; also a glorious valley abounding with the best fresh water springs, riverlets, creeks, brooks and rivers of various sizes all of which gave animation to the sporting trout and other fish, while the waters were wending their way into the great Salt Lake. Our hearts were surely made glad after a hard journey—from Winter Quarters—of 1200 miles through flats of Platte River and steepes of the Black Hills and the Rocky Mountains, and burning sands of the eternal sage region, and willow swales and rocky canons and stumps and stones—to gaze upon a valley of such vast extent entirely surrounded with a perfect chain of ever lasting hills and mountains, covered with eternal snows, with their innumerable peaks like pyramids towering towards heaven, presenting at one view the grandest and most sublime scenery that could be obtained on the globe. Thoughts of pleasing meditation ran in rapid succession through our minds while we contemplated that not many years hence and that the House of God would stand upon the top of the mountains while the vallies would be converted into orchards, vineyards, gardings and fields by the inhabitants of Zion, the standard be unfurled for the nations to gather thereto.

President Young expressed his full satisfaction in the appearance of the valley as a resting place for the Saints, and was amply repaid for his journey. After gazing awhile upon the scenery we travelled across the table lands into the valley four miles to the encampment of our brethren who had arrived two days before us. They had pitched their encampment upon the bank of two small streams of pure water and had commenced plowing and had broke about five acres of ground and commenced planting potatoes. As soon as we were located in the encampment, before I took my dinner, having one-half bushels of potatoes I repaired to the plowed field and planted my potatoes, hoping with the blessings of God at least to save the seed for another year. The brethren had dammed up one of the creeks and dug a trench, and by night nearly the whole ground was irrigated with water. We found the ground very dry. Towards evening, in company with Brothers Kimball, Smith and Benson, I rode several miles up the creek into the mountains to look for timber and see the country, etc. There was a thunder shower and it extended nearly over the whole valley, also it rained some the fore-part of the night, we felt thankful for this as it was the general opinion that it did not rain in the valley during the summer time."

The Henry Family

BY W. H. HENRY

THE Colonial ancestry of the Henry family in America dates from the early part of the 18th century and traces back to Henry, an abbott, in the 13th century in Scotland (as recorded in Ragmann's Roll). They were originally a Norman race and later Scotch Coventers, who suffering from persecution, fled from Ayrshire, Scotland, in the 17th century, first accompanying, in 1615, Sir James Hamilton to the Ulster plantation in the north of Ireland upon land ceded to him by King James. Settling principally in and around Colerain. The faith of the Henry family was Presbyterian, the Scotch Irish Henrys holding congregations in the north of Ireland from 1674 to 1788, were notably

4 Roberts	1674 to 1743
2 Samuels	1695
1 Hugh	1711
1 George	1743
4 Williams	1753 to 1791
1 Michael	1742
1 Alexander	1774
1 Thomas	1786
3 Henry Henry's	1788

Early in the 18th century, being oppressed by the English Government, and endowed with a spirit of liberty, many members of the Henry family sought homes and freedom in the American Colonies. Fathers, sons, uncles, cousins and nephews joined the tide of Scotch-Irish immigration to the Colonies, especially from 1722 to 1765.

Hugh Henry, the uncle of Hugh Henry, the colonist of 1765, presided over congregations in 1722 along the New England coast.

Pennsylvania and New England were the objective points, where many of their descendants are living in 1912.

The Continental Muster Rolls of the War for American Independence, especially those of New England, Pennsylvania and Virginia, record a great number of the family of Henry, all Scotch-Irish.

Patrick Henry, of Virginia, was of Virginian-American birth, 1735. But his father was a member of the Henry family and came from Ayrshire, as did also Joseph Henry, the distinguished electrician, etc.

Hugh Henry, the writer's colonial ancestor was a patriot of the American Revolution, living in Philadelphia in 1765. (Ten years prior to the war for American Independence). His open hostility to the British Government and his family connection with Patrick Henry of Virginia, made him such a marked figure in Philadelphia in 1777 that he went to Lancaster (the then seat of Government while Philadelphia was occupied by the British), whereupon he took the following oath, the original copy of which the writer has now in his possession:

"I do hereby certify that HUGH HENRY has voluntarily taken and subscribed the oath of allegiance and fidelity as directed by an Act of General Assembly of Pennsylvania passed the 13th day of June, A. D. 1777.

Witness my hand and seal the 21st day of September Anno Domini 1777.

JACOB SHOEMAKER. (L. S.)

Lancaster—Printed by Francis Bailey."

Hugh Henry was the great-grandfather of the writer. His grandfather was John Henry, who is of record as holding lands in Colerain from the Hamilton Estate in 1681. He had a son, John Henry, who was a famous merchant of Colerain, who had married into the Hamilton family, the colonial issue of which was Hugh Henry, the founder of my branch of the Henry family

in America in 1765. The estimation in which he was held in Colerain as a youth is attested by the following certificate of character tendered him on the eve of his departure for the Colonies:

“We the Mayor, Aldermen and Burgesses of the Corporation of Colerain in the County of Londonderry and Kingdom of Ireland

Do hereby certify that the bearer HUGH HENRY, son of John Henry late of the town of Colerain aforesaid, merchant, deceased, was born in and bred up in said town, and always behaved himself very honestly, soberly and inoffensively. And, he having lately thought proper to go to AMERICA to push his fortune, requesteth this our certificate in testimony whereof we have set our hands and Dominick Heyland, Esq., the present Mayor of the said Corporation has affixed his seal of office of Mayor this fifth day of October, One thousand Seven hundred and Sixty-five 1765.

Dominick Heyland Mayor
 Richard Heyland Alderman
 Richard Jackson “
 John Thompson “
 Rob’t Church “
 Will Kinkeed “
 Andrew Ferguson “
 Robert Gage “
 Alex M. Kashan.” “

With this precious document and all his worldly possessions, accompanied by his widowed sister, Mrs. Robt. Dunkin, and her infant daughter, Ann Dunkin (who in 1815 married John Saunders Van Rennselaer of Albany, New York), he left Londonderry October 22, 1765, on the packet ship “Jupiter” commanded by his uncle Capt. Hamilton, arriving at Philadelphia, Dec. 9, 1765. His father, John Henry, the merchant, was associated in business with Gawan Hamilton, the possessor of the lease of the Great Bann lands lying along the river Bann from

Lough Neagh to Colerain, engaged in carrying the products of the lands, fishing and other commodities of Colerain to Glasgow. They were also owners of three merchant ships engaged in visiting northern sea ports and Dublin with wines and effects and carrying some of the tide of emigration to the American Colonies.

Hugh Henry's mother was Ann Hamilton, daughter of Gadson Hamilton, Esq., of Colerain. (Duke Hamilton family).

It is of record that in 1767 Hugh Henry was an elder in the First Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia, and it is of further record of that same church that on the 4th day of May, 1769, Phoebe Morris, daughter of a Philadelphia Quaker named Robert Morris, was married to Hugh Henry. He was the father of Robert Morris (afterwards the financier of the American Revolution). The financier was also married in 1769 into the Church of England and his sister to Hugh Henry into the Presbyterian faith, which at that time caused much dissension and a very strong feeling on the part of the Quakers.

The issue of the marriage, as taken from the records of the First Presbyterian in Philadelphia where the children were also christened and of which Hugh Henry was an Elder, and in 1793 he appears on record as subscribing Sixty Pounds toward rebuilding the church, was

Robert born Aug. 5, 1770

Isaac born Dec. 3, 1771

John born July 30, 1774

Samuel Robert Dunkin June 8, 1778

William Hamilton Feb. 1, 1781

This old church was widely known through its pastors Rev. Dr. Wilson and Rev. Albert Barnes.

Only two of Hugh Henry's sons left issue: Dr. Isaac Henry, U. S. Navy, married Judith Carter of Virginia. His portrait by St. Memin is now in the Corcoran Gallery of Art in Washington. He was a surgeon on the Frigate "Constitution." His commission, in 1812, was from President Adams. The family homestead, where his descendants live today, was destroyed in

the Battle of Bull Run, and his widow, Judith Carter, aged 90 years, was killed in the battle. Her remains are buried there today with a monument above descriptive of her virtues.

William Hamilton, my grandfather ("Squire" Henry of Bucks Co.) married one of the most talented and beautiful women of her day in 1811; Eliza Ann Neal of Philadelphia. She was a great granddaughter of a Mr. Armat. Her portrait by "Sully" is one of his best productions. One of their issue was my father, Morris Henry (deceased) of Philadelphia, a journalist and an old '49 California explorer. My grandfather, William Hamilton Henry, born 1781, graduated from Pennsylvania University in 1798. The original parchment is now in my possession.

William Hamilton Henry, born 1845, and writer of this sketch, was an only son of Morris Henry, and is well known for the past fifty years as a newspaper man, being connected with the New York Herald under the elder Bennet and present owner from 1860 to 1884 in various capacities from office boy to superintendent of the paper, since that date and at present engaged in newspaper work. He has an interesting family of six boys and two girls and ten grandchildren and is a member in good standing as one of the original founders of the Empire State Society Sons of the American Revolution, graded No. 37. Also member for many years of Holland Lodge, No. 8, F. & A. M. of the City of New York (one of the oldest American lodges of Masons in America).

It may be interesting to note for the benefit of people in the United States (in 1912) by name of Henry particularly those with a desire to trace some of their ancestry, that according to the U. S. census of 1790 the Henry family in America only numbered 322 heads of families. The average size was five each, they were of English, Scotch and Irish ancestry, only 88 heads of the family spelt their name "Henry," the other 234 heads of families misspelt it in various ways. Such as Henary, Henerey, Heneries, Henery, Hennary, Henneries, Hennery, Henrey, Henri. The English, Scotch and Irish formed 82 per cent. of the entire population of the thirteen colonies and the heads of the Henry family were scattered and widely separated, 109 being in Pennsylvania, 39 in North Carolina, 34 in New York, 29 in Mas-

sachusetts, 27 in South Carolina, 26 in Maryland, 15 in Virginia, 16 in Connecticut, 13 in New Hampshire, 6 in Vermont, 4 in Maine and 4 in Rhode Island.

The Christian family names predominating were John, Samuel, Michael, Christian, William, John Joseph, Richard, Peter, Robert, Lawrence, James, Abraham, Hugh, Godfrey, Andrew, Alexander, Jacob, Philip, Thomas, Frederick, George, Adam, Matthias.

Mackenzies—Colonial families, America. Mattheus—American Armory—Blue Book. Burkes—Prominent families, America. Give “Henry” family.

Arms—Azure a fesse between 3 Pelicans. Argent Vulned—
p p r.

Crest—A Pelican’s head—erased.

Motto—Fideliter.

Submitted by

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Historic Views and Reviews

TO DIVIDE TEXAS

THOUSANDS of citizens in West Texas are reviving the question of dividing the State and making it two, or even three States. West Texans point out that conditions there are so different from some other parts of Texas that a division is reasonable. Climate is different, products are different, industries are different, needs are different, they assert, and advocates of the project point out that Texas is of such immense size that the division would not hurt the State.

The division still would leave two or three big States, either of which would be larger than all New England. There are several counties in West Texas, including Pecos, El Paso, Brewster and Presidio, that are as large as Massachusetts, but which have very few inhabitants.

The city of El Paso, a progressive town of forty thousand, to all intents and customs, is more in New Mexico than Texas. El Paso merchants go after the New Mexican trade, and the newspapers give more space to New Mexico news than Texas news.

It is pointed out that El Paso, Abilene or Amarillo would make good capitals of a new Western State.

Development is the biggest problem West Texas faces. To encourage greater expansion and growth citizens in this territory declared that new laws regarding trade, railroads, schools and other matters are needed to apply to this section alone. Laws which are lenient, in order to bring in more people and stimulate building and industry, are needed, it is claimed.

As it is, part of Texas, east and south Texas, was inhabited by the Spanish in the fourteenth century. East Texas had a history before West Texas was even thought of. West Texas was

the land of the Indian, buffalo and cowboy and is accounted part of the Big West, while East Texas is credited with being a Southern State, inhabited by a Southern people.

Texas and Texarkana to El Paso is more than eight hundred miles across, and from Texline, way up in the Panhandle, to Brownsville, way down to the Mexican line on the Gulf coast, the distance is more than one thousand miles.



COLUMBUS MONUMENT UNVEILED

At the threshold of the capital of the greatest nation born in the hemisphere discovered four centuries and two decades ago a memorial to Christopher Columbus was unveiled in Washington, D. C., on June 8. Facing the majestic marble figure of the greatest mariner of all time, President Taft paid a tribute to his persevering genius and lofty imagination. The cord which swept aside the flags that veiled the memorial was drawn by the great discoverer's countrymen, the Italian Ambassador, and one of the chief addresses was delivered by Justice Victor J. Dowling, of the Supreme Court of New York, an eminent member of the Knights of Columbus, through the activity of which Congress was induced to authorize the rearing of the memorial which stands in the Plaza before the Union station, three blocks from the Capitol. The non-sectarian character of the official ceremony was indicated by the presence of Bishop Wilbur T. Thirkield, a Methodist, who pronounced the benediction. Conspicuous among those attending was Lieutenant General Nelson A. Miles, U. S. A. Following the unveiling ceremony Mr. Taft reviewed a monster parade from his stand in the Plaza.

Knights of Columbus from every section of the United States, from Canada, from Mexico and Cuba, together with the army and navy contingent and civic organizations, made up a line that extended unbroken from the Treasury to the Capitol. At the head of the parade was Brigadier General Robert K. Edwards, U. S. A., with his staff.

The naval contingent, following the military, was commanded

by Captain Henry B. Wilson, U. S. N., and consisted of detachments of seamen, gunners and bluejackets from the Navy Yard, the Mayflower and from naval stations near Washington.

The honor of unveiling the memorial fell to the Italian Ambassador, the Marquis Casani Confalonieri, who spoke in both English and Italian. He said:

"I highly appreciate the honor of having been invited to unveil the monument erected to my glorious countryman by the gratitude of your fair and noble land, where I am proud to represent the name of the government of my august sovereign.

"While expressing my sincere thanks and sentiments of admiration, I beg leave to address my countrymen here present briefly in our native tongue, as a tribute of honor to the achievements of one of the greatest sons of Italy."

The memorial takes the form of an immense shaft at the back of the fountains, surmounted by a huge globe indicative of the world, upon which is delineated in relief the Western Hemisphere, the corners of the globe being guarded by great eagles in stone. The figure of Columbus is seen standing at the prow of his vessel, which projects into the fountain, while on either side of the shaft are replicas of two men, one indicative of the old world, being an aged patriarch, while the other is a native of the new world, an Indian. The back of the shaft is to carry a medallion of Ferdinand and Isabella.



CONFEDERATE SEAL FOUND

The Great Seal of the Confederacy, after being lost for forty years, has at last been found.

Rear Admiral Thomas O. Selfridge, United States Navy, retired, came into possession of the historic silver disk in 1872, when he acted as the representative of the United States government in a transaction by which the government obtained various Confederate State papers and other mementoes for \$75,000.

Acting as agent for the government Rear Admiral Selfridge.

then a young lieutenant, went to Canada and got the Confederate souvenirs from Colonel John T. Pickett, who was a souvenir hunter, and in connection with his law practice here made a business of buying and selling papers and documents connected with the Confederacy.

From the time of its disappearance the seal was not heard from until recently traced to the possession of Rear Admiral Selfridge. This deduction was made by Gaillard Hunt, chief of the division of manuscript in the Library of Congress. In looking over the "Pickett papers" he noted the absence of the great seal. Inquiry was made of Colonel Pickett's son, and it was learned that the seal had been presented by his father to Rear Admiral Selfridge. The Rear Admiral said that the seal was in a safe at his residence, No. 1867 Kalorama road, in this city.

The State of South Carolina has a tradition that the great seal was buried in a well in Abbeyville following the last meeting of the Confederate Cabinet.

James Jones, formerly bodyguard of Jefferson Davis, who is now living in Washington, at the age of ninety, is confident that he buried the seal in Georgia, having received it from the hand of President Davis. At that time the injunction of secretary was laid upon him by Mr. Davis, said Jones.

A FIFTY-YEAR MYSTERY

For fifty years the people of the South have speculated over what had become of the seal after the evacuation of Richmond by the Confederacy. Its disappearance and the mystery surrounding it has been a subject of enthralling interest at all gatherings of the gray veterans, and many theories of its whereabouts have been put forward and had their share of believers. At the last general reunion, in Macon, Ga., it was suggested that the seal had been buried in the cornerstone of the Confederate monument in that city. There was even talk of removing the stone.

There is little doubt of the genuineness of the seal that now reposes in a vault of the Jefferson Hotel in Richmond, Va., hav-

ing been purchased from Rear Admiral Selfridge for \$3,000 by Epps Hunton, Jr., William H. White and Thomas P. Bryan, all of Virginia. It will be sent to the English firm of engravers who originally made the seal to have its genuineness verified. The contract of sale contains a provision that if it is not pronounced real it may be returned.

Whether any credence is to be placed in the gossip that the great seal left Richmond in 1865 hidden in the bustle of Mrs. Walter J. Bromwell, wife of an office holder of the Confederate State Department, it has had an interesting history.

Following the fall of the Confederacy the seal, with a number of State papers and other documents, was removed from Richmond by Walter J. Bromwell, a clerk in the State Department under Judah P. Benjamin. The seal, according to tradition, had been intrusted to Mrs. Bromwell.

In looking through the archives of the Libray of Congress in connection with his researches for material to be used in a history of the civil government of the Confederacy, Judge Walter A. Montague, formerly a member of the Supreme Court of North Carolina, discovered that the seal had come into the possession of Rear Admiral Selfridge.



THE LOST CHILD OF WYOMING

There stands in Indiana an interesting monument, on a high knoll overlooking the valley of the Mississineva River, in Wabash county. This monument marks the burial place of a woman of singular and romantic history, known as Frances Slocum among the white people and as White Rose among the Indians. She was stolen from Quaker parents in the Wyoming Valley, of Pennsylvania, in 1778, and brought up among the Indians in the West. Her parents were Jonathan and Mary Slocum, of Connecticut, who moved to Wilkesbarre, Pa., when that was a small frontier settlement. When Frances was a young girl their dwelling was attacked by Delaware Indians.

Two or three members of the family were killed and little

Frances was carried away, first to Ohio and later to Indiana and Michigan. Soon after her capture her father was killed by the Indians, but her mother, aided by Frances' brothers and other white men, made a persistent search for Frances, who became known in those parts as the "lost child of Wyoming." She was not found.

The Indians carried her far away, over the mountains and through forests. They treated her kindly, giving her blankets to sleep upon at night in beds of leaves. At length, too, they gave her a horse to ride, and dressed her in garments of buckskin decorated with bright beads. All this pleased her, she dried her tears, and became happy in her new life.

She was taught to fear and hate the white men, and whenever she saw one she ran away. None of the white men who visited her tribe suspected, therefore, that they had a white child among them. She learned to shoot well with the bow and arrow. When the Delawares had a war with the whites she was run off into the north with the other women and children. She did not lament this.

When she was sixteen years old she was married to a Delaware chief, Little Turtle. He treated her cruelly, and she left him, and afterward was married to the Osage chief Chepokenah, or "Deaf Man." He was good to her, and she remained with him through a long life.

She remembered the wars of the Indians against General Wayne and General Harrison, and in both her sympathies were with the Indians. After the last war her husband and his people settled on the Mississineva, at a place called Deaf Man's Village.

REFUSED TO BE RESCUED

To this place in 1835, fifty-seven years after Frances had been carried away from the Wyoming Valley, there came one night a trader named George Ewing; belated on the road, he sought a night's lodging. The old chief took him into his cabin. The chief's wife busied herself about the room, and as the trader waited for his supper he watched her. He noticed that she looked like a white woman. Once she raised her arms for some-

thing; her loose sleeves fell away, revealing arms that were suspiciously white.

The trader could speak the Indian tongue, and as she made no response when he addressed her in English he questioned her in the Indian language. She admitted that she was a white woman and had been stolen in childhood. She remembered her name and the names of her father and mother, as well as that of the place from which she had been taken.

Ewing, much interested, wrote to the postmaster of Wilkesbarre, asking if there were any people of the name of Slocum still living in that vicinity. It took two years for his letter to fall into the hands of Frances' surviving relatives, but at last it reached them.

In due time her brother and sisters came to her cabin. An affecting interview took place between her and them, and they were instantly satisfied that she was indeed their long lost sister. Then they implored her to go home with them, but she refused.

"I am old," she said, "and have lived all my life with these people. They are my people. I love my husband and am happy with him."

She even refused to go with them as far as the neighboring town of Peru, apparently suspecting a trap. They went away, sorrowful. Not long afterward her husband died. Her relatives came again, once more imploring her to go home with them to Pennsylvania. But she declared now that she could not leave her bones elsewhere than by the side of her husband. She lived there until 1847, when she died.

Her story is often told in Indiana, and the monument to her memory is not only a reminder of a romantic history, but the memorial of a woman who was steadfastly loyal to a people who had won her love as well as her loyalty.



BIRTH OF REPUBLICAN PARTY

Where was the Republican party born? This question has been answered in many ways and many places claim the honor of being the first to launch this great political organization. On

the eve of the National Convention in Chicago it is pertinent to review the title of Illinois. The recent death at Los Angeles of Oliver P. Wharton is the interesting coincidence, as he was one of the two survivors of that famous gathering of Illinois editors at Decatur on February 22, 1856, which issued the call for the first Republican State Convention of Illinois, in Bloomington, on May 29, 1856. That was the birth of the Republican party.

The sole survivor of that group of editors is Paul Selby, now of Chicago, who at that period edited the *Jacksonville Journal*, and who suggested the assemblage. His first editorial upon the subject appeared in December, 1855, suggesting that all editors of Illinois opposed to slavery get together to agree on a line of policy to be pursued in the campaign the following year.

It has long been conceded that one of the most important factors in the birth of the Republican party was the anti-Nebraskan press.

The climax of conditions tending to promote agitation of the slavery question was reached in the approval by the President on May 30, 1854, of the Kansas-Nebraska bill repealing the Missouri Compromise and thereby removing the restriction against the introduction of slavery into the territory north of the parallel of 36 degrees and 30 minutes. The condition of political affairs existing between 1854 and 1856 was one of chaos. Parties were disintegrating and their mutually repellant elements were seeking new associations. Anti-slavery Democrats and Anti-slavery Whigs were found in sympathy and forming alliances, while the pro-slavery factions of both parties were drifting in a similar manner to a common centre. As a result there was a demand for the organization of a new party, based upon a resistance to the further extension of slavery.



“ANTI-NEBRASKAN” CONVENTION

The Convention of 1856 was not known as “Republican,” but as “Anti-Nebraskan.” However, the numerous county and Congressional district conventions of the two years preceding generally adopted the name of “Republican” and elected delegates to this State Convention. The name was generally approved and

soon succeeded that of Anti-Nebraskan. The State Convention was held in Malor's Hall, which is yet standing. Archibald Williams, of Adams county, was temporary chairman. Leander Munsell, of Edgar county, nominated W. H. Bissell, of St. Clair county, for Governor. His ill health plea was ignored and Bissell was nominated unanimously.

Those who heard Lincoln's Convention speech in Bloomington could not know that it would be followed by his "house divided against itself" speech in 1858; that the Lincoln-Douglas debates would elect him President in 1860 and that the resulting civil war would usher in the Thirteenth amendment. The most that the Bloomington resolutions dared ask for was the restoration of the Missouri Compromise, the prohibition of slavery in all the territories and the immediate admission of Kansas as a free State.

Such was the bewilderment of public thought, such the party antagonisms of the past, such the uncertainties of the future, that the Bloomington Convention could only call itself an anti-Nebraskan organization, and even the National Convention at Philadelphia three weeks later, which nominated Fremont, did not yet adopt the Republican name, either in its call or on its platform.



COLONIAL DAY ILLITERACY

Illiteracy in this country in Colonial days is a subject discussed in a historical bulletin soon to be issued for free distribution by the United States Bureau of Education. The data were gathered by an examination of signatures to the extant legal and other documents of Colonial days for the purpose of ascertaining the number of signers who had to make their marks. While the data are not altogether conclusive, they seem to indicate that Massachusetts occupied the most advanced educational position in the seventeenth century, while Virginia brings up the rear. The Dutch of New York and the Germans of Pennsylvania occupy middle positions. These are all the Colonies for which data have been compiled in the Bureau of Education's bulletin.

The monograph says, in part:

“At Albany of 360 men’s names examined, covering the years from 1654 to 1675, twenty-one per cent. made their marks. Of 231 men’s signatures at Flatbush, covering a longer period, nineteen per cent. made their marks. Of the German male immigrants above sixteen years of age who came to Pennsylvania in the first half of the eighteenth century 11,823 names have been counted, with the result of twenty-six per cent. who made their marks.

“A significant result appeared from our study of illiteracy—namely, that the male Dutch inhabitants of Flatbush made continuous improvement in this respect, the percentage of illiteracy decreasing gradually from forty per cent. in 1675 to about six per cent. in 1738.”

LARGE PERCENTAGE IN VIRGINIA

A most painstaking count of the seventeenth century Virginians indicates that of 2,165 male adults who signed jury lists forty-six per cent. made their marks, and of 12,445 male adults who signed deeds and depositions forty per cent. made their marks.

In the case of the Dutch women fewer names were collected and the showing was not so good. Of the 154 signatures of Dutch women in New York which were available an illiteracy of sixty per cent. was indicated. Of 3,066 women signing deeds and depositions in Virginia seventy-five per cent. made their marks.

“By way of comparison with these results a study was made of the signatures to deeds, &c., executed in Suffolk county (Boston), Mass., for two periods in the seventeenth century a generation apart,” says the bulletin. “Two volumes of the published deeds were used, the first covering the period 1653-1656, the other 1686-1697.”

In both the former and the latter period the percentage of men who made their marks remained constant at eleven per cent., while the proportion of illiteracy among the women decreased from fifty-eight per cent. to thirty-eight per cent.

AN HISTORICAL MONOGRAPH

"These data are exceedingly interesting and in a measure do indicate the educational conditions of the colonies," said James C. Boykin, editor of the United States Bureau of Education, yesterday. "Thus the figures from Virginia and Massachusetts possess undoubted significance. As a rule, persons who sign deeds are of the more prosperous class; therefore, if forty per cent. of these documents are signed with a cross, as we find in Colonial Virginia, we may be sure that the proportion of illiteracy in the entire population was far greater.

"It must be borne in mind that these data by no means offer a final or adequate measure of educational conditions either as between the colonies or as between the past and present. Nevertheless the figures gathered are suggestive and probably will stimulate further investigations along the same line."

The bulletin of the Bureau of Education, which deals with colonial illiteracy, is an historical monograph entitled "The Dutch Schools of New Netherland and Colonial New York." The writer, Dr. William Heard Kilpatrick, assistant professor of the history of education in Teachers' College, Columbia University, New York, makes the illiteracy comparison incidentally to his main theme for the sake of showing the educational status of the American Dutch for the period covered in his monograph. The bulletin will be sent free upon request to the United States Commissioner of Education, Department of the Interior, Washington, D. C.



OLD-TIME PRICES AND WAGES

Schuyler R. Tyron's Daybook, kept in Middletown, N. Y., "in the year of our Lord," 1839, and thereafter, is interesting in these days of high prices and high wages.

Tyron, according to the entries in his journal, was a farmer and a methodical one. He paid the preacher, the teacher, the laborer and was generally a useful citizen. From the standpoint of those who want to complain about high prices, Tyron's record furnishes some basis for arguments. He kept a record of every cent he spent, and he spent quite a lot.

The entries start off at the beginning, namely, the cost of the pass-book in which the record is kept. The cost was 6 cents and the date was May 18, 1839.

Some of the items in the book and the dates given are as follows:

June 25, 1842, eleven pounds of butter, \$2.07. (About 19 cents a pound).

October 1, 1842, fifteen pounds of beef, 75 cents. (Five cents a pound).

April 5, 1843, sixteen pounds of veal, 64 cents. (Four cents a pound).

May 7, 1842, five dozen eggs, 50 cents. (Ten cents a dozen).

February 21, 1842, thirty-seven pounds of butter, \$7.40. (Twenty cents a pound).

November 26, 1842, Mary Ann, shoes, 50 cents.

June 4, 1842, two yards blue calico, 38 cents.

August 7, 1842, one gallon molasses, 50 cents.

August 7, 1842, seven pounds of rice, 42 cents.

August 7, 1842, seven pounds brown sugar, 66 cents.

August 26, 1842, one pair of suspenders, 25 cents.

There was plenty of labor at the prevailing prices in those days. Some of the entries for labor hire are:

Hamilton Drake.

July 14, 1845—One day mowing, 75 cents.

July 15, 1845—One day reaping, 75 cents.

Lewis McGill.

July 7, 1845—One day hoeing corn, 75 cents.

July 12—One day cradling, 75 cents.

Daniel Ogden.

July 10, 1845—One half day raking hay, 37 cents.

Clark McNish.

December 4, 1845—New shoes on my bay mare, \$1.

William Williams.

August 31, 1846—One day's thrashing, 50 cents.

In connection with the account of William Williaims there are items showing board paid and also an allowance of \$1.25 for a load of hay.

In another part of this little book is the following:

1845—Gain raised on farm—

Ear corn—140 bushels.

Buckwheat—14¾ bushels.

Wheat—10 bushels.

Rye—22 bushels.

Oats—74 bushels.

Under the date of 1845 there is an item for preaching, the rate being \$2.75.

Brother Tyron was a school district trustee. Under date of January 21, 1841, there is a record of the receipt of \$3.32 from the old Board of Trustees.

One of the records of the school trustees is as follows:

“H. Tuthill taught six months. Paid her \$45.”

The school building windows suffered greatly. In a record for six months there are seven items like this:

For glass and putty—23 cents.

Taxes were certain in those days, to. Some of the tax items are:

December 12, 1845—Paid taxes, \$9.12.

November 23, 1842—Paid school taxes, \$2.15.

And finally in this little book there is a recipe for pickle to be placed on ham. This is it:

Take six gallons of water, nine pounds of salt, one quart of molasses, three ounces of saltpeter, one ounce of salaratus. Put together, cool, then skim and put on hams.



DEATH OF A. B. VAN CORTLANDT

Augustus B. Van Cortlandt, who died early in July was the head of the so-called Yonkers branch of the Van Cortlandt family. He was born in 1826, and his name was Augustus Van Cortlandt Bibby. The male line of the Yonkers Van Cortlandts becoming extinct in 1839, however, on the death of his two uncles,

Augustus and Henry White Van Cortlandt, he assumed the name of Van Cortlandt in compliance with the terms of their wills and under a special act of the Legislature.

In 1853 he married Charlotte Amelia Bayley, daughter of Robert Henry Bunch of the Bahamas, distantly related to him through the Barclay family of New York. He was a Democrat in politics, and was at one time member of the New York Assembly, but the increasing cares of his estate, owing to the rapid growth of the city northwards, gradually absorbed his time. He was for several years president of the St. Nicholas Club.

Mr. Van Cortlandt's life covered a period of many changes in New York. He was the last owner of a large part of what is now Van Cortlandt Park. Three sons, Augustus, Henry W., and Robert B. Van Cortlandt, survive him.



TO HONOR CIVIL WAR WOMEN

A resolution by Senator Root for the erection of a memorial in Washington, D. C., "to commemorate the services and sacrifices of the loyal women of the United States during the Civil War" will be reported to the Senate for adoption as a result of action taken by the Senate Library Committee on July 6. The memorial, the resolution says, shall be monumental in character and shall be used as the permanent quarters of the American Red Cross.

The Government is to contribute \$400,000 for the site and building, which shall cost not less than \$700,000. The Government contribution shall not be payable until an additional sum of \$300,000 has been raised by the New York Commandery of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion. Provision is made for a committee to supervise the purchase of the site and construction of the building, the design to be approved by the Commission of Fine Arts.

Title to the building and ground shall be held by the United States, but the Red Cross shall be responsible for its care and maintenance.

GERMANY HAS HISTORIC TREASURE OF AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Fruitless efforts have just been made by some Americans living in Germany to recover possession by purchase of one of the most important American historic treasures, the old oaken table on which the Declaration of Independence was signed.

This table, or desk, has, it appears, been for many years in the hands of the Bismarck family, having been presented to Prince Bismarck by a group of German-American admirers. It is now in the Bismarck Museum at Schönhausen, near Berlin.

The title to the various objects in the museum, which contains hundreds of gifts received by the Iron Chancellor from worshippers all over the world, is now vested in Princess Herbert von Bismarck, the statesman's widowed daughter-in-law. She prizes the American souvenirs, including the Declaration of Independence table, so highly that she even refused all overtures to have them transported across the ocean in 1904 for exhibition at the St. Louis Fair.



CHAMPLAIN STATUE UNVEILED

The bronze statue of Champlain was unveiled in Plattsburg, N. Y., on July 6, by the New York and Vermont Champlain Tercentenary commissions, which recently presented the Champlain Memorial lighthouse to the nation at Crown Point. The statue is 12 feet high and stands on a 22 foot pedestal of granite, overlooking the lake.

The statue was formally presented to Gov. John A. Dix for the State of New York by J. Wallace Knapp, chairman of the New York Lake Champlain Tercentenary Commission. Francis Lynde Stetson then accepted the statue from Gov. Dix for the city of Plattsburg.

The dedication and presentation ceremonies were preceded by a dress parade at Plattsburg Barracks and a luncheon given by the citizens committee and the Board of Trade of Plattsburg.

The dedication ceremonies opened with an invocation by Mgr.

M. J. Lavelle. Immediately after Mgr. Lavelle concluded his benediction the statue was unveiled to the strains of "The Star Spangled Banner." As the heroic sized figure was unveiled Champlain was revealed holding in his hand the arquebus of which he speaks in his memoirs. This and his costume of a soldier closely followed the style of his period. His sword, arquebus and morion were all three modelled after authentic originals in the collection of Howland Pell. The sculptor was C. A. Heber of New York city.

The base of the pedestal, of which Dillon, McLean & Beadel were the architects, forms a seat interrupted in front by a die on which crouches a Huron Indian in granite and similarly interrupted on each side by a die that supports a canoe prow. About the top of the pedestal are garlands of Indian corn.

Count de Perotti de la Rocca of the French Embassy spoke in behalf of the French Republic, after the interesting ceremonies in which Gov. Dix accepted the statue for New York and then turned it over to the city of Plattsburg.

The dedication ceremonies concluded with addresses by John A. Stewart and Job. E. Hedges, both of New York city.



MARKING THE PIONEERS' TRAILS

The movement to mark the Santa Fe trail, leading from the Missouri River to the Southwest, has received most public attention, but it is not the only enterprise of the kind undertaken. Steps have been taken for the preservation of others of the great routes along which the pioneers proceeded from the Mississippi Valley to the Pacific coast.

Among these thoroughfares the great Santa Fe trail was the most important. Signs of it are still visible here and there in deep worn ruts in pasture lands, but for the most part all traces of it have been obliterated by building or cultivation. Disputes have even arisen as to its exact location.

Efforts are being made to search out every foot of the old trail before it is too late to obtain the testimony of living witnesses

and to place at every mile a stone post which shall bear the figure of the old canvas topped prairie schooner.

The Oregon trail, from Indianapolis to The Dalles, is also to be marked. Over this route the settlers of the great Pacific Northwest passed to their new homes.

In the Southwest a plan is on foot to make a State road of the old Camino trail, over which the Jesuit mission builders pushed northward and eastward from Mexico to convert the Indians.

Romantic stories attach to these old trails. In distances travelled and in the number of travellers they are as important in the history of the New World as those routes in the Old World over which men of other races migrated or marched to conquest or conducted caravans of trade. On the old Western trails lovers left notes written on the bleached shoulderblades of buffalo skeletons for those who were following.



A PIONEER'S EXPERIENCE

In the old days travel across the plains was by means of wagons or prairie schooners. They did all the freighting west of the Missouri River to the military posts and forts in the Indian country. An old timer has left an account of his experience as wagon master with one of these trains.

His first trip was made from St. Joseph to the forts on the "Big Blue." He had seventy-five wagons, each drawn by eight yoke of cattle, a driver to each team, and twelve spare men. There was an assistant wagonmaster. The wagonmaster had two horses for himself and about a dozen extra horses.

The schooner, which was a big, clumsy affair with a body some twenty feet long, carried a load of from four to five tons of goods. The whole train on the march, in single file, would extend nearly two miles. It was no easy matter for the wagonmaster to keep an eye on the whole procession.

At or before nightfall there would be made a corral to guard against Indian attacks. It was accomplished in the following manner:

The leading team was unyoked and the fore carriage turned at a slight angle inward. The next wagon was drawn up as close as possible to it, with its hind wheels on a line with the front wheels of the first, and the other wagons followed until a rough circle was formed. The cattle chains were then run from the wheel of one wagon to the wheel of that in front of it, and the corral was complete.

Inside this the cattle were unyoked, and if there were no signs of lurking Indians they were turned out to graze under the charge of two herders.

The long line of cattle would be yoked on and stretched to right or left nearly at right angles to the wagon. The drivers with their whips then swung the cattle over to left or right, as the case might be, and the wagon was bound to come out by the sheer weight of the teams unless, as sometimes happened, the tongue drew out of the body.



THE BEST EQUIPPED MUSEUMS

“The Metropolitan Museum of Art and the American Museum of Natural History, as the best equipped museums in the United States, are the best equipped in the world.”

This statement was made recently by Professor Edward Sylvester Morse, the eminent zoologist, director of the Peabody Museum, at Salem, Mass., who has seen more service than any other museum officials in this country. Professor Morse retired as president of the “American Association of Museums” at the meeting of that society held in the Metropolitan Museum of Art on June 8. He began museum work in 1855, and has visited every museum abroad. He is a member of societies in England, France, Stockholm and Japan. The Emperor of the last-named nation decorated him with the Order of the Rising Sun in 1898.

“There is no doubt,” continued Professor Morse, “that the system of lighting, displaying and indexing employed by American museums is far ahead of any in use on the other side.

FAULT OF THE PARIS MUSEUM

“Our buildings are large, well lighted, well ventilated. In Europe the tendency, in many instances, has been to convert old castles, eminently unfitted if we except their beauty, as buildings, for museum purposes. There is the Cluny Museum in Paris, for instance, filled with brasses, bronzes, bric-a-brac, enchanting pieces, but shown pell mell in such disorder that the student seeking objects in chronological order must perforce be lost in the maze they make.

“The Museum in Stockholm is a wonderful edifice, an old castle, and consequently arranged architecturally so as to defeat the order sought by museums. That is true, too, of the Hertford House, where the wonderful Wallace collection is shown. I could cite numberless other instances.”

Professor Morse declared that he could remember the Natural History Museum when Thomas Blair started it in a wooden building.

“I see,” he said, “that there are still horse cars in New York. That is amazing, particularly so when I consider the strides made since the Natural History building was made of wood. The same may be said of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

“No, America may never hope to approach the collections of paintings in the Louvre, in the National Gallery and in the Museum at Amsterdam, where scores of Rembrandt’s are to be seen in long avenues.

PEERLESS JAPANESE COLLECTION

“Already we have succeeded in surpassing in two or three instances in other branches of collecting. The Morse collection of Japanese objects and paintings in Boston Museum (Mr. Morse catalogued this collection) is the most complete of its kind in the world. The same museum’s collection of classical marbles is third or fourth in importance, while the collection of Japanese ethnology in the Peabody Museum ranks parallel to the Morse collection.”

Professor Morse was asked if he thought that a gathering of all the old masters in private collections here would make a

nucleus of such works equal to the one in Louvre or in the National Gallery.

"I cannot reply to that. I do not dare commit myself. The wealth of our American private collections is one of the wonders of the world."

At the meeting of the American Association of Museums, the following officers were elected: President, Henry L. Lord, Public Museum, Milwaukee; first vice-president, Benjamin Ives Gilman, Fine Arts Museum, Boston; second vice-president, O. C. Farrington, Field Museum, Chicago; secretary, Paul M. Rea, Charleston Museum; assistant secretary, Laura L. Weeks, of Charleston Museum, and treasurer, W. P. Wilson, Philadelphia Museum.



PLAN SCHURZ MEMORIAL

Members of the Schurz Memorial Committee, organized with Joseph H. Choate as chairman soon after the death of Carl Schurz, six years ago, have set October 5 as the date on which the formal dedication will be held. The monument will stand on Morningside avenue at One Hundred and Sixteenth street, New York city, overlooking Morningside Park, and in close proximity to the Cathedral of St. John the Divine, St. Luke's Hospital, and the Columbia University buildings.

It is planned to make the ceremonies in connection with the dedication impressive by the presence of many distinguished guests, among whom will be as many as possible of the surviving generals who fought in the Civil War with Schurz. They will include Gens. P. J. Osterhaus and Julius Stabel, both veterans of the war, who, like Schurz, came to this country soon after the Revolution of '48 in Germany; and also Gen. Horace Porter, Major-Gen. Grenville M. Dodge, Gen. Adelbert Ames, Gen. James H. Wilson, Gen. J. Grant Wilson, Gen. J. T. Lockman, Lieut.-Gen. Nelson A. Miles, and Major-Gen. Daniel E. Sickles.

In addition it is expected that there will be a parade of German-American veterans of the Civil War. The German Amba-

sador, Count Heinrich von Bernstorff, will be a guest of honor, and a delegation of officers of the Germanistic Society will be invited. Both Senators Reed and Stone of Missouri will also be asked, as it was from Missouri that Schurz entered the Senate soon after the close of the war.

THE DESIGN OF THE MONUMENT

Karl Bitter, the sculptor, has designed the monument, and working with him is the architect, Henry Bacon, whose design for the National Lincoln Memorial in Washington has been successful. At the head of the long flight of stairs leading from the park to the Heights of Morningside is a circular clearing, about fifty feet in diameter, and in this space the monument will be erected. The bronze full-length figure of Schurz will be placed on a granite pedestal standing on the periphery of the semi-circle. It will be a nine-foot statue showing Schurz in the long coat that he wore so often.

The pedestal will bear reliefs in polished granite, and the inscription:

Carl Schurz
Defender of Liberty and
Friend of Human Right

Two large granite seats will extend on either side of the statue, and at each end will be a bas relief containing allegorical figures representing the principal activities of Schurz—his work in behalf of the Indian and negro, and his contribution toward the advancement of the human race. A new bronze railing in keeping with the monument will replace the railing already there, and the semi-circle will be repaved with ornamental brick. The whole monument will be raised three feet above the level of the sidewalk, but will not in any way interfere with the view from that elevation.

The monument project is only part of the committee's task. It has been decided to publish the letters and speeches of Mr. Schurz in book form, and the collection will fill six volumes, the first of which will appear within a year. That portion of the

committee's fund remaining, will be distributed along the lines originally planned, a part going to Hampton Institute, part to the Civil Service Reform Association, and part to the development of Germanistic culture. The sub-committee in charge of the dedication of October 5 is composed of Oswald Garrison Villard, chairman; Carl Schurz Petrasch, vice-chairman; Herman Ridder, George McAneny, and William Corwine.



MUSEUM GETS LINCOLN RELICS

The Lincoln collection gathered by the late Major William H. Lambert, of this city, is to find a resting place in the Lincoln Museum at Springfield, Ill., according to a close friend of Major Lambert. The collection is said to be the most complete in existence and is valued at about \$150,000.

Major Lambert also was the possessor of the finest Thackeray collection in the world. This is valued at about \$250,000. It is to be sold, probably intact.



FIRST CHURCH IN NEW YORK

The first religious services on Manhattan Island was held in 1628; this resulted in the organization of a church, the services of which were held in the upper story of a mill which ground grain of the colonists. The first minister was Jonas Michaelius, and the first elder Peter Minuit, Director-General of New Netherland.

The first church building on Manhattan Island was situated on Pearl street, between Whitehall and Broad streets, facing the East River. This structure was a poor, plain building of wood, and constructed in 1633 by the West India Company. Its congregation was presided over by Dominic Bogardus, the second clergyman of New Amsterdam, and was regarded as a more fitting place than the loft of the mill for public worship.

William Kieft, Director-General of the West India Company,

caused to be erected a church outside of Fort Amsterdam which contained three long narrow windows on each side, fitted with small panes of glass set in lead, on which were burned the coats of arms of the chief parishioners. This building was erected in the meadow of Mrs. Dominic Drisius, and fronted on a lane, now called Exchange Place, in those days, however, it was known as "Garden Alley." A large bowl of solid silver for baptismal services was made by the silver workers in Holland. In the belfry was the bell which had been removed from the old church in the fort.



RARE COIN BRINGS BIG PRICE

The highest price ever paid for an American coin and possibly the highest ever given by a collector for a rare coin was \$3,000, which Henry C. Chapman of this city, paid for an American half eagle which is the gem of the collection gathered by George H. Earle, Jr., of this city.

Only one other coin of the same pattern, and that an inferior specimen, is in the possession of the United States Government. The specimen bears the date of 1798. Three of the pattern were minted, and the third never has been recorded in any collection.

Bidding, which started at \$1,500, was spirited among about thirty collectors and their representatives. A sum almost equally large was paid for another American coin, an original "Fugio" silver dollar of 1776. This is said to be the one coin of its sort now known to exist outside the Government collection. It was sold for \$2,200, after exciting bidding. It was designed by Benjamin Franklin and bears the inscription "Mind your own business, Continental Currency, 1776."

Among other valuable coins in the sale was an 1830 silver dollar, only three of which are known to exist. It brought \$200. A \$50 copper and gold plated piece of 1877, sold for \$145. A silver half dollar of 1838 brought \$400 after lively bidding. A half penny of 1795 brought \$22.

JOHNSON AS A PENMAN

The following letter written to *The New York Sun* by Mr. Isaac Markens should interest all students of American history:

I doubt the accuracy of the statement credited to Mr. Andrew D. White of President Andrew Johnson's inability to write. I had for many years in my possession the autograph signature of Johnson, furnished at my request while he occupied the White House. Such signatures are by no means rare and many are extant on amnesty documents issued to those in the military and civil service of the Southern Confederacy.

I am not aware whether President Johnson's accomplishments as a penman went beyond the making of his signature, but I find in William O. Stoddard's "Lives of the Presidents" the statement that Johnson at the age of 18 married Eliza McCordle, who taught him to write, "but he found the process slow and difficult," and it is said that he did not use a pen with facility until his thirty-fourth year, after he became a member of Congress in 1843.

Stoddard adds: "Taking it all in all, the history of America contains but few records more worthy of study and of respect than that of the poor white boy, the ignorant tailor's apprentice who taught himself how to read, whose young wife taught him how to write."

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MRS. SARAH CORTELYOU

AMERICANA

August, 1912

The Cortelyou Mansion at Fort Hamilton

BY REV. JOHN CORNELL

IT SEEMS strange to the writer of this, that Glen in his book on "Some Colonial Mansions of America" should have omitted the Cortelyou House at Fort Hamilton. It is one of the most ancient and historic homesteads in the country. Jacques Cortelyou (or Corteljau as it was originally written), was the emigrant, founder of the family in this country, and the first owner of the Cortelyou homestead. He was a Huguenot and came over to this country as private tutor to the children of Cornelius Van Werckhoven. He emigrated from Utrecht in the Netherlands about 1652. He resided in New Amsterdam until 1657, when he received from Governor Nicol the Nyac patent for a tract of land in New Utrecht on Long Island. This property is described in the patent as "lying East of the North River in the Hoofden Heights." Here he remained until his death in 1693. He was allotted plantation No. 10 when the village of New Utrecht was laid out and was also interested in a large tract of land on the Passaic river in New Jersey. Jacques Cortelyou was a man of considerable learning and ability, being conversant with the French, Spanish, Dutch and English languages. As a surveyor he attained the highest reputation and was appointed surveyor general of the colony in 1657. He represented New Utrecht in the Hempstead Convention of 1665 that framed the "Dukes Laws," the first code made in the colony. He was also vendue master of the county in 1672, Justice of the Peace in 1685 and Captain of militia, 1673. The first Cortelyou Mansion was a log house, but a few rods west from the present mansion. This was burned during troublous war days,

another took its place on the same site, and this second structure was demolished by the government when the land was purchased for garrison use. The mansion now standing was erected about 1700. Stones from the old Jacques Corteljou house were used in the foundation. The landing of Sir Henry Clinton and Lord Cornwallis with the British troops, was off New Utrecht, Long Island, on the 28th of August, 1776. This landing was apparently without opposition, and Cornwallis not only took possession of Fort Hamilton, but also the homestead then in possession of Simon Cortelyou and here he established his headquarters for some time. The tradition of the family is that Lord Cornwallis was quite a gentleman. He did not oppress them. He allowed the family to retain half of the house, reserving the rest for himself and staff. When he withdrew in pursuit of Washington for the campaign on Long Island, which was so disastrous for the latter, he presented his writing table which he had brought with him from England and on which he wrote his military orders and despatches to Simon Cortelyou as a souvenir of his visit. This table is one of the few relics of the old homestead and came into the possession of the writer. The Cortelyou family are nearly extinct. The old homestead, too, has passed out of their hands, having been acquired by the United States government as part of Fort Hamilton and is now used as the United States Engineers' Office. One of the daughters of Simon Cortelyou (the contemporary of Lord Cornwallis), was Sarah Cortelyou, who married John Cornell, the grandfather of the writer. But this was not her first marriage and thereby hangs a tale and the romance of the homestead. The facts of the case have been greatly embellished and romantic stories circulated and published. It seems she was a young woman of great beauty and attractiveness and among her numerous admirers was a certain Captain Charles Conradi, a young German officer, who won her heart and hand. But the marriage did not meet with the approval of her father and it was a secret marriage (under license of May 30, 1782), probably an elopement. Like most runaway marriages this was an unhappy one. Her husband developed an ungovernable temper and proved himself an impossible companion, so she left him and returned to her father's house to



The Cortelyou House

live, where she was kindly received and forgiven. Rumor adds, her husband sought her there several times and begged for her return. Sarah was denied the sight of her husband. In vain the officer showed the marriage papers, in vain he pleaded. The Cortelyou father was sternly obdurate. Finally after the last bitter interview the young officer walked from the house to the bluff overlooking the narrows and there shot himself. This love story and tragedy have been made to appear as the first elopement in the colony. But the writer has the original record of the coroner's jury, under date of June 19, 1786, New Utrecht, from which it appears that he shot himself elsewhere in "a term of insanity." About a year after, she married John Cornell (previously mentioned) who lived at Red Hook, Long Island, now in the limits of Brooklyn and known as the Atlantic Docks, where he was in possession of a considerable landed estate, consisting of a tide mill and farm. This Sarah Cortelyou lived happily with her second husband and outlived him many years and died at the advanced age of ninety-one, having had fifteen children, including a daughter by her first husband, and many grandchildren, among whom is the writer, eighth in descent from the emigrant, Jacques Cortelyou and his wife Neeltje Van Duyn. The Cortelyou mansion is still standing and can be distinctly seen at the narrows from vessels passing that way.

The Promoter's Part in the Colonization of New England

BY ERNEST H. BALDWIN

IT IS only a seeming anachronism to use the term "promoter" in connection with early 17th century history. That clever and energetic exponent of modern business enterprise is but the lineal descendant and counterpart of the "adventurer" of three centuries ago. Only the name has changed, for, curiously enough, modern methods are not materially different, at least in similar projects. Poor and ignorant people were deceived and ruined by extravagant claims and the promises of great wealth in new lands then, as they have been since. Unfavorable reports and stories of disaster were spread abroad by rival or opposing interests in those days as they are now. And then, as today, there were honest and sensible investigators who sought out the truth and made it known. Examples of all these methods can be found in the history of the colonization of New England.

Until Captain John Smith named it New England that portion of America was known as Northern Virginia and granted to the Plymouth branch of the Virginia company. French fishermen, returning home, carried reports of the coast, and these found their way across the Channel to England and interested seamen there.

As early as 1585 Richard Hakluyt, a famous geographer, had advocated voyages to Northern Virginia, indicating the practical purposes to be served and suggesting the kinds of men to send. Religion, commerce, trade, patriotism, science, and political and social economy were among the considerations offered, comprising the conversion of the natives, the extension of markets, the

cheapening of products, the supplying of building materials, the injuring of the Spaniards, (always an article of English religious and political faith of the times), the promotion of discovery, the breeding of mariners, the providing of employment for the idle, and obtaining of knowledge of the climate and soil and the proper management of the natives.

Mineralogists, druggists, fishermen, salt makers, farmers, "South Spain" men or olive growers, masons and carpenters, fort makers, tool makers, coopers, shipwrights, tanners and artists were named as desirable persons to take on such expeditions.

Had this thoroughly practical advice been carefully and consistently followed, many lives, much hardship, and a great amount of money would have been saved and the successful colonization of New England probably would have occurred a quarter of a century earlier than it did. Unfortunately, what little exploration was made was largely superficial, unscientific and biased. Often those who went to spy out the land saw it flowing with milk and honey because it was for their interest to do so. Some actually thought they saw from the high decks of their ships, three hundred years ago, more wealth and resources in that small section of America than ten generations of its inhabitants have been able to find there since!

On the other hand there were some sensible and sober-minded observers who estimated things at their true values, candidly corrected wrong impressions, and frankly stated difficulties, at the same time wisely offering solutions for them and answering objections.

Information regarding the region of New England, as of other parts of America, was derived from returned explorers, fishermen, colonists, agents and missionaries and from letters of "planters" or settlers. This naturally varied in character according to the differing experiences of the narrators and, as has been said, was often prejudiced by interest. Disappointed and unsuccessful emigrants, of course, returned with disparaging accounts of the country, while the more determined, energetic and industrious colonist sent favorable reports.

The earliest accounts of explorations of the New England

coast were the result of voyages made by Bartholomew Gosnold in 1602, Martin Pring in 1603, and George Weymouth in 1605. An account of the latter voyage was written and published by James Rosier, a gentleman employed in the expedition. This pamphlet represented the beauty and fertility of the new land as so remarkable that a company was formed to acquire and settle it. Several preliminary expeditions were sent out by those interested, the results of which encouraged the adventurers to organize a larger expedition fully equipped for establishing a colony.

A combination of unfortunate circumstances wrecked this promising enterprise. The most influential supporter of the company Chief Justice Popham, died; also, his brother who went as Captain of the expedition. An unfavorable site on the Maine coast was chosen for the settlement, the lodgings and stores of the company were burned soon after their arrival, and there was much suffering from the cold. The colonists dispersed and returned to England carrying such exaggerated reports of their hardships and difficulties that further plans for colonization were abandoned and no adventurers could obtain a hearing for such projects for a long time. The idea that Northern Virginia was too cold for habitation became quite generally believed and persisted for many years.

Captain John Smith of Pocahontas fame made the next serious and systematic effort to promote an interest in the colonization of this region. After making a careful and extensive exploration of the coast in 1614, he published a descriptive pamphlet containing maps and giving it the name New England. Copies of this publication were scattered through the western counties of England.

Whatever Smith's reputation for veracity may be in certain quarters, in this pamphlet he appears as a candid and, considering his opportunities, a reasonably accurate narrator. Though a promoter in the strictest sense of the word, experience in Virginia had shown him the futility of exaggerating the wealth and productions of the new land. In New England not all that glittered was gold in his eyes. His statements of the apparent resources of the region were sober and his conclusions, in the main, sound. In his opinion the wealth of New England con-

sisted of its fisheries, chiefly. Timber and game were also highly valued, as were also the building stone, pure water and temperate climate; regarding the latter, however, it was admitted that the winters were colder. Smith argued that the rich mines of Holland were the seas and the rich mineral was the fish. In New England fishermen could go ashore nights and be with their families. Herring were mentioned as an example of the abundance of fish in general; the savages compared them in number to the hairs of one's head. The aptness of this comparison will be readily appreciated by those who have seen the spring "herring run" in southeastern Massachusetts in our day.

Captain Smith was familiar with all the stock arguments in favor of American colonization and included them in his pamphlet. The conversion of the natives was always presented as an inducement to the religiously inclined. The suggestion that the Indians might be used in cutting timber, however, reveals an ignorance of a fundamental characteristic of that race. The theory that employment could be given to the idle "who might be pleased to labor if they could but once taste the sweet fruit of their own labor," usually appealed to all burdened with poor rates. The assertion that there were no landlords and no rents to pay, of course, attracted another class. The writer expressed his personal opinion, however, that no motive but wealth would ever found a state there and urged the rich to spend their money in such enterprises, offering fine hunting and hawking as an inducement for "gentlemen."

Captain Smith's efforts to revive an interest in emigration to America, and particularly New England, met with little success. Conditions did not seem to favor it. Governor Dale had just returned from Virginia and, we learn from the "Carew Letters," the fact became known that there was no profit as yet in such undertakings, and that little good was expected from the Bermudas even where there were too many "ratts." If the more favorably situated colonies were unpromising, what could be expected from cold and bleak New England!

Nevertheless, not many years passed before a permanent and ultimately successful colony was established in New England, and that, too, contrary to Smith's expectations, from religious

rather than financial motives. The Pilgrims were the first to make a real test of the soil, climate and native inhabitants of the region. The progress of this enterprise was watched with keen interest by all English colonial promoters. Some members of the little company returned, homesick, and gave discouraging reports, but those who remained "after a year's experience or two of the Soyle and Inhabitants, sent home tydings of both, and of their well being there, which occasioned other men to take knowledge of the place and to take it into consideration."

Ill-advised and unsuccessful attempts of rival and hostile interests in the years immediately following the settlement of Plymouth delayed further immigration for some years. Weston and his crowd of rowdies, and the obstreperous Thomas Morton, representing the Gorges claim, were among those who gave the pilgrims much trouble, and by their own follies served to discredit colonial schemes and discouraged many from following the example of John Carver and William Bradford. Unreasonable and unthinking people failed to note that only idlers starved there.

To correct the bad empression these disreputable emigrants had made and to assert their claim to the territory, the President and Council of New England, in 1622, published a prospectus entitled, "A Brief Relation of the Discovery and Plantation of New England." This announced that the persons mentioned were "undertakers for the advancement of the Plantation of New England;" that opposition had been encountered from those whose interest it was to prevent settlement in New England in accordance with their plan; and that injury had been done by bad reports of the country itself.

After recounting the various attempts at settlement since 1607, this pamphlet then proceeded to describe conditions in the new land with a view to encouraging emigration. Among the advantages enumerated were: the healthful air, the fertile soil, the valuable timber for spars and masts, vines, hemp, flax, tar and pitch, "pearles and ambergrees," fur-bearing animals, deer "bringing forth 3 and 4 at a birth," and moose of which it was said "there is hope that this kinde of Beasts may bee made serviceable for ordinary labour with Art and Industry." Geo-

graphically New England was said to be situated in the center of the temperate zone, "20 degrees from the fiery tropics and so much from the freezing arctic circle," the same as Constantinople and Rome, the "Ladies of the World."

"Hot countries," this pamphlet alleged, "yield sharper wits but weaker bodies and fewer children; colder, more slow of conceit but stronger of body and more abounding in procreation." In New England the sun's rays "were weakened by unstable reflection on the sea and laden with moisture."

The natives were said to be tractable to commerce and trade, if not abused. It was declared to be difficult to get those who had gone there to return with accounts of the country they liked it so much. The pious were reminded that they could build churches and colleges while wealth and pleasure could be found by all. Plans were being made to build ships to defend merchants and fishermen and convoy merchant ships to market. Agents had already been sent inland to find a place for the main plantation and residence of government. An outline of the proposed form of government and division of territories was given with the declaration "We seek the glory of God, the enlarging of His Highness' dominions and the general good of His Majesty's subjects."

It is doubtful if the most enthusiastic modern promoter could improve on this prospectus printed and distributed nearly three centuries ago!

Sir W. Alexander secured the grant of a place for settlement in Nova Scotia and in 1625 issued a similar pamphlet bearing the title: "An Encouragement to Colonies." The introduction to it was characteristic in that it sought justification for his scheme by quoting the examples of Abraham and Lot who were "Captains of colonies," and Moses who led a "colony of Jews from Egypt."

Sir Alexander knew human nature, evidently, and had a keen sense of humor. He was sarcastic as well as sensible. He wisely and bluntly stated the fact that there is "no land where men can live without labor." Then, referring to the extensive and conflicting claims of Gorges and others, he satirically remarked: "Though sundry other preceding Patentees are imaginarily lim-

ited by the degrees of the Heaven, I think that mine be the first that ever was clearly bounded within America by particular limits upon this Earth."

Regarding the failure of the Popham colony, this knightly promoter declared that "to justify the suddenness of their return they did coin many excuses burdening the bounds where they had been with all the aspersion that possibly they could desire seeking by that means to discourage all others." He then advocated the establishment of great estates in his territory where men might enjoy the pleasures of contemplation, "being solitary when they will and yet accompanied when they please." Too much dependence could not be placed on the fertility of the land, but rather on industry; furthermore, private fortunes alone would not be sufficient; many must put in capital. Finally, the necessity of labor was again emphasized "since no good thing can be had with ease."

The same year that Sir Alexander published his pamphlet, William Morrell, an Episcopal clergyman who went to New England with Gorges and then spent a year at Plymouth, wrote a Latin and English poem descriptive of New England. It was dedicated to the Adventurers for New England and probably was prompted and paid for by them as advertising.

This vivid writer called New England a "grand-childe to Earth's paradise, well-lim'd, well nerved, faire, rich, sweate, yet forlorne," and expressed the hope that by his verse he might win her "people, friends and commerce." His keen scent, or possibly the "nerve" which he ascribed to the region itself, prompted him to declare:

"The careful Naucleare may a-farre disery,
 "The land by smell, as't loomes below the sky,
 * * * * *
 "The mightie Whale doth in these Harbours lye,
 "Whose Oyle the careful Merchant deare will buy.
 "Besides all these and others in this Maine,
 "The costly Codd doth march with his rich traine;
 "With which the Seaman fraughts his merry ship;
 "With which Plantations richly may subsist.
 "And pay their Merchants debt and interest

The pious Morrell ought to have known that most of the merchants who had invested in colonial enterprises would have been well pleased to recover fifty cents on the dollar!

“Thus ayre and earth, both land and sea yeelds store
“Of nature’s dainties both to rich and poore;
“To whom if Heaven a holy vice-roy give,
“The state and people may most richly live;
“And there erect a pyramy of estate,
“Which only sinne and heaven can ruinate.”

While this wonderful bilingual “poetry” was being laboriously prepared, one Christopher Levett, a member of the Council of New England, was making a personal tour of investigation, a report of which he wrote and published in 1628. There is some evidence that this experienced traveler had Morrell’s verse in mind when he wrote. Certainly he was indignant at the extravagant claims some writers had made. We quote: “I will not do . . . as some have done to my knowledge, speak more than is true; I will not tell you that you may smell the corn fields before you see the land; neither must men think that corn doth grow naturally (or on trees) nor will the deer come when they are called, or stand still and look on a man until he shoot him, not knowing a man from a beast; nor the fish leap into the kettle, nor on the dry land, neither are they so plentiful that you may dip them up in baskets, nor take cod in nets, . . . which is no truer than that the fowls will present themselves to you with spits through them.” There are enough of all these things for the *taking*, he said, if men be *dilligent*.”

One of the most far-sighted and energetic promoters of New England’s colonization was John White of Dorchester. After a study of the subject he reached the conclusion that a wrong class of persons had been sent out for this important and difficult work and he advocated the formation of an association of wealthy and influential Puritans to undertake a settlement. This was the inception of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, which Mr. Endicott and Mr. Higginson were so instrumental in establishing. The latter assisted very greatly in disseminating correct

information about the new country, and in frequent letters home, recorded impressions, answered questions, and considered objections. Mr. White and his friends made good use of these reports in England in promoting emigration. As their appeals were to Puritans, it is not surprising to find religious, moral and economic considerations urged.

From various published sources the general reasons for leaving England were: the spread of the gospel by the conversion of the Indians, thus serving the church, the destruction of which was feared unless a place of refuge could be found; the homeland burdened with poor; the excess of riot and intemperance with deceit in the arts and trade; the corruption of religion and schools of learning due to evil example and licentiousness of the governors of the seminaries; starvation in England with land plentiful in other places; and the example and encouragement to others.

The more material advantages offered were: the excellence and number of harbors; the fertility of the soil; corn which is good eating and can be bought from the Indians or easily raised; the abundance of fowl, venison and fish; wood and stone for building ships and houses; the temperate and healthful climate, "a sup of New England's air" being "better than a whole draught of Old England's ale;" the pure water and convenient fuel; the absence of oppressive rents and troublesome law-suits; fishing and fur-trading, salt and materials for nets being plentiful and furs procurable from the Indians for such trifles as glass beads and knives; employment for the idle who would find happiness in labor in the colonies; and hunting and hawking for noble gentlemen.

Of course, numerous objections to these projects were raised, many of them trivial in nature, but all ably met and answered. They furnish interesting reading and give an excellent idea of the discussions which were carried on in many Puritan homes in England in colonial days. It would be wrong to take the best people from the English churches was the selfish argument of some conservative stay-at-home. No, was the reply, for only a small number would be taken, besides being better employed and doing the church service elsewhere. The judgment time is soon

coming, objected the expectant Adventists. That was declared a very poor reason for remaining in England! We may perish on the way from hunger or the sword, wailed some timid soul. Well, there are just as many dangers at home. We have no right to the land in New England objected some legalist. Many of the natives are dead and the rest are willing to have the English come; besides, there's more than enough for all. There has been but ill success thus far, complained another. That is not to be determined by *immediate* results; former errors can be avoided; previous aims have been carnal and not religious; besides, the "scum of the land" has been used.

Isn't there danger from the savages? inquired some faint-hearted woman. No worse than some dangers at home, was the reply. The Pilgrims walk as peaceably in the woods there as in the highways in England. But ten years haven't converted these Indians, it was objected. "We hardly have found a brutish people wonne before they had beene taught civility. So wee must endeavor and expect to worke that in them first, and religion afterwards."

Are there not wild beasts and serpents? Not as bad as at home and in other parts of the world where they live safely. No man was ever hurt by snakes in New England. Foxes and wolves are troublesome, but poison and traps will destroy them.

They say mosquitoes are a great annoyance! "They are too delicate and unfit for new plantations if they cannot bear bites of mosquitoes." We wish such would stay home until they are mosquito proof. Men make light of them; smoke and closed houses keep them off; they are no worse than in Spain, Germany, Essex, and Lincolnshire; as the country improves they disappear and inland they are few.

There are reports of much sickness and complaints that one has to go without delicacies and drink water. There is no sickness, really; "some by indiscretion waded into water and caught cold," but ordinarily they have good health. And as for delicacies, "should fountains stream forth wine or beer! or woods and rivers be so they could take things as from a shop! A proud heart, a dainty tooth, a beggar's purse, and an idle hand are

intollerable." The water is as good as any in the world though not as wholesome as good beer and wine.

Is it true that fish do not take salt and keep fresh? It is false, else why do so many fishing ships go there? You have heard that there are thieves? Well, London isn't exactly free from them! You think men suffer from the cold and starve? It is not true and snow is good for corn and cattle can be fed indoors. As for starving, you probably refer to Weston's crowd. Levett says they built castles in the air and did not fish or plant corn. They built forts but these would not keep out hunger. As for the matter of breaking old friendships complained of by some, that is really a foolish objection; it may be hard but it is not unendurable.

Before 1630 promoters had become more cautious in their methods having learned wisdom by experience. Prospective emigrants were frankly told of difficulties and warned to avoid mistakes. They were reminded that there were seasons for fishing and that they must be observed; furthermore that fish could not be got without the use of the ordinary means. Farmers would not make good fishermen, nor fishermen, farmers. There were seasons for furs, too, and competition with the French must be met. Indians must be well treated. There was no certainty of finding gold, silver or copper. Tobacco could be grown but not with as much profit as in other places; fish was a better and richer commodity. While it was true that there was no need to pay rent, houses must be built and fuel fetched.

The more cautious advisers openly declared that those who went out must not be of the poorer sort for some years; that one ought to have means sufficient to feed himself for eighteen months and build a house. New England was a country where none could live except he either labored himself or was able to keep others to labor for him.

"When you are once parted with England," wrote Higginson, "you shall meet neither with taverns, nor alehouses, nor butchers, nor grocers, nor apothecaries shops, to help what things you need, in the midst of the great ocean, nor when you are come to land here are yet neither markets nor fayres to buy what you want . . . meal for bread, malt for drink, woollen and linen

cloth, leather for shoes . . . and many other things which were better for you to think of them there than to want them here."

In 1630 there was printed at London a statement of the outfit required by an intending emigrant. It was entitled "A Proportion of Provisions Needful for Such as Intend to Plant themselves in New England, for one whole yeare. Collected by the Adventurers, with the advice of the Planters." The materials were listed under the separate headings of Victuall, Apparell, Tooles, Building, Armes and Fishing. They included "meale, malt, beefe, porke, pease, greates (oatmeal), butter, cheese, vinegar, aquavita, mustard seed and salt; shoes, boots, leather, Irish stockings, shirts, handkerchiefs, sea-cape or gowne; English spade, steele shovell, hatchets, axes, wood-hooke, howes (hoes), wimble (gimlet), saws, augers, chisells, grindestones, etc.; nayles, lockes, hookes and twists; musket, powder, shot, match, sword, belt, and pistoll; cod-hookes, lines, mackrell line and fishing lead."

The "poorer sort" could omit some of these supplies such as malt, "if they can content themselves with water in the heat of summer which is found by much experience to be as wholesome & healthfull as beere." Handkerchiefs "for the poorer sort" might be of "blew Callico." Less bedding and kitchen utensils would serve in New England than "would give contentment here."

In 1631 appeared another pamphlet for the instruction of intending emigrants entitled "Advertisements for the Unexperienced Planters of New England or anywhere *or* The Pathway to Experience to erect a Plantation,—1614-1630." This aimed to prevent the greatest inconveniences met with in emigration. Regarding Virginia it explained that "living in plenty and excess . . . made the Company here thinke all the world was Oatmeale there."

The chief purpose of this writer, whose general style suggests the name of Captain John Smith, seems to have been to emphasize the fact that *labor* was necessary, using as an example of how *not* to do it, the Virginia settlement where "refiners, goldsmiths, jewellers, Imbroderers, Perfumers," etc., were sent.

The founders of the great monarchies of old “were no silvered idle golden Pharisees, but industrious honest-hearted Publicans.” Then follows an account of the country, its climate and natives, who, the writer sagely remarks: “are most happy in this, that they never trouble themselves with much variety of Apparell, Drinkes, Viands, Sawses, Perfumes, Preservatives and Nicities as we; yet live as long and much more healthful and hardy.”

After the success of the Massachusetts Bay Colony became an acknowledged fact, the work of the New England “adventurers” became less difficult. Emigration followed rapidly for some years until political changes in England itself interrupted its course. But the work of the promoter, so far as that region was concerned, was largely accomplished; and not until the colonization of Pennsylvania and then later, the South, interested emigrants, were their services again so prominently useful.



Monument Marking where the First Settlers of Southampton Landed

The First English Settlement in New York

BY WILLIAM S. PELLETREAU, A. M.

IN THE spring of 1640 a number of men formed a company to found a colony on Long Island, calling themselves the "Undertakers" of the new enterprise. Fortunately for the cause of history all of the original documents are in existence, and form the starting point of English history in what was afterwards the Province of New York. The company purchased a vessel, but before starting on the voyage, sold it to Daniel How. The document is known as "The Disposall of the Vessell" and is dated March 10, 1639. This was when the new year began on the 25th of March, and means in the "New Style" 1640. The "Disposall" recites that Edward Howell had disbursed £15, Edmund Farington £10, Josias Stanborough £5, George Welbe £10, Job Sayre £5, Edmond Needham £5, Henry Walton £10, and Thomas Sayre £5, and they disposed of their several shares to Daniel How. He was to transport them and their goods, and in addition, he was to transport for each of them a "person and a Tunne of goods free." He was not to sell his vessel except with the consent of the majority of the company, and he was to be ready at the "Towne of Lynne" to transport the company three times in the year; namely the first month (March) the fourth month (June) and the eighth month (October). It also recites that Allen Breade, Thomas Halsey and William Harker had by the consent of the company "become party undertakers" with the rest.

At the same time an "Agreement of the Company" was drawn up, which prescribed certain regulations for the management of "our intended Plantacon." The true spirit of the Puritan and Separitist, was shown when it speaks of "the place where God

shall direct us to beginne an intended Plantacon," and concludes with the statement that "whensoever it shall please the Lord, and he shall see it good to add to us such men as shall be fit matter for a Church, that then we will in that thinge lay ourselves downe before ye Constitutes thereof either to bee or not to be receaved as members thereof according as they shall discerne the worke of God to be in our hearts."

In the mean time Thomas Newell, John Farrington, Thomas Farrington, Nathaniel Kyrtland, Philip Kyrtland, Thomas Terry and Richard Ryall had joined the company, and last of all John Cooper was admitted as "an undertaker" with as full powers as the rest.

At that time the sole owner of Long Island was William Alexander, Earl of Stirling, who had received it by Royal Grant from King Charles I. On April 20, 1637, the Earl of Stirling gave a commission and power of attorney to James Farrett, with full power to sell any portion of the same. In accordance with this, Farrett gave to the parties mentioned above, full power "to sitt downe upon Long Island, aforesaide, there to possess and improve eight miles square of land."

About this time the company sailed and landed at Cow Bay, (now Manhasset) and commenced to build houses and found a settlement. News soon reached the Dutch authorities at New Amsterdam, and a company of soldiers were sent out who arrived on May 15, finding "one small house built and another unfinished." Also "eight men, one woman and a little child." The vessel had evidently returned for another cargo. Six men were taken as prisoners to Fort Amsterdam, and upon examination stated that they came there by authority of James Farrett, with the consent of Governor Winthrop, and "it was intended to bring twenty families and more would come if the land was good." They were released upon promise to depart and not to return.

The company next sailed for the east end of Long Island. The place where they landed was on the south side of Peconic Bay. This bay was called by the early settlers, the "North Sea" in distinction from the ocean. The village of North Sea perpetuates the ancient name. Tradition, supported by documentary

evidence states that when the company landed, one woman exclaimed: "For conscience sake I am on dry land once more," and the place has ever since been known as Conscience Point.

June 12th, after a very careful examination, has been regarded as the most likely date of their arrival, and the inhabitants of the town of Southampton, of which North Sea is a part, celebrate this as "Forefathers' day." The Colonial Society of Southampton resolved to commemorate the date of the landing and its exact point, by erecting a substantial monument thereon. In the neighborhood was a large boulder, estimated to weigh thirty tons. The task of moving this rock to Conscience Point was a work of great labor, but was most skillfully performed by Mr. Frank Benedict, an experienced mover of large buildings. By his untimely death, a few months later, the town lost an esteemed and valued citizen.

The credit of this enterprise is justly due to Mr. L. Emory Terry, the president of the society, and it was largely to his labors that the project was crowned with success. On Monday, June 13, 1910, the celebration of the landing was held upon the very spot. A large concourse of citizens, among whom were many descendants of the men who landed there 270 years before, were assembled to do honor to their memory. After introductory remarks by Mr. Terry, the president, prayer was offered by Rev. Mr. Russell, pastor of the Presbyterian Church of Southampton, and an historical address was delivered by William S. Pelletreau.

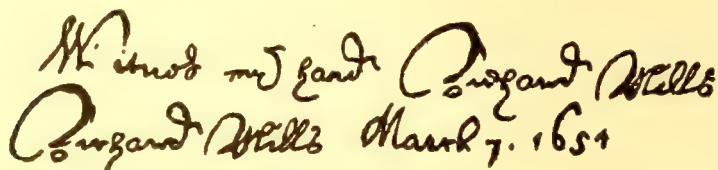
A large tablet affixed to the boulder bears this inscription:

Near this spot, in June, 1640, landed Colonists
from Lynn, Mass., who founded Southampton,
the first English settlement in the State of
New York.

The early records of the town of Southampton are very complete and being printed will be preserved for all time to come. The first town clerk was Richard Mills, who was also school master. He afterwards removed to one of the Dutch towns at the west end of the

Island, and from thence to Westchester. Here the schoolmaster found himself in hot water. It was debatable land between the Dutch and English. The very name is a lesson in history and geography. To the Dutch coming from the west it was the Oost Dorp, or the east village, while to the English advancing from the east it was known as the Westchester. Richard Mills became very prominent in supporting the English claim, and was one of the "English thieves" arrested by order of Peter Stuyvesant, and thrown into prison at Fort Amsterdam. A few weeks in this position brought the schoolmaster to his senses, and he sent very piteous letters to Gov. Stuyvesant whom he called "My Dear Lord Steveson," asking for release. But the individual known in the pages of the veracious Diedrich Knickerbocker, as "Peter the Headstrong," turned a deaf ear to his entreaties and he continued to languish. Some time after he was released, but from the effects of his imprisonment, as the English records state, "he shortly afterwards died."

Such was the unhappy fate of the first town clerk of the first English town, and the first English schoolmaster in the Province of New York. In 1710 Richard Mills of Cohansey in New Jersey, speaks of himself in a deed as being "grandson and sole heir at law of Mr. Richard Mills, formerly of Westchester." It would be interesting to know if he has any descendants living.



Signaturo of Richard Mills, first Schoolmaster in New York

John
Cooper

Very much obliged to you for the
liberty of which we have not so long
as enjoyed and which we are bound to
place before the words of God in the
in our hearts

Edmund Howard, Esq. of Southampton

Edward Howard, Esq. of Southampton

John Hambro, Esq. of Southampton

John Hambro, Esq. of Southampton

John Hambro, Esq. of Southampton

John Hambro, Esq. of Southampton

John Hambro, Esq. of Southampton

John Hambro, Esq. of Southampton

Autographs of First Settlers of Southampton, Long Island

Burial of John Paul Jones*

BY DON C. SEITZ

For six years the Commodore's body has lain in a hallway at the Naval Academy, Annapolis, Maryland, awaiting action by Congress to provide for the erection of the chapel designed as a fitting tomb!

Under a stairway, back in the hall
Waiting to hear his country's call,
Coffin'd in lead—a bundle of bones—
Lies what is left of the great Paul Jones!

Found in its tomb by the merest chance,
Borne with acclaim from the land of France,
Brought with a pride of a Nation's guest
To sleep forever in splendid rest!

Here in the school where his trade is taught,
Where the lads learn how a battle's fought,
And how a hero's reward is paid
In promises broken ere they're made!

First to the air he tossed the stars,
The glorious flag with crimson bars—
Who steer'd the *Ranger* across the sea,
Beating the British to make us free.

Deep in his debt is this selfish land
Which pays the bill with a grudging hand;
So bear him back to the rough North Sea
Where the chalk cliffs rise against the lea.

*These verses were first published in Harper's Weekly.
(741)

Red are the waves where the *Richard* sank
Deep on the edge of the Dogger Bank;
Here is a grave made ready to hand,
Better and braver than one on land.

A couple of shot, a canvas shroud,
A little thunder of canon loud;
The thing is over; secure in Fame,
He needs no stone to mark his name!

Lucky the Captains who heard the hail
And went to the depths in fight or gale,
Never neglected back in a hall,
Awaiting in vain their country's call!

Shall the President Serve one Term?

THE proposal to limit the Presidential tenure of office to a single term of six to eight years is by no means as novel an idea as many have imagined. While it is true that the present trend in political affairs has brought this question more prominently to the attention of the people, an opinion almost identical with that of President Taft in his Lowell address, was expressed by President Jackson in his first message to Congress. In this message, which bears the date of December 8, 1829, the President wrote:

“It would seem advisable to limit the service of the Chief Magistrate to a single term of either four or six years.”

Indeed, he seems never to have changed this opinion, for the recommendation is repeated in the next five annual messages. Even when he consented to run for re-election, he persisted in penning his recommendations against this practice.

As a matter of fact the question as whether the President of the United States should be eligible to a second term did not originate with Jackson. As a writer in the *New York Evening Post* shows, it has existed from the very beginning of the formation of the Government. The meeting of the Constitutional Convention of 1787 was fixed for Monday, May 14. It was not until the 25th, however, that as many as seven states had delegates in Philadelphia. On Monday, the 28th, the standing rules of the Convention were agreed upon, and the next day Edmund Randolph of Virginia “opened the main business.” He proposed fifteen resolutions, the seventh being in part as follows:

Resolved, That a national executive be instituted: to be chosen by the national Legislature for the term of ———; . . . and to be ineligible a second time. . . .

Randolph was almost immediately followed by Charles Pinckney of South Carolina, who laid before the convention the draft of a Federal Constitution which he had prepared. The first paragraph of article VIII of this draft was in these words:

The executive power of the United States shall be vested in a President of the United States of America, which shall be his style; and his title shall be His Excellency. He shall be elected for ——— years; and shall be reëligible.

Thus early and pointedly were the two ideas regarding eligibility for a second term opposed to each other. It is not necessary to say that the question of the length of the term is bound up with the question of reëligibility. It has always been felt that a single term may well be considerably longer than one that is liable to extension by a reëlection. What is not so familiar is the greater complexity of the whole matter as it presented itself to the framers of the Constitution, compared with it in our day. All that President Taft and Mr. Root and Mr. Clayton have to decide, all that President Jackson had to settle, is the simple problem of what number of years is most appropriate for a President who can enter the White House but once. And these men have decades of the history of the Presidency in actual operation to assist them in arriving at their conclusions. Little wonder that they should all three have hit upon the same number of years as suitable.

To the men at Philadelphia, however, the problem was much larger. Not only could no one know how the Presidency would work, but there were serious disagreements over the fundamental question of whether the Executive should be one person or more than one, and also over the method of choosing that Executive. These elements are, for us, non-existent, but they greatly complicated the question for the Convention. Upon the point of the method of election, all the early sentiment in the Convention was in favor of the idea that Randolph put into his resolution: namely, that the President should be chosen by the National Legislature. The question of reëligibility, therefore, turned upon its possible effect upon the President's independence of this body. When at last the system of electors was decided

upon, the whole matter had to be viewed again in the light of this method of choice. We give no attention to the problem of the President's independence of Congress. Presidents have shown an abundant ability and willingness to look out for themselves in this direction. What we discuss in the proposal is the effect of reëligibility upon the conduct of the Presidential office with reference to a desire for a second term, and the possible peril in making it unconstitutional for the nation to avail itself of the services of a citizen who has once sat in the chair. To these points, the spectacle in Massachusetts has added the consideration of the dragging of the position into the mire of an open and bitter canvass for votes.

The Philadelphia Convention, then, faced a four-fold problem in this matter: What should be the length of the Presidential term; what should be done regarding reëligibility; should the Executive be one or a group, and how should he or they be elected?

The Convention did not find it easy to solve the problem. It adopted various proposals, rescinded all of them, finally accepted in part a committee report that was different from any of them, and then changed the rest of the report in accordance with proposals that had not been made before during the sittings.

It was generally taken for granted that the adoption of a short term would be accompanied by a provision for reëligibility, or at least that reëligibility would not be prohibited in such a case; and, conversely, advocates of a long term stood for ineligibility to a second term. Motions in regard to length of term ranged from three years to "during good behavior." The first motion offered was that the term be made three years, with reëligibility. This was promptly met with a motion for seven years, and ineligibility. The vote, taken on the day when Randolph and Pinckney presented their plans, was in favor of the seven-year proposal, coupled with ineligibility for a second term.

Seven weeks later, when the Randolph resolutions had emerged from the committee of the whole and were before the Convention, a motion was made to strike out the ineligibility clause. In the debate that ensued, Governor Morris, speaking in favor of the motion, observed that the proposed ineligibility tended to

destroy the great motive for good behavior on the part of a President, that motive being the hope of a second term. It was saying to him: "Make hay while the sun shines." The record of the Ashbridge Administration in Philadelphia a decade ago is as striking an illustration as Morris could have desired of this base use of a single term, to which Mayors of the Quaker City are limited by the city charter. The argument so impressed the convention that the ineligibility clause was promptly stricken out. The next day the length of the term was reduced from seven to six years.

An ingenious scheme was proposed on July 25 by Oliver Ellsworth of Connecticut. He moved that the Executive should be appointed by the National Legislature, as had already been determined, but with the exception of the case in which "the Magistrate last chosen shall have continued in office the whole term for which he was chosen, and be reëligible; in which case, the choice shall be by electors appointed by the Legislatures of the States for that purpose." By this means, he argued, a deserving President might be reëlected without being made dependent on the National Legislature. Thereupon, Mr. Pinckney moved that no person should be eligible for more than six years in any twelve. Neither motion prevailed. And on the next day the Convention went back to the original arrangement of a single term of seven years.

In the meantime, the question had become complicated with the problem of whether the Executive should be one person or more than one. Hugh Williamson of North Carolina, says Madison in his report of the proceedings, "did not like the unity in the Executive. He had wished the Executive power to be lodged in three men, taken from three districts, into which the states should be divided. It was pretty certain, he thought, that we should at some time or other have a king; but he wished no precaution to be omitted that might postpone that event as long as possible. Ineligibility a second time appeared to him to be the best precaution. With this precaution he had no objection to a longer term than seven years. He would go as far as ten or twelve years." To this, Oliver Ellsworth replied that a Pres-

ident would be more likely to render himself worthy of reëlection if he was rewardable with it.

On August 6, the Committee of Detail, which had the task of drawing up the desires of the convention in formal shape, reported section 1 of article x as follows:

The Executive power of the United States shall be vested in a single person. His style shall be, "The President of the United States of America," and his title shall be, "His Excellency." He shall be elected by ballot by the Legislature. He shall hold office during the term of seven years; but shall not be elected a second time.

This section, as will be seen, combines the original Randolph and Pinckney proposals. But often as the Convention had come back to this, its first decision, it was not yet satisfied. Gouverneur Morris attacked the method of election, proposing instead that it be by electors chosen by the people, and again assailed the ineligibility clause. He foresaw the President abdicating his functions, courting the Legislature, in order that, upon the expiration of his one term, he might become a member of that body, "and enjoy there the fruits of his policy." On September 4, a Committee of Eleven, to which had been entrusted the work of reporting upon the unfinished parts of the Constitution, suggested the insertion of these words after the word "Excellency," quoted above: "He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and, together with the Vice-President, chosen for the same term, be elected in the following manner" This manner was election by electors. Morris' view had again prevailed.

Hamilton gave his voice to this arrangement, remarking that in the original plan the President was a monster, elected for seven years, and ineligible afterwards. Nevertheless, attempts were made to substitute, first, seven and then six, for the four years proposed by the committee. After these motions had been defeated, the four-year term was adopted by unanimous vote, that of North Carolina alone excepted, with nothing said about eligibility for reëlection. Gouverneur Morris suggested the idea of providing that the President in office should not be

one of the five candidates upon whom, in the event of no choice by the electors, the Senate, or, as it finally became, the House, should vote; but that he should be reëligible only if he was chosen by a majority of the electors. The convention, however, left the matter of reëligibility as it was, and as it still is.

There seems to have been no further agitation of the question of ineligibility for a second term until Jackson wrote his messages. His example in not only accepting reëlection, but in naming his successor, can hardly be said to have had the effect that might have been expected in strengthening the feeling in favor of the ineligibility for which he pleaded. But in 1844 a National Convention put into its platform a resolution advocating "a single term for the Presidency." This was the convention that nominated Henry Clay. It was the forerunner of similar action in four subsequent conventions.

The first of these was held just twenty years later, the convention of radical opponents of Lincoln that met at Cleveland in 1864 and nominated Fremont for President by acclamation. The tenth plank of its brief platform read as follows:

That the one-term policy for the Presidency adopted by the people is strengthened by the force of the existing crisis, and should be maintained by constitutional amendments.

Eight years later the idea found expression in the platforms of two parties. The Labor Reformers, meeting at Columbus, resolved:

That as both history and experience teach us that power ever seeks to perpetuate itself by every and all means, and that its prolonged possession in the hands of one person is always dangerous to the interests of a free people, and believing that the spirit of our organic laws and the stability and safety of our free institutions are best obeyed on the one hand, and secured on the other, by a regular constitutional change in the chief of the country at each election; therefore, we are in favor of limiting the occupancy of the Presidential chair to one term.

The Greeley Convention of the same year had a long plank upon the subject, alleging the "scandal and reproach upon free institutions" that the civil service had become under the admin-

istration of Grant, and declaring that to the end that "the offices of the Government cease to be a matter of arbitrary favoritism and patronage . . . it is imperatively required that no President shall be a candidate for reëlection." Greeley himself prepared an historical review and argument on the subject, called "The Principle of the Single Term."

The latest repetition of the demand for one term was that made by the People's party, in its convention of 1892. Subjoined to its platform of that year was a series of resolutions, which, it was explained, were to be regarded not as a part of the platform, but as expressive of the opinion of the party. The humor in this distinction seems to have escaped its makers. The eighth of these "opinions" read:

Resolved, That we favor a constitutional provision limiting the office of President and Vice-President to one term.

And, finally, Mr. Bryan is in the habit of announcing that if elected he will serve but one term. The question does not seem to have arisen in connection with the ill-fated attempt to nominate ex-President Grant for a third term in 1880. In that struggle, however, the point was of eligibility not for a second term, but a third. There was apparently more opposition to a second term in the Philadelphia convention than there has been since. The feeling expressed against it in the party platforms of 1844, 1864, 1872, and 1892 was in some of these cases, at least, evidently the offspring of a violent desire to supplant the party in control, and cannot be regarded as representative of a widespread and unpartisan conviction. Even President Taft's outburst was obviously provoked by a most extraordinary and indeed unprecedented situation.

President Taft's pronouncement resulted in the introduction by Representative Clayton of Alabama, chairman of the Judiciary Committee of the House, of a joint resolution providing for a constitutional amendment fixing the length of the Presidential term at six years.

At the other end of the Capitol, a sub-committee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, headed by Senator Root, has favorably

reported to the full committee the Works resolution, providing for the submission to the states of a constitutional amendment upon the subject. The resolution originally made the Vice-President also ineligible for a second term, but the sub-committee struck out this part of it. Should it be adopted by Congress and ratified by the requisite number of states, paragraph 17, section 1 of article 27, the Constitution would be altered to read in part as follows:

The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of six years, and be ineligible for reëlection thereto. . . .

The arguments upon the question leave one in the air. On the one hand, a single term is declared to invite the most selfish use of it in order to secure its benefits before they fade forever. On the other hand, it is replied that a single term takes away the temptation to misuse the office in order to obtain re-election to it. *A priori*, one of these arguments is as good as the other. But we have had over a century of experience with Presidents, and while this experience has all been under the re-eligibility plan, it ought to leave us in a much better position to judge of the relative merits of these arguments than that in which were the men of the Philadelphia Convention, who were the first to face the problem, and according to their light solved it.

A State Founded on the Tin Peddler

BY R. MALCOLM KEIR

BECAUSE of sharp tricks, the Connecticut Yankee tin peddler has been cursed and reviled for nearly two hundred years. The peddler's basewood hams, oak leaf cigars, white oak cheeses, wooden nutmegs and tin bung holes are the things for which he is remembered, while the real service he has rendered his state has been forgotten.

"The evil that men do, lives after them
The good is oft interred with their bones."

Yet, despite his reputation, the peddler has had a definite place in the upbuilding of his state. He has been an important cog in the machinery of Connecticut's development.

The tin peddler was a product of colonial days. The first settlers in Connecticut were agriculturists, who, with a keen eye for the necessities of their business, picked out the rich farm lands along the Connecticut River. Later comers had to be content to perch on the rocky, stubborn hilltops, or to find some new way to make a living. The seashore proved more inviting than the boulder strewn country inland, and so citizens who were not farmers became shipbuilders, fishermen and traders. Boats were made *on* the shore to catch fish *off* the shore and carry them to the West Indies. The return load was sugar, which was distilled into rum and molasses. Part of the rum was used in the home colony; another part was taken to Africa and exchanged for slaves, who were sold in the West Indies. This trade with the West Indies was very profitable, and helped to establish many proud families. The number of persons who

could engage in building boats, making rum and selling slaves did not satisfy the increasing demand for new occupations for the people at home. Connecticut's infertile veneer of soil prohibited farming except in the already pre-empted river valleys. Lack of capital, high price of labor and distant markets prevented the growth of known manufacturing. But population continued to grow. What to do with the excess became an acute problem. The matter became reduced to a case of "Root, hog, or die." Some died. Some were *up-rooted*, going to swell the large Connecticut population that lives everywhere west of the state. Some rooted.

Two of those who rooted were Wm. Pattison and his brother Edward, Irishmen, who had come to a settlement on the Connecticut River about 1740, and not liking the prospects for farming, ventured in the business of making tinware, a trade they had learned in England. This was an entirely new industry for the colonies, and one that fitted Connecticut conditions. It did not require much capital, nor many high priced laborers, yet it did afford occupation to the most daring floaters in the community. The product met a ready sale, for tinware had been previously imported at a high price, and so was a scarce article, much prized. The brothers imported sheet tin from England at Boston, and carried it by horseback to the Connecticut River town. There the tin was pounded into shape with wooden mallets over anvils. When a sufficient supply of wares had been made, it was packed into a sack. With this slung from their shoulders the brothers went on foot to the nearby settlements, stopping to sell at each house until the pack was empty. These two were the first Connecticut tin peddlers.

Little by little, the brothers enlarged the scope of their travels, building a thriving business. When the distance covered became too great for foot travel, they ingeniously fitted baskets to saddles, and made longer journeys on horseback. After a time their trade grew too large for them to handle alone, so they taught a group of young apprentices the art of making tin pans, and showed a more enterprising class of youths how to beguile and flatter housewives into trading caraway seeds, mustard seeds, feathers and old metal, for new shining tin. It was the latter

young men who formed the renowned fraternity of Connecticut peddlers.

They were full of push and considerable daring, for it took real bravery to venture alone on long journeys at that time. They were also superlatively ingenious for they had to extricate themselves from all sorts of accidents and tight places. Their almost vagabond existence leading them always into new places among strangers, made them careless of life, of morals, of everything except a bargain. They would do anything to make a trade, and so became keen students of human nature and past-masters in guile. They are the ones who established the rule that a peddler's hand weighs one pound, and his foot two, and were guilty of many another sharp trick. Hence their unsavory reputation.

The success of the two original tinsmiths was imitated by their neighbors at home, and soon Connecticut became the recognized centre for tinware. Each tin shop sent its little corps of men into the highways, by-ways and hedges, so the nasal drawl and slab sides of the Yankee peddler were known in every Middlesex village and farm. The establishment of turnpike roads in 1790 enlarged the peddler's operations, by allowing him to shift his pack from the horse's back to a peculiar wagon, somewhat like a sawed off stage coach. A heavier, more varied load could then be carried. With the development of canals and roads the peddlers became the better organized.

Single or two horse wagons were started from Connecticut in the spring, and travelled north, south and west toward pre-arranged depots. In the fall, workmen from the Connecticut shops were sent by water to such central points as Montreal, Richmond, Charlestown or Albany. There they made new articles of tin from raw materials which they carried with them. Peddlers worked toward these central points to replenish their wagons, and then struck into the interior for the winter, making house to house canvass of their wares. In this way literally every hamlet in the colonies came to know, and use, the Yankee notions sold by the peddlers. After 1820, roads had been enough improved so that depots were established at favorable inland points, as well as points reached by waterways; operations were extended still further inland, even to the remotest frontier. Since the cur-

rency was in a chaotic state, much of the trading was simply "swapping," the peddler taking household products to the towns, and town products to the farms, until such times as he could sell for actual money. At the end of a six or eight months' trip, the peddler sold his horse and wagon wherever he could, and then rapidly made his way back to Connecticut with his gains for his employer. Thus was built a strong distributing and selling organization that closely resembles our Trusts. The peddlers were not individual traders, but were employed by a few capitalist tin makers in Connecticut. The supply stations were established at strategic points, and from these, regular routes ramified in all directions, making a complete system.

Stress has been laid on the *selling* of tin because that was the principal end of the business. The manufacture remained a simple thing, rarely attaining the dignity of a factory operation. The largest concerns employed only fifteen or twenty men, and usually less than ten. These few kept several times that number of peddlers supplied. Although Connecticut was the recognized leader in the tin industry down to 1850, the chief value of the industry to the state was not in the amount of goods produced, nor the men employed at home, but in the perfection of the elaborate selling organization outlined, and the creation of a wide market for *other* Connecticut goods. Tin itself, as an industry, has dropped from importance since 1850, but the foundation for the state's success in manufacturing was laid in the scheme for marketing tin. Built by the distributing organization perfected for tin, other industries have become permanent, valuable assets for the state, giving it its eminence as a manufacturing centre.

One such industry that the peddler helped build had its humble beginning in the manufacture of buttons. To us buttons are commonplace, but to our grandfathers, buttons were cherished objects kept among the family heirlooms. The first buttons were made of pewter, and cost as high as a dollar apiece. When the good citizens of Connecticut were forced to hunt for some means to keep themselves out of the poorhouse, one of the schemes they hit upon was making buttons, first of pewter, then of brass. The copper for the brass buttons was obtained from old sheathing in Connecticut ship yards, or from worn out copper kettles of rum

distilleries. This copper was mixed with imported zinc, and made into sheet brass, in mills that had cast and roller iron in the western part of the state before the Revolution. There was no thought of selling the sheet brass for there was no market for it. Buttons did have a ready market, and a high value with little bulk, so sheet brass was stamped into buttons which were gilded and put on sale. Since buttons were made of metal, they were usually sold by hardware dealers. The dealers refused to have anything to do with American made buttons, claiming that English buttons were superior in quality and appearance. But for one thing, the infant industry would have died right then, before it had a chance to toddle. Shut out of one market, the experimentors reached a better, more direct one, by handing their buttons over to the peddlers. Since the buttons took little room the peddler could easily add them to his stock in trade. Through him they found a ready and increasing sale. Although brass was first made to supply buttons, improvements in casting and rolling brass so increased the supply of the sheet metal, that the demands for buttons alone could not utilize the surplus. New uses had to be created. The new products were all small. Brass kettles to hang alongside the tin vessels on the peddler's wagon were manufactured. Wire was drawn from the sheet brass, then stamped into pins, or hooks and eyes. The peddler was glad to add these things to his outfit, because the greater variety of wares to display made him more sure of striking a trade.

The brass industry is markedly different from the tin. The value of tin lay in the selling organization it built. Tin manufacturing required few workers of only moderate skill. The industry was short lived. The value of the brass industry lay in its giving employment to a larger and larger number of highly skilled workers at home. It has been permanent. But the brass industry of to-day with its myriad of small things and large, owes a great debt to the tin industry which preceded it, for without the market provided by the peddler, the buttons, which were the foundation of the brass industry, could not have been sold.

Other illustrations taken from the multitude of "Yankee notions" could be used to reiterate the service rendered by the peddler in the days when manufacturing was beginning. One of

the most interesting of such examples would be suggested by the names Waterbury, Seth Thomas, Ansonia, and Ingersoll; calling to mind the whole clock and watch family.

In George Washington's day, clocks were ponderous affairs, made of wood and standing higher than a man. When the supply of farm lands failed in Connecticut, the spur of necessity made the Yankees root out new ways to escape starving. Clock making was one of the new things in which they indulged. They applied their ingenuity in making the clock cheap enough to go into the ordinary home and less of a museum curiosity. The first improvement was the making of interchangeable parts; that is, instead of making each clock as an individual with no two alike, standard patterns for the parts of the clock were devised, so that like pieces in similar clocks were always the same size and shape and could be manufactured in quantities, thus reducing the cost for making each piece. This alone greatly increased the production of clocks and cheapened their cost. Next, the clock's legs were amputated. The clock was made small enough to stand on a shelf. This marked almost a new era in time. The small shelf clocks, like buttons and pins, found their market on the peddler's wagon. The clocks sold like peanuts on circus day. No longer were time-pieces the badges of the rich. Every poor man could own one. Many attempts to replace wood by metal or even glass in the clock parts failed because metal was expensive and wood very cheap. Not until 1837 was brass cheap enough to compete with wood. That year a radical improvement was made. Clocks were constructed to run for one day only, and not the customary eight days. The interchangeable parts were made of stamped brass, and the price was six dollars, an astonishingly low figure. Connecticut became the nation's time-keeper. Peddlers carried the new brass clocks into every nook and cranny of land, becoming nearly as famous for clocks as they had been for tin. It was this wide sale that gave the industry its start. The peddler was the connecting link between a wide-spread, scattered demand, and a better method of production.

So, in many ways, the peddler was the necessary go-between, joining producer and consumer. Lack of a better means of

transportation and communication helped him build his trade routes. Peddling started at a time when roads were but poorly kept trails, oftentimes missing altogether. When turnpikes and canals were constructed, they afforded the peddler a better means of getting about. His business was increased by extending its range. But when railroads were built the peddler's knell was sounded. The steam horse was quicker, cheaper and more efficient than the animal. People preferred trading with a man of their own community when that man could get goods quickly and cheaply by railroad. So the peddler fell from grace. He was no longer a welcome visitor bringing news and wondrous trinkets from the world outside. His former trade went to the man who was on the spot. His cart lost its red paint. His horse's belly no longer rubbed the shafts. The character, too, of the men engaged in peddling changed. The shrewd bareboned Yankees were replaced by the bearded sons of Abraham, or the oily descendants of Aristotle. The jingling tin-cart was seen only in the remote districts far away from the railroads. To-day the trolley cars are chasing the peddler out of even this lair. Soon he will be but a picturesque memory. But there are still a few left-overs of the former era.

In the farming districts of New England there is to-day a system of selling ladders, porch chairs, lawn swings, brooms and clothespins that resembles the old system of tin peddling. The wagon is a simple frame and trucks to which all the paraphernalia to be sold is cleverly hooked. The resulting load is light though bulky. The tin peddler's wagon was a decapitated stage coach with innumerable little doors and compartments for storing away treasured wares. The load was not bulky but it did have considerable weight. The peddler on the ladder wagons does not much resemble our bygone Yankee friend. The present incumbent has not such a high order of intelligence as his predecessor. His is usually a failure from some other work who has drifted into peddling ladders on the lines of least resistance. But the method of marketing the ladders by direct call on remote consumers is just the same as the method that sold so much tin.

In our cities the pushcart men are the heirs of the tin peddling

method. Every conceivable thing is sold from pushearts, from peanuts and fruit to suspenders and women's hats. Like their prototype the pusheart men are highly organized for buying and selling. The modern notion of unions has reached even that humble realm.

The push-carter, the ladder waggoner, and the tin peddler all sought to reach the consumer directly. The tin peddler was a liar, a sharper in a trade, yet he was the humble agent that has helped put his state among the leaders in the production of small, useful articles, by providing a feasible way of getting the goods into the hands of the users of the goods. Production without sale is failure. Distribution is the life of trade. The peddler was the distributor.

Reminiscences of John James Audubon

BY MRS. E. W. ROBERTSON

IT WAS in the gloaming of a lovely evening as we sat upon the broad veranda of a spacious mansion in West Baton Rouge Parish in Louisiana.

The magnolia and mimosa trees were in full bloom, and the flowers mingled their fragrance, which the cool breeze wafted to us, filling the whole house with the delightful perfume. Just then a mocking-bird burst forth in his glorious song, as if in adoration of the full moon, which was rising in all its splendor.

The family circle centered in our mother, whose erect form and intelligent deportment seem to defy the ravages of time. Full eighty years had rolled over her honored head, yet her mind was bright and vivacious as she recalled the occurrences of long past events.

One of the family commented upon the beauty of the evening, and suggested that it was probably the mocking-bird which first intimated to Audubon the idea of describing the birds of America, and addressing Mother said: "You have often spoken of Audubon, will you tell us of him now?"

We all gathered around her "old arm-chair," and after a short pause she proceeded to relate her reminiscences of Mr. and Mrs. Audubon.

Before my marriage I went on a pleasure trip to the city of New Orleans on board of the steamboat "Orleans," commanded by Captain Oliver. This boat was the first one ever propelled by steam up the Mississippi River, usually occupying a week in traveling the same distance which is now accomplished in twenty hours.

There was a gay party of us, and we enjoyed the trip very

much. While in the city I became acquainted with a wealthy lady, lately married.

As she had no education, her husband advertised for a teacher. Mrs. Audubon applied for the position, and at the time of my visit was engaged as her teacher.

I remember distinctly the impression made upon me by Mrs. Audubon. She was not handsome; her face was spoiled by her nose which was short and turned up. She had fine dark gray eyes, with long black lashes, but expression was the chief attraction, being very gentle and intelligent. Her whole appearance aroused my respect and admiration.

I do not remember the year, but it was several years after the battle of New Orleans. We rode out to see the battle ground, and it was all planted in corn, which was two feet high at the time of our visit. I was married in 1823 to Dr. Nathaniel Wells Pope, who boarded with the Audubons in Lexington, Ky., while he was pursuing the study of his profession with Dr. Dudley. We lived in the town of St. Francisville, in the Parish of West Feliciana.

Mrs. Audubon was teaching in the family of Mr. Garrett Johnson, a planter who lived about seven miles from the town. The school was very, very popular, and was patronized by the elite far and near, for schools were not so accessible then as now.

When Audubon came to St. Francisville on his way to visit his family, my husband invited him to make our house his home, which invitation he accepted whenever he was in that part of the country. Audubon was one of the handsomest men I ever saw. In person he was tall and slender; his eyes were like the eagle in brightness, his teeth white and even, his hair a beautiful chestnut brown, very glossy and curly; his bearing was courteous and refined, simple and unassuming. Added to these personal advantages he was a natural artist and a keen sportsman.

He has often described to me the cottage where he was born. It was on the bank of the Mississippi in lower Louisiana, and was surrounded with orange trees. When quite young his father sent him to France to be educated. He returned to the United States after completing his education, and married an English lady, who was accomplished and dignified. They were married

in Philadelphia, from whence they emigrated to Lexington, Ky. Here he opened a large store. Being hospitable and generous, his table was furnished with the choicest viands. Unfortunately he failed in business, and was treated with much neglect by those who had shared his fortune. Stung to the quick by this treatment he resolved to make a fortune and show these false friends that he could "earn money as well as spend it." He would say, "I mean to get me a coach and six and ride through the streets of Lexington yet." He had always been fond of hunting and drawing, and he now turned to these apparently frivolous pastimes as the means whereby his fortune could be made. His first sketch was a wild duck sitting on her nest among the reeds in a marsh.

Mrs. Audubon advertised for a situation as a teacher, and he started out on his career. This was several years before I knew them. They were always very happy at our house and discussed their plans for the future in our presence. He would relate to her the incidents in connection with his occupation and she would write them out for him for publication. I am sure she wrote nearly, if not all of the descriptions which accompany his paintings. His whole time was occupied in learning the habits of birds of which he kept notes that his wife delineated.

He kept his specimens in a water tight, tin box, which remained in my parlor for months. His reputation was spread far and wide, and often our home was filled with visitors who came to see his drawings and paintings. He would spread them out on the floor for inspection. Persons from afar came to see his collections and he never seemed to weary with unpacking and explaining them. He was very social and communicative, was the centre of attraction in every circle in which he mingled.

During one of his trips to Pointe Coupee he captured a small alligator, which he placed in a tub of water in his room in the house of a friend. After a short absence he returned to the room and found that the alligator had disappeared.

A search was instituted but no trace could be found. Six months after the lady of the house found it in an old boot under the bed in the room Audubon had occupied. It was alive and well. In his delight at making a scientific discovery, he did not

reflect that the boot being found in the same place was an evidence of a careless housewife until she laughingly reminded him of the fact, when he made her an ample apology.

On my return from church one Sabbath, I think I had been to hear Lorenzo Dow preach, I found that Audubon had arrived during my absence and hung up in my parlor four of his oil paintings. One of them was a portrait of Hare Powell the great boxer. It was a very fine picture. The handsome, smiling face, with dark hair and eyes; the open shirt collar showing the splendidly formed neck, made one of the finest specimens of athletic manhood. The other portrait was that of Mrs. Brown, fair complexion, was dressed in a low-necked dress, white with and was his first attempt in this line of art. She had red hair, a crimson scarf thrown over her shoulders.

The other two were vegetables and fruits. They were very beautiful when Audubon hung them in my parlor as a present to me. I was much gratified with his delicate kindness in bestowing them.

Where are they now? They were destroyed during the war. He was anxious to paint my portrait, but I never would consent to sit for one, and would laughingly tell him I was too ugly to paint.

I have since regretted that I did not comply with his request. I did not at the time reflect that he might have thought in this way to cancel somewhat the debt of obligation he was under to us, though he was always a cherished guest. He was abstemious in his diet; did not drink tea or coffee or use tobacco. He always drank a glass of weak whisky and water which, for his breakfast, he called grog. After I prepared my husband's coffee I mixed his grog. Audubon was the most expert carver I ever saw cut the bauxh hall slice with the greatest nicety. I never knew him to have a severe sickness, and do not think he drank any liquor except at meals, which the life he led necessitated.

After spending a short time of rest with his family and friends, he would start again on his lonely journey in the woods with his knapsack on his back, alone and on foot, often remaining until his clothes were worn out, and his hair in long curls on his shoulders. It was beautiful, as I said before, and the girls

at his wife's school would beg him for his curls, that they might wear them as was the fashion at that time. He would tell them to bring the scissors and with good nature submit his hair to be sheared by their unskillful hands.

He seldom shot the birds which he painted; usually stunned them by concussion or wet the plumage by a squirt and caught them. Whenever practicable he drew and painted the birds before the eyes became dim, placing them in position by means of wires.

Once while describing to us some of the scenes and incidents of his travels, he said: "If I were to tell you one half that I see in the lonely ravines and swamps, it would make your hair stand on your head. I do not like to relate my adventures to everyone, for I might not be believed and yet everything I said would be truth."

One day he showed us his painting of the wild turkey, compared it with that of Bonaparte which he had lately procured.

He said that the superiority of his own painting consisted in the shading of the legs, which Bonaparte had painted all one color, while those of his turkey were shaded in different hues as in the live bird. Though no artist myself, I could see the difference after his explanation.

About the year 1827 we moved into the country. Audubon visited us for the purpose of procuring and studying the habits of the swallow-tailed hawk, which were plentiful in the woods near us. One day Dr. Pope and Audubon went fishing in a lake—Garnhart's, I believe—and on their return brought the largest turtle I ever saw. The head was eight inches across, and the shell was large enough for an infant's cradle. It snapped the largest cane in two with a single bite and was extremely savage.

Audubon had lately returned from Europe, where he had gone to have his drawings engraved. He was obliged to visit England, Scotland and France to have it done. Each one of his birds required a separate plate, which was very tedious and expensive.

Our dwelling was a log house, weather boarded on the outside, but the logs inside were exposed. Between them I placed all the odds and ends, eggs, bunches of feathers, garden seed,

brooches of yarn; in fact whenever anything was wanted, turn to the log wall and you would generally find what you were looking for. Audubon often laughed at my museum as he called it. One day he had been gathering some forest leaves as souvenirs for some friends in England. Looking around at my museum he said, "Madam, if I could put this house as it stands in London, it would make my fortune for it would be one of the greatest curiosities I could take there.

While he was wandering in the forest, his noble wife was working in order to assist him in having his pictures engraved.

It grieved him exceedingly to have it so. Every time he returned home he found her fading and drooping, and he could only compare her to a beautiful tobacco plant cut off at the stem and hung up to wither and fade with head hanging downward. Audubon was an accomplished swimmer, and taught his wife's scholars the art, by which one of them was saved from drowning. The steamboat *Brandywine*, on her passage up the Mississippi, caught fire. The tiller, being rope, burned in two and made it impossible to steer the boat to shore. Turning around and around it was soon consumed. The passengers jumped overboard and many were drowned. One of Audubon's pupils, Miss Hamilton, swam to shore and was saved.

I never met Mr. and Mrs. Audubon after they left Louisiana. They had two little sons, John and Victor. The eldest was at school most of the time. Victor stayed with his father whenever it was possible to do so. I always think of them with pleasure. Some of the happiest days of my life were spent in company with Mr. and Mrs. Audubon.



View of the mountain from the camp

History of the Mormon Church

By BRIGHAM H. ROBERTS, Assistant Historian of the Church

CHAPTER LXXI

THE SALT LAKE VALLEY REGION: FERTILE OR NOT FERTILE?

IT was a wonderful country into which the pioneers of the Church of the Latter-day Saints had penetrated, and which their Prophet-leader designated so positively as their place of habitation. It was a country practically unknown, through the eastern states, except through the Reports of Fremont and his topographical maps published in the year 1845. Other reports that reached the east concerning the great west and northwest, from agents of the fur companies, from returned adventurers—hunters and trappers—and from missionaries, concerned themselves chiefly with Oregon or California. The Great Intermountain West had not, as yet, inspired a great amount of interest. The “Great Basin,” in which are located, on the east side, Salt Lake and Utah Lake—the latter a body of fresh water some thirty miles south of the former—was marked off on Fremont’s topographical map as having a diameter of eleven degrees of latitude, by ten degrees of longitude;¹ and an elevation above the sea between 4,000 and 5,000 feet. It extends from the Blue Mountains of Oregon in the north to the approaching southern ends of the Wasatch and Sierra ranges, in the south. Its eastern rim or wall is the Wasatch range, the western cordillera of the Rocky Mountains; while the Sierra Nevada range

1. This, of course, is approximate extent; and still approximating only, it may be said that the “Basin” lies between the 110th and the 120th degrees of longitude; and between the 26th and the 45th degrees of north latitude, at the points of its extremest length and breadth.

forms the western rim. The Sierra and the Wasatch ranges describe, respectively, a great but irregular arc of a mighty circle, the ends of which approach each other at both the north and the south, so that the "Great Basin" is irregularly oval rather than circular in form, with its greatest extent running north and south.² Fremont describes it on the face of his topographical map as, "*a region surrounded by lofty mountains; contents almost unknown, but believed to be filled with rivers and lakes which have no communication with the sea, deserts and oases which have never been explored, and savage tribes which no travelers have described.*"

Subsequent exploration and settlement proved much of this conjecturing to be true. It is a region surrounded by lofty mountains; also with many local, narrow mountain ranges, for the most part running parallel with the ranges forming the Basin's east and west sides. "The absence of one or more short ranges opposite each other will occasionally unite several valleys into one," says Lieutenant J. W. Gunnison.³ He also notes that some partial cross ridges in the Basin form minor basins. Much of the Great Basin's area is desert and semi-desert, with here and there fertile tracts of land bordering local river systems, the oases of Fremont's conjectures. It has the river sinks and shallow, brackish lakes which have no outlet to the sea. Indeed the whole Basin itself is but the bottom of some ancient sea with probable outlets *via* of the Columbia Valley, connecting it with the Pacific Ocean.⁴

It is with this region about the Great Salt Lake, however, where the Latter-day Saint Pioneers had halted, and where, and in adjacent local valleys, their colonizing activities for some years will be employed, that I am here immediately concerned.

2. See topographical map accompanying Fremont's Report of his "First and Second Expedition, 1842-3-4," published by order of the U. S. Senate, at Washington, 1845. Others regard the "Basin" as "roughly triangular" in outline. See "Great Salt Lake, Present and Past," Talmadge, 1900, p. 88. For a more minute description of the Great Basin by Fremont, and one of great interest, see note 1, end of chapter.

3. "The Mormons or Latter-day Saints," pp. 14, 15. Lieutenant Gunnison was of the U. S. A. topographical Engineers accompanying Captain Howard Stansbury in his government topographical surveying expedition to Utah, 1849-50. His book is written from personal observations and deductions while in the U. S. service in Utah.

4. This ancient inland sea is now called Lake Bonneville, of which more later. See notes 2 and 3 end of Chapter LXXII.

A controversy in subsequent years arose as to the relative fertility and barrenness of the region the Mormon Pioneers designated as a *habitat* for their people, echoes of which are still to be heard in controversial literature upon this subject.⁵ It is quite probable that the early settlers in the Salt Lake Valley, regarding the subject from the stand-point of the hardships they endured while planting their colonies, and instituting practically a new system of agriculture, involving the added toil and expense of irrigation to raise their crops, unconsciously emphasized the barren and desert features which made the added toil and expense of farming imperative. Also in some of their descriptions they were holding in contrast with their present semi-barren and tree-less environment the well watered, alternating prairie and woodlands of Missouri, Illinois and Iowa, fertile beyond all other lands, and the paradise of the agriculturist.

Yet, as we have seen in a previous chapter, leading Pioneers themselves did not fail to note the natural advantages of the Salt Lake Valley. Orson Pratt notes in his journal that "streams from the mountains and springs were very abundant, the water excellent and generally with gravel bottoms. A great variety of green grass, and very luxuriant, covered the bottoms for miles where the soil was sufficiently damp, but in other places, although the soil was good, yet the grass had nearly dried up for want of moisture." He also notes that streams were entering into the valley from the mountains on the east every few miles, "many of which were sufficiently large to carry mills and other machinery."⁶ Wilford Woodruff, as we have seen already, was enthusiastic in his commendation, speaking of the valley as the "vast, rich, fertile," and "glorious valley;" and as "abounding with the best fresh water springs, riverlets, creeks, brooks and rivers of various sizes."⁷ He also assures us that President Young "expressed his full satisfaction in the appearance of the

5. See articles in "Lewiston (Maine) Journal," as late as August and September, 1903, reproduced in "Defense of the Faith and the Saints," Vol. I, pp. 83-107, by the author of this History; also current anti-Mormon literature generally.

6. Orson Pratt's Journal, entry for July 22nd, 1847. *Mill. Star.*, Vol. XII, p. 178.

7. See note, end of Chapter LXX, excerpt from Woodruff's Journal, July 24th, 1847.

valley as a resting place for the saints, and was amply repaid for his journey.”⁸

All, however, were not equally enthusiastic in their appreciation of the valley's beauty, grandeur or fertility. The principle draw backs noted were its treeless state, its wide stretches of alkali bottom lands, its dry bench lands, and the fact that even before it could be plowed, the land had to be irrigated. “My mother was heart-broken,” writes Clara Decker Young, one of the Pioneer women of the company, “because there were no trees to be seen. I don't remember a tree that could be called a tree. . . . The ground was so dry that they found it necessary to irrigate it before plowing, some plows having been broken.” She adds that to the other two women who had made the journey from Winter Quarters, “there was a sense of desolation and loneliness.”⁹

The first impression of the valley upon other pioneers was very disheartening, says Lorenzo Young. Except for two or three cottonwood trees along the water course no other trees were in sight, and Brigham Young regretted the destruction of the willows and wild roses growing on the banks of City Creek because the channel of the stream had to be changed for irrigating purposes, “leaving nothing to vary the scene but rugged mountains, the sage brush and the sun flower. The ground was covered with millions of black crickets which the Indians were harvesting for their winter food.”¹⁰

Samuel Brannan, meeting the returning members of the Mormon Battalion in the Sierras, in September, 1847, en route for Salt Lake Valley, said:

“The Saints could not possibly subsist in the Great Salt Lake Valley, as, according to the testimony of the mountaineers, it

8. *Ibid.*

9. Clara Young's Experiences, Ms., p. 5. Quoted by Bancroft Hist., Utah, p. 261.

10. Bancroft's History of Utah, page 262, quoting from “Early Experiences,” Lorenzo Young, Ms., p. 415. The manner of gathering this harvest is thus described by Lorenzo Young (brother of Brigham): “The Indians made a corral twelve or fifteen feet square, fenced about with sage brush and grease-wood, and with branches of the same drove them into the enclosure. Then they set fire to the brush fence, and going amongst them, drove them into the fire. Afterward they took them up by the thousand, rubbed off their wings and legs, and after two or three days separated the meat, which was, I should think, an ounce or half an ounce of fat to each cricket.” “Early Experiences,” Lorenzo Young, Ms., 4, 5.

froze there every month in the year, and the ground was too dry to sprout seeds without irrigation, and irrigated with the cold mountain streams the seeds planted would be chilled and prevented from growing; but if they did grow they would be sickly and fail to mature. He considered it no place for an agricultural people, and expressed his confidence that the Saints would emigrate to California the next spring. On being asked if he had given his views to President Brigham Young he answered that he had." On further inquiry as to how his views were received he said in substance that the President laughed and made some rather insignificant remark, 'but,' said Brannan, 'when he has fairly tried it, he will find that I was right and he was wrong, and will come to California.'"¹¹

The doubts of Bridger concerning grain maturing in the Salt Lake Valley have already been recorded.¹²

Erastus Snow during the celebration of the thirty-third anniversary of the entrance of the Pioneers into Salt Lake Valley, said:

"When the Pioneers found it (i. e. Salt Lake Valley), it was well nigh purified by the lapse of time and the desolation of ages, and the wickedness of its ancient inhabitants was well nigh obliterated, though the curse of barrenness and desolation still existed."¹³

An anti-Mormon author declares that Brigham Young had led his people "to a land as barren as the desert of Sahara and as devoid of vegetation as the rock of Gibraltar."¹⁴

Other anti-Mormon writers desiring to depreciate the achievements of the Latter-day Saints in conquering a barren wilderness by means of ceaseless toil and irrigation, have exaggerated the natural fertility of Salt Lake Valley and represented it almost as a fertile paradise. "The Mormons found a plain road into a fertile, unoccupied country; . . . its isolation alone was the cause of its non-occupation."¹⁵

11. History of Mormon Battalion, Tyler, page 315.

12. See *ante* this History, Ch. LXX.

13. The Utah Pioneers, p. 41.

14. "The Mormon Prophet," Waite, 1866, page 5.

15. "McBride's Route of the Mormons," *Ms.*, quoted by Bancroft, History of Utah, footnote, page 258.

"There never was any barren valley [i. e. Salt Lake Valley] for it has always been one of the best watered, most easily cultivated, and reproductive vallies west of the Mississippi. The Mormons raised bountiful crops of grain the very first year of their arrival."¹⁶ "The difficulty of securing a crop here in this fertile valley with its mild and equable climate was very small in comparison with the difficulties encountered by the first settlers of New England along the bleak Atlantic shore."¹⁷

Schuyler Colfax, Vice President of the United States, in the *New York Independent*, 1870, having then recently returned from California *via* of Salt Lake Valley, refers to the credit claimed by the "Mormons" for fertilizing the desert. "For this," said he, "they claim great credit; and I would not detract one *iota* from all they are legitimately entitled to. It *was* a desert when they first emigrated thither. They have made large portions of it fruitful and productive, and their chief city is beautiful in location and attractive in its gardens and shrubbery. But the solution of it all is in one word—water. What seemed to the eye a desert became fruitful when irrigated; and the mountains whose crests are clothed in perpetual snow, furnished in the unfailing supplies of their ravines, the necessary fertilizer."¹⁸

16. Plainly an error, since the Pioneers did not arrive until the 24th of July and no planting took place except as to corn, vegetables, and buckwheat. This did not mature. See Parley P. Pratt's autobiography, p. 401.

17. A Salt Lake correspondent of the *Lewiston [Maine] Journal*, Aug. 19, 1903. "Defense of the Faith and the Saints," page 86-87.

18. "The Mormon Question," p. II. This pamphlet, published by the Church, is made up of a speech by the Vice-President from the veranda of his hotel in Salt Lake City, October, 1869, making certain strictures upon the religion of the Saints; Elder John Taylor's answer thereto through the press; the Vice-President's reply through the *New York Independent*; and Elder Taylor's rejoinder. Commenting upon the above passage in the text, Elder Taylor said:

"Water! Mirabile dictu! Here I must help Mr. C. out.

"This wonderful little water nymph, after playing with the clouds on our mountain tops, frolicking with the snow and rain in our rugged gorges for generations, coquetting with the sun and dancing to the sheen of the moon, about the time the 'Mormons' came here took upon herself to perform a great miracle, and descending to the valley with a wave of her magic wand and the mysterious words, 'hiccory, diccory, dock,' cities and streets were laid out, crystal waters flowed in ten thousand rippling streams, fruit trees and shrubbery sprang up, gardens and orchards abounded, cottages and mansions were organized, fruits, flowers and grain in all their elysian glory appeared, and the desert blossomed as the rose; and this little frolicking elf, so long confined to the mountains and water courses proved herself far more powerful than Cinderella or Aladdin.

* * * But, to be serious, did water tunnel through our mountains, construct dams, canals and ditches, lay out our cities and towns, import and plant choice fruit trees, shrubs and flowers, cultivate the land, and cover it with the cattle on a thousand hills, erect churches, school-houses and factories, and transform a howl-

Thus in Anti-Mormon literature generally will be found an effort to discredit the achievements of the Saints in redeeming the desert lands of Salt Lake and adjacent valleys, and other regions of the Great Basin; for desert, to a large extent, they were, as much of their area remains to testify to this day. On the other hand, yielding to the desire, so natural to man, to magnify his own achievements, the triumph of his faith, or represent himself as the special object of divine care, it is possible that the Saints in their account of things have unconsciously emphasized the desert appearance and conditions of the land to which they came as exiles from better lands, out of due proportion. The fact is that there is *data* in abundance for both sides to the controversy, according to the attitude assumed by the disputant, or the view-point of the narrator. It is the two-sided shield sort of a question. Looked upon from one side the shield seemed to be gold; looked upon from the other, it appeared to be silver; for the reason that one side was gold and the other silver. To get the truth both sides had to be looked upon. It is so with our fertile-desert controversy of the Salt Lake and adjacent valleys at the time the Pioneers entered them. There was plenty of desert lands out of the reach of water by any means of irrigation that the Pioneers could then adopt; with staked plains of alkali and sand utterly barren; the whole lake district and adjacent valleys, and, for matter of that, the whole of the Great Basin, save for some mountain ranges that rimmed it, were practically treeless. On the other hand, considerable land along the east side of Salt Lake valley and in a number of adjacent valleys extending north and south for a distance of many miles, were well watered, and needed only that the streams be spread out over the intervening stretches of land in a simple system of irrigation, to make the seeming dry and barren waste fruitful. Of this fertile region, its extent and possibilities, Lieutenant Gunnison, of Captain Stansbury's Company of United States Army

ing wilderness into a fruitful field and garden? * * * What if a stranger on gazing upon the statuary in Washington and our magnificent Capitol, and after rubbing his eyes were to explain, 'Eureka! it is only rock and mortar and wood.' This discoverer would announce that instead of a development of art, intelligence, industry and enterprise, its component parts were simply stone, mortar and wood. Mr. Colfax has discovered that our improvements are attributed to water!" ("The Mormon Question")—Colfax—Taylor, p. 18.

engineers in the early days of Salt Lake Valley's settlement—1849-50—perhaps gave the most accurate description, and formed the most intelligent judgment. After speaking of the barren and desert condition of the larger part of the Great Basin, the Lieutenant then says of the fertile region:

“Along the western foot of the Wahsatch range, for three hundred miles, is a strip of alluvion, from one to two miles in width,—and in the valley of the Jordan this is widened by what can be reclaimed by irrigating from its waters; and the spots similarly situated in other valleys, furnish the only land suited to cultivation in the Utah Territory. This arises from the want of rain during the growing season; and water for the crops is only to be procured from the numerous streams that flow down the mountain gorges, fed during the spring, and into midsummer, by the melting snows. The higher mountains retain the snow, and irrigate the bases the longest time, and where the streams cannot be taken at the kanyon mouths, and led off for the farmer's use, the ground is lost to the plough. Most of these creeks are absorbed in the porous alluvion before they have reached a mile from the base, and frequently re-appear in very diminished quantity in springs, at too low a level for use, in the arid plain that borders the salt pools or lakes. The land around Salt Lake is flat, and rises imperceptibly on the south and west for several miles, where it is not broken up by the abrupt hills, and is a soft, and sandy barren, irreclaimable for agricultural purposes. On the north the tract is narrow, and the springs bursting out near the surface of the water, the grounds cannot be irrigated; but the eastern side, above the line overflow when the lake rises with the spring freshets, is fertile and cultivated between the mountain and shore.”

Estimating the population that could possibly be sustained in this fertile region within the territory of Utah, in view of the resources then in sight, Gunnison said:

“In order to estimate the probable amount of population which can well be sustained in the Territory [i. e. Utah], we may safely rely on an equivalent of 2,000 pounds of flour to the acre of the plowed lands, and, drawing the meat part of the ration, or one half, from the herds fed elsewhere, there could be fed four thousand persons on the square mile. Such a density of inhabitants it can hardly be supposed will ever be attained there;

but modified by the peculiar circumstances of the case, and social character of the people, and giving a far less amount to the mile, we may calculate that the territory of Utah will maintain, with ease, a million of inhabitants. Stretching southward from the point we have been noticing and passing over the rim of the Great Basin into a cotton-growing region, and where it is contemplated to try the sugar-cane; having abundant iron mines every where in its whole extent, and inexhaustible beds of coal in the Green River Basin—with hill pastures, the finest in the world for sheep and wool raising—with water power for manufactures on every considerable stream—there are elements for a great and powerful mountain nation.”¹⁹

After sixty-five years of growth and development within the region of country referred to, the possibilities of which in the above passage were fore cast, realization, in population at least, has not yet overtaken the anticipation of Lieutenant Gunnison; but realization is on the way; and doubtless but waits upon a further development of the wonderful resources of the inter-mountain west to bring to pass in accomplished fact all that the young officer foresaw as possibility.

NOTE 1: FREMONT'S DESCRIPTION OF THE "GREAT BASIN"—THE INTER MOUNTAIN WEST. "Differing so much from the Atlantic side of our continent, in coast, mountains, and rivers, the Pacific side differs from it in another most rare and singular feature—that of the Great interior Basin, of which I have so often spoken, and the whole form and character of which I was so anxious to ascertain. Its existence is vouched for by such of the American traders and hunters as have some knowledge of that region; the structure of the Sierra Nevada range of mountains requires it to be there; and my own observations confirm it. Mr. Joseph Walker, who is so well acquainted in those parts, informed me that, from the Great Salt Lake west, there was a succession of lakes and rivers which have no outlet to the sea, nor any connection with the Columbia, or with the Colorado of the Gulf of California. He described some of these lakes as being large, with numerous streams, and even considerable rivers, falling into them. In fact, all concur in the general report of these interior rivers and lakes; and, for want of understanding the force and power of evaporation, which so soon establishes an equilibrium between the loss and the supply of waters, the fable of

19. Gunnison, "The Mormons," pp. 15-18.

whirlpools and subterraneous outlets has gained belief, as the only imaginable way of carrying off the waters which have no visible discharge. The structure of the country would require this formation of interior lakes; for the waters which would collect between the Rocky mountains and the Sierra Nevada, not being able to cross this formidable barrier, nor to get to the Columbia or the Colorado, must naturally collect into reservoirs, each of which would have its little system of streams and rivers to supply it. This would be the natural effect; and what I saw went to confirm it. The Great Salt lake is a formation of this kind, and quite a large one; and having many streams, and one considerable river, four or five hundred miles long falling into it. This lake and river I saw and examined myself; and also saw the Wah-satch and Bear River mountains which enclose the waters of the lake on the east, and constitute, in that quarter, the rim of the Great Basin. Afterwards, along the eastern base of the Sierra Nevada, where we travelled for forty-two days, I saw the line of lakes and rivers which lie at the foot of that Sierra; and which Sierra is the western rim of the Basin. In going down Lewis's fork and the main Columbia, I crossed only inferior streams coming in from the left, such as could draw their water from a short distance only; and I often saw the mountains at their heads, white with snow; which, all accounts said, divided the waters of the desert from those of the Columbia, and which could be no other than the range of mountains which form the rim of the Basin on its northern side. And in returning from California along the Spanish trail, as far as the head of the Santa Clara fork of the Rio Virgen, I crossed only small streams making their way south to the Colorado, or lost in sand—as the Mohah-ve; while to the left, lofty mountains, their summits white with snow, were often visible, and which must have turned water to the north as well as to the south, and thus constituted, on this part, the southern rims of the Basin. At the head of the Santa Clara fork and in the Vegas de santa Clara, we crossed the ridge which parted the two systems of waters. We entered the Basin at that point, and have travelled in it ever since, having its southeastern rim (the Wah-satch mountain) on the right, and crossing the streams which flow down into it. The existence of the Basin is therefore an established fact in my mind; its extent and contents are yet to be better ascertained. It cannot be less than four or five hundred miles each way, and must lie principally in the Alta California; the demarcation latitude of 42 degrees probably cutting a segment from the north part of the rim. Of its interior, but little is known. It is called a desert, and, from what I saw of it, sterility may be its promi-



For Export, only

nent characteristic; but where there is so much water, there must be some oasis. The great river, and the great lake, reported, may not be equal to the report but where there is so much snow, there must be streams; and where there is no outlet, there must be lakes to hold the accumulated waters, or sands to swallow them up. In this eastern part of the Basin, containing Sevier, Utah, and the Great Salt lakes and the rivers and creeks falling into them, we know there is good soil and good grass, adapted to civilized settlements. In the western part, on Salmon Trout river, and some other streams, the same remark may be made.

The contents of this Great Basin are yet to be examined. That it is peopled, we know; but miserably and sparsely. From all that I heard and saw, I should say that humanity here appeared in its lowest form, and in its most elementary state. Dispersed in single families; without fire arms; eating seeds and insects; digging roots, (and hence their name)—such is the condition of the greater part. Others are a degree higher, and live in communities upon some lake or river that supplies fish, and from which they repulse the miserable Digger. The rabbit is the largest animal known in this desert; its flesh affords a little meat, and their bag-like covering is made of its skins. The wild sage is their only wood, and here it is of extraordinary size—sometimes a foot in diameter, and six or eight feet high. It serves for fuel, for building material, for shelter to the rabbits, and for some sort of covering for the feet and legs in cold weather. Such are the accounts of the inhabitants and productions of the Great Basin; and which, though imperfect, must have some foundation, and excite our desire to know the whole.” (Fremont’s Report, pp. 275-6).

This description is important and of interest in this History because it was the account given of this region, and published in the Nauvoo papers before the exodus of the Saints from that city, and hence the description with which some of the Pioneers were familiar.

Talmage sometime Professor of Geology in Utah University, describes the Great Basin as follows: “The largest closed drainage area in North America is the Great Basin now under consideration. The region to which this name is applied is of outline roughly triangular. . . . It extends about 880 miles in greatest length running east of south and west of north, and 572 miles in extreme width from east to west. The area thus included is about 210,000 square miles, comprising the western half of Utah, the greater part of Nevada, and portions of eastern California, southeastern Oregon, southeastern Idaho and

southwestern Wyoming. The southern part of the Great Basin has not been definitely surveyed. (The Great Salt Lake, Present and Past, p. 88).

CHAPTER LXXII

THE SALT LAKE REGION BEFORE THE ADVENT OF THE "MORMON" PIONEERS

The first expedition of white men to enter this region, about which there can be no doubt, was that headed by the Catholic Fathers Silvestre Velez de Escalante and Francisco Atanasio Don Minguez, in 1776.¹

The expedition numbered ten all told, including, beside the Catholic fathers mentioned, Don Juan Pedro Cisneros, the mayor of the town of Zuni, and Don Bernado Miera y Pacheco, a retired Captain, and citizen of Santa Fe.

The purpose of the expedition was to find a route from Santa Fe to Monterey on the coast of California, then recently made a post of entry for goods shipped from Spain and Southern Mexico; and it was thought that if a road could be found direct from Monterey to Santa Fe it could be of great advantage in transporting both troops and goods to the New Mexican capital. Also it would doubtless give the priests access to other tribes of the natives, and facilitate communication among the stations the church had already established in California and New Mexico.

To achieve this purpose the expedition set out from Santa Fe on the 29th of August, 1776. From the Journal of the expedi-

1. Usually writers upon this subject begin with an expedition sent out by Francis Vasquez de Coronado from Cibola, New Mexico, consisting of twelve men led by Captain Garcia Lopes de Cardenas. Their object was to find and explore a large river reported by the natives as lying far to the northwest from Cibola. It is supposed that after many days of hard travel the expedition arrived at the canon of the Colorado at a point within the present state of Utah; but could not reach the river itself because of the depth and precipitous sides of the mighty gorge through which it passed; and hence the expedition failed of its purpose and returned, after much suffering, to the main encampment of Coronado's "exploring army," in New Mexico. Because the expedition led by Cardenas did not enter the Great Basin, the region with which I am dealing, and because his expedition to the Colorado was barren of results, I have excluded mention of it in the text.

tion² it is learned that the course was northwesterly through what is now the western part of the state of Colorado, to a little above the 40th degree north latitude. Then westward until they crossed Green river (which they named Rio San Buenaventura) some distance above the mouth of what is now called Unita River (by the fathers called Rio San Damian). Thence westward over a plateau and up the Uinta, Duchesne, and Strawberry valleys; thence down what is now called Spanish Fork Canon into the beautiful Utah Lake Valley, which the fathers called "*The Valley and Lake of Our Lady of Mercy of the Timpanogotzis.*"

The expedition arrived in the valley on the 23rd of September, 1776, and remained until the 27th, during which time they left their first encampment on the stream down the windings of which they had entered the valley,³ and moving northward crossed Provo river, and thence still northward to American Fork stream, from which point they could see the outlet of the lake—the present Jordan River. They did not visit the outlet, but named it "Rio de Santa Ana." They noted the great beauty of the valley, and mention the fact that the "San Nicholas"—the name they gave to Provo river⁴—"runs through large plains of good land for planting." It has more water than the two preceding streams; and "it has large groves, and plenty of good land *if irrigated*, for two and even three large villages."⁵

The fathers established friendly relations with the natives living on the eastern shore of the lake, whom they met in great numbers. They told them of God, and of obedience, and that while it was necessary for them (the fathers) to proceed on their journey, they would send priests to teach them of Christ, and Spaniards to live among them and teach them to cultivate the

2. A translation from the Spanish of this valuable record is made, and is now published in a recent work on the "Catholic Church in Utah," by the very Reverend W. R. Harris, D. D., L.L. D., 1909, it occupies 117 pages of Dean Harris' work, pp. 125-242.

3. It was thought for some time that these Catholic Fathers entered Utah Lake Valley *via* of the stream now called Provo river, but the published Journal makes it clear that they came down the Spanish Fork Stream which they named "Aguas Calientes" (river of warm water), see Escalante's Journal, also Dean Harris' discussion of the question, "The Catholic Church in Utah," p. 248.

4. The remaining large stream of the valley, American Fork, they called "Rio de San Antonio de Padua;" "The Catholic Church in Utah," 248. See also Escalante's Journal, pp. 173-184.

5. Escalante's Journal, pp. 180-181.

soil, and raise cattle, "So that they could be able to eat and to dress like the Spaniards, to obey the law, and to live as God had commanded."⁶ The fathers required and the Indians gave them a token that they desired to be Christians. This was to be shown to the great chief of the fathers, (the king of Spain), and which when the promised priests should come, they would bring it with them for identification and to insure a friendly reception. These tokens were figures representing two of their chiefs and one other person of some authority among them painted with earth and red-ochre on three separate crosses, the idea of which had been given them by the fathers displaying the cross of the rosary, and requesting that the token be drawn or painted upon a cross.⁷ One woman with a child that was sick begged that it might be baptized, but as, on inquiry, the fathers found the child was not likely to die, they "did not find it necessary to give it the water of baptism;" but for the mother's comfort told her they "would soon return and then would baptize all, both large and small."⁸

The fathers estimated that the lake on the shore of which these people lived—Utah Lake—was six leagues wide, and fifteen leagues long; and as the "league" was the old Spanish standard, equal to about 2.41 U. S. miles, the dimensions of the lake by their estimation would be 12.46 miles in width, by 36.15 miles in length.⁹ The natives called this sheet of water "Timpanago," meaning, doubtless, "fish lake" as the natives living upon its shores and subsisting upon its abundant supply of good fish were called "Timpanogotzis" by the surrounding tribes, meaning thereby "Fish-eaters."¹⁰ The ruling chief among these people was one "Tumnianchi."

The natives told the fathers of the Salt Lake in the next valley northward, and of the wonders of it to the native mind.¹¹

6. Escalante's Journal, *The Catholic Church in Utah*, p. 176.

7. *The Catholic Church in Utah*, p. 179.

8. *Ibid*, pp. 178-9.

9. See *The Catholic Church in Utah*, p. 180. The dimensions of the lake "north and south are about 22 miles; and its width east and west, nine, or ten miles." Elwood Mead, Report U. S. Department of Agriculture, 1903, p. 95.

10. Escalante's Journal, *Catholics in Utah*, pp. 181-2.

11. Among other things they represented that "its waters were very harmful and very salty; and that if one moistened any part of the body with it, he would at once feel the part bathed greatly inflamed." (*Ibid*, p. 182).

The fathers however, did not become sufficiently curious to visit this wonderful lake; on the contrary, after spending three days with the Timpanogis, they departed from the valley southward upon their search for a route to Monterey. The expedition passed through Sevier valley, thence southward through one of the most extensive and noble valleys of the state of Utah—to which the name “Escalante” is given—to the valley of the Rio Virgin, thence to the Colorado and back to Santa Fe.

While yet in the Sevier valley, being overtaken in the early October snows of that high region, the expedition lost all hope of finding a route to Monterey in any reasonable time, and hence determined upon the return to Santa Fe,¹² where they arrived on the 2nd of January, 1777.

After the departure of the Catholic fathers the next white men to make their way into the intermountain region were the hunters and trappers of the great fur companies, who contended with each other for “fur hunting territory” as since their day, to compare small things with greater ones, nations have contended with each other for spheres of commercial influence. There is evidence that representatives of the Hudson Bay Company and the North West Fur Company, as well as American fur companies extended their operations as far south and west as the Salt Lake and Utah valleys, as early as 1820-25. The advent of these will be briefly stated in chronological order as nearly as they may be followed.

Hudson Bay Company men were known to have been active in the trapping regions of the head waters of Snake river as early as 1819-1820. “Donald McKenzie” says Chittenden,¹³ “worked all through the country and around the head waters of the Snake river before 1820. Alexander Ross¹⁴ quotes a letter written by

12. This abandonment of the enterprise was not agreeable to all the party. They had come far, it was urged; they could surely find a way: why turn back? To determine the matter prayers were said and lots cast; and the lots were against seeking further a route to Monterey. This on the 11th of October, 1776. Escalante's Journal, pp. 194-7.

13. Hiram Martin Chittenden, Captain Corps of Engineers U. S. Army, and author of the “History of American Fur Trade of the Far West,” 3 Vols., 1902. A most valuable and reliable work on the movements of the fur traders in the Rocky Mountain regions.

14. Ross was a clerk of the Pacific Fur Company, with headquarters at Astoria, founded 1811.

him from 'Black Bear Lake' [the present Bear Lake of Idaho and Utah] in 1819." And then he adds: "It seems scarcely possible that so large a trapping party could have passed so much time in this vicinity without discovering Great Salt Lake."¹⁵

Peter Skeen Ogden was also "a leading spirit of the Hudson Bay Company in the decade between 1820-1830. In 1825 he set out with a party of trappers from Van Couver on the Columbia for the region round the head waters of the Snake River, then known as the Lewis branch of the Columbia. This expedition built old fort Boise, thence struck southwest until they came upon the stream now known as the "Humbolt River," in the present state of Nevada, so named by Captain Fremont, but for some time known as "Ogden's River," "which name by right," remarks H. H. Bancroft, "it should bear to-day, instead of that of Humbolt."¹⁶ Ogden also trapped on the Bear river in Cache Valley, now in the northern part of the state of Utah. Here he accumulated and cached 130 "packs" of furs, in weight about 1,300 lbs.; and variously valued at from \$75,000 to \$200,000. It is part of the trapper tradition of the intermountain west that General Ashley, one of the charter members of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company, of St. Louis, and Etienne Provot by accident came upon this cache and appropriated it. Another version of the affair was that Ogden "voluntarily" disposed of his cache to Ashley to obtain relief from some dire straits into which he had fallen, for some merely nominal consideration. It is generally believed that this transaction, whether accomplished by a mess-of-potage-purchase, or downright appropriation of a rival company's goods, became the foundation of General Ashley's considerable fortune, gained in the few years that he followed the fur trade.¹⁷ Five years later Ogden was again "relieved" of

15. History of American Fur Trade of the Far West, Vol. II, p. 795.

16. History of Nevada, Bancroft, p. 37. It was also called for a time "Mary River." Chittenden says Ogden married an Indian woman from one of the tribes of the valley, calling her name "Mary;" and from this circumstance the river was called "Mary's River." American Fur Trade, Vol. II, p. 797. Bancroft says "one of Ogden's party married the Indian girl, but does not say it was Ogden" (Hist. Nevada, p. 37). The Indian wife was soon abandoned, and then the river was no longer called "Mary."

17. Hist. American Fur Trade, Vol. I, p. 277. Bancroft, however, refers to Gen. Ashley as "a brave man, shrewd and honest; he was prosperous and commanded the respect of his men." (Hist. Utah, p. 21).

his furs, stored this time in the Hudson Bay station at "Ogden's Hole," a singular depression at the foot of the Wasatch range, east of the Salt Lake Shore, and in the present vicinity northerly of the City of Ogden. This time Ogden's cache of furs was "lifted" by one Thomas Fitzpatrick and associates in the employ of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company.¹⁸ But while the fortunes of the fur trade in these regions were against Ogden, his name is preserved in History by being given to one of the most beautiful of all the Rocky Mountain streams, "Ogden River," a tributary of the Weber;¹⁹ to the before mentioned depression at the foot of the Wasatch, "Ogden's Hole"; and to "Ogden City," the second city of the state of Utah, beautifully situated near the junction of the Ogden river with the Weber; and for many years the junction city of the Central Pacific and Union Pacific Railroads, which formed the first transcontinental railway line in America. It is evident that this agent of the Hudson Bay Company had a station at this point before the coming of the English speaking trappers into Green River Valley in 1823.²⁰

18. One other stream, before noted, bore Ogden's name, viz.: East Canon Creek was called "Ogden's Fork." See footnote 74, chapter LXX this History. "The name 'Weber River' dates from this same period (i. e., 1825), but the identity of the individual for whom it was given is lost." Chittenden, "American Fur Trade," Vol. II, p. 796.

19. "Peter Skeen Ogden was the son of Chief Justice Ogden of Quebec, and prior to this time (i. e., 1825) had served both in the Pacific Fur Company and in the North West Company. Later he rose to the chief factor and manager. At Fort Vancouver he was second only to Douglas, who succeeded McLoughlin, and indeed at one time was chief factor in charge. He was short, dark and exceedingly tough, with an inexhaustible fund of humor, and consequently a great favorite. He died at the age of sixty, in Oregon City, 1854." Bancroft Hist. Nevada, p. 36, footnote.

20. On the representatives of the successive races of men who temporarily operated throughout the intermountain west, Dean Harris has a paragraph in his work that is very instructive: "A singular, if not a unique fact in the history of Utah and southwestern Colorado, is the change of the nomenclature of rivers, mountains and localities, indicating that members of four different races of men passed through or occupied the land for a greater or lesser period. On the mountains, rivers and lakes aboriginal man conferred original names. The Spaniard, burning with religious enthusiasm, substituted for these names those of the saints, martyrs, confessors and canonized virgins of his Church. Then came French-Canadian trappers and hunters of the Hudson Bay Fur Company, who gave French names to tribes, mountains and specified localities. Then entered on the scene, in 1823, the men of the American Fur Company, who incorporated English names with or supplanted those already bestowed by the Indian, Spaniard and French. So that on the maps of Utah and Colorado these national names remain as permanent witnesses to the presence, at one time or another, of the existence in our land of four different layers or strata of the human race." (The Catholic Church in Utah, p. 257.)

The Rocky Mountain Fur Company was organized in St. Louis in 1823 by William Henry Ashley and Andrew Henry. Ashley was a Virginian by birth, but moved to St. Louis in 1802, at which time Missouri was still known as Upper Louisiana. Ashley was made the First Lieutenant Governor of the Territory and brigadier general of militia (whence his title of General).²¹ Henry was from Pennsylvania. The company advertised for one hundred young men to engage in its service, and in the number that responded are the names of men who became famous in the trapper-period of the intermountain country's history, such names, for example, as Etienne Provot (Provo) Jedediah S. Smith, James Bridger, and Milton and William Sublette.

After meeting with some disasters in the Upper Missouri river country in the early summer of 1823, attacks upon the expedition by treacherous Indian tribes, the trappers and traders of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company made their way to the Yellow Stone river and its tributaries, where some of them had trapped the year before. From the mouth of Powder river Edward Henry sent Etienne Provot with a party of trappers to explore the country to the southwest for trapping fields. It was on this expedition that young Provot is said to have discovered South Pass.²² He entered Green river valley, which afterwards became a celebrated rendezvous for the Rocky Mountain fur traders for many years. It is not certain that Provot pushed his way over the west-range of mountains into Utah Lake Valley that same fall, but he was on the stream which now bears his name, in 1824; and was the hero of one of the most thrilling adventures of trapper life in the intermountain west.²³

General Ashley wintered in Green River Valley 1824-25. It is generally supposed that he gave that stream its present name, calling it Green River, after a Mr. Greene of his party.²⁴ Chit-

21. History of Wyoming, Bancroft, pp. 679-80.

22. "Tradition among the traders and trappers always ascribed the discovery of this pass to Provot, and there is little doubt of the fact; but positive proof there is none. The date of the discovery was probably late in the fall of 1823." (Hist. American Fur Trade, Vol. I, p. 271). I follow the orthography of Dean Harris for Provot's name, which he obtained from official records in St. Louis. Usually it is given *Provost*. See "Catholic Church in Utah," pp. 261-2.

23. See Note I, end of chapter.

24. Bancroft Hist. of Utah, p. 21.

tenden calls attention to the fact, however, that the stream was called "Green River" before General Ashley visited its Valley;²⁵ and that Fremont says the early Spanish traders called it *Rio Verde*.

Early in the summer of 1825 Ashley and Provot met in the Green River Valley south of the Uinta Mountains, and together made their way to Utah valley, thence south to the Sevier Lake which they called Ashley's Lake.²⁶ It was during this visit to Utah Lake that "Fort Ashley"—a trading station, long since obliterated, was founded on its shores.

Ashley's meanderings this year must also have extended as far north as Cache valley, as it was during this summer of 1825 that he and Provot secured Ogden's cache of furs. The following year, 1826, Ashley brought to his station on Utah Lake a wheeled cannon, a six pounder, the first wheeled vehicle that came into the great Basin.²⁷

In this year Ashley disposed of his interests in the fur trade in the Rocky Mountains, and Jedediah S. Smith, William L. Sublette and David E. Jackson became the head of the new company. In 1830 the company was again reorganized with Milton Sublett, James Bridger and Thomas Fitzpatrick as chief factors.

25. Ashley's first visit to Green River valley was late in 1824, as he was known to be at Council Bluffs in October and November of that year *enroute* for the west. In the *Missouri Intelligence* of April 19, 1825, occurs the following: "On the 24th of August, 1824, Wm. Huddard and fourteen men left Taos and travelled west to *Green River*, probably the Colorado of the west" (*American Fur Trade*, Vol. II, pp. 506-7). This is the first use of the name on record, and certainly proves that the stream had been given the name, Green River, before Ashley ever saw it. Fremont says it was the *Rio Verde* of the Spaniards. "The refreshing appearance of the broad river, with its timbered shores and green wooded islands, in contrast to its dry, sandy plains, probably obtained for it the name Green River, which was bestowed upon it by the Spaniards who first came into this country to trade, some 25 years ago (i. e., 1818). It was then familiarly known as the *Seeds-Ke-dee-agie*, or *Prairie Hen river*" (*Fremont's Report*, p. 129). Chittenden, while admitting the reasonableness of Fremont's conclusions, says that others acquainted with the characteristics of the river maintain that it derives its name from the appearance of the water, "a pronounced green" (*American Fur Trade*, Vol. II, p. 779). In any event it is pretty clear that "Green River" is but the angelicized name given to it by the Spaniards. "Ashley's Fork" of Green River, flowing from the Uinta mountains southeasterly, was, of course, named after Mr. Ashley.

26. "Historians," says Chittenden, "have generally supposed that it was Utah Lake that was temporarily honored with the General's name, but this is not the case." (*American Fur Trade*, Vol. I, p. 277). Speaking of events in 1825, our author says: "Utah Lake was then known by its present name and Seveier Lake was called Ashley Lake." *Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 796.

27. Bancroft erroneously places this in 1827. But Ashley, according to Chittenden, made his last journey to the mountains in 1826.

It was in 1826 also that Jedediah S. Smith with fifteen men started from Salt Lake Valley on his celebrated trapping and exploring tour through Utah and California. He went southward through Utah Valley, thence to Sevier Lake, thence southwesterly through the Mohave valley to San Gabriel, near the present city of Los Angeles, where they arrived in December. Smith and his party worked their way up San Joaquin Valley, crossed the Sierra Nevada Mountains, near the head waters of that stream, in May, and returned eastward to Salt Lake Valley in 1827.

After this first trapper period in the intermountain west, the Salt Lake region began to be visited by travelers and explorers, some times in semi-official capacity, of such was Captain B. L. E. Bonneville, an army officer on leave, and who with a party of one hundred and ten trappers came into Green River Valley, in 1832, and founded a trading station; from which, and also from a station established on the Salmon River, a tributary of Snake river, he directed trapping and exploring expeditions throughout the intermountain west. One of these expeditions made up of forty men, had for its purpose the exploration of the great Salt Lake, an enterprise Bonneville entrusted to his lieutenant, Mr. I. R. Walker, who with his party left Green River Valley on the 24th of July, 1833. The expedition however, was a sad failure so far as exploration of the lake was concerned, as Walker's party but skirted the north shore, then made their way to the Humbolt River and its tributaries, where they spent some time in trapping. Finally the party made its way over the Sierras to Monterey California, thence returned to Bear River valley where they found Bonneville encamped.

The report of the expedition's exploits in California and *en route*, going and returning, reflect little credit upon this party of men. Whatever advantage arose from a wider knowledge of hitherto unvisited regions of the Intermountain and Pacific west regions, was more than counter-balanced by the acts of cowardice, injustice and murder wantonly practiced upon the natives along their route.²⁸

²⁸. For an account of the shameful conduct of the men of this expedition, and the atrocities they practiced towards the native tribes, their needless assaults upon them, first through wantonness and then through cowardice, see "The Adven-

Partial explorations of the Great Basin region by Bonneville brought to him lasting fame since his name has been given, albeit without sufficient reason,²⁹ to that inland sea which doubtless in very ancient times practically filled the great western depression of the intermountain west, and of which Salt Lake, with the lakes in the various parts of the Basin, including the Sevier Lake in Utah, and the series of lakes on the west side of the depression, under the shadows of the Sierras, are but the diminishing remnants.³⁰ "Lake Bonneville," though long ages ago it ceased to exist as a great inland sea, will remain for all time to come a fact in the earth-surface history of our planet. Long after the well defined ancient shore lines which now attract the attention of every common observer³¹ to the various levels at which the

tures of Captain Bonneville, U. S. A.," by Washington Irving, Chs. XXI and XXXVIII, XXXIX and XL. Fortunately for the reputation of the U. S. Army and for humanity, Captain Bonneville was in no way responsible for the atrocities of this expedition; and he listened to the recital of the excesses of the men who constituted it with "horror and indignation." Unhappily this was not shared by the hunters and trappers that made up his encampment. "On the contrary," writes Irving, "the events of that expedition were favorite themes in the camp. The heroes of Monterey bore the palm in all the gossipings among the hunters." (Ibid, Ch. XL).

29. "In giving his dictation to Irving Bonneville professed great interest in the exploration of Great Salt Lake, though he had done nothing to speak of in that direction. Irving, however, humored the captain, whose vanity prompted him to give his own name to the lake although he had not a shadow of title to the distinction. Bancroft's History of Utah, p. 25, *note*. On this point he cites Nidever's "Life and Adventure," *Ms.*; also Warner's Memories in Pacific R. Report, XI, p. i-31-4. Bancroft also reproduces Bonneville's Map of 1837. It is very inaccurate and worthless, and leads one to doubt if Bonneville himself had ever seen Salt Lake, which, on the map, is given the name, "Lake Bonneville." As the name of Salt Lake, however, it did not "take;" and "The Great Salt Lake" survives as the name of this remnant of the larger inland sea of ancient times. But while Bonneville failed to fix his name upon the modern lake, Grove Karl Gilbert, in 1876, gave his name to the ancient inland sea; because, as he supposed, Bonneville gave the first authentic description of the existing lake as a result of his exploration in 1833. See "The Great Salt Lake, Present and Past," Talmadge, p. 100.

30. The principal of these on the western side of the "Basin" are Pyramid Lake and Walker Lake. The former is thirty-two by nine and a half miles, and the latter thirty miles in length by nine in width.

31. "The shore lines appearing upon the mountain sides against which the ancient waters beat, are throughout the greater part of their extent, so distinct that even the school boy is led to think of them as old water margins. Along these terraces abundant proofs of littoral structure may be found. In places pebbly beaches tell of lapping waves, while the covering and cementing tufa attached to the worn stones testifies to chemical precipitation or deposit by evaporation. Ripple marks are as clearly shown in the sandstones and hardened clays as on the shores which are at present washed by the spring waters. Embankments, wave-cut caves, and all the other usual phenomena of littoral action exist in a state of impressive perfection." ("The Great Salt Lake, Present and Past, 1900," by Dr. Jas. E. Talmadge, p. 102). For further information on these shore lines, and the extent of the ancient inland sea, read note 2 end of chapter.

great sea stood at different epochs in its history, shall have been worn away by erosions, "Lake Bonneville" will live in the world's literature, and in the archives of geological lore.

After Bonneville the next important person in order of time to visit Salt Lake Valley was Col. John C. Fremont, on his second exploring expedition in 1843.³² His coming was important because of the descriptions he gave of the great Basin, the first reliable information about Great Salt Lake, and the topographical maps of the Intermountain and Pacific coast west published with his reports.³³

Fremont's entrance into Salt Lake Valley was from Soda Springs down the Bear River, through Cache Valley to the mouth of that stream, thence, because of the marshiness of the delta of the river, across the foot hills of the Wasatch Mountains to the Weber River, where he made an encampment, and thence proceeded with his explorations of the lake. It was on the sixth

32. It is claimed, and it is doubtless true that Father De Smet passed through and even explored a considerable portion of Salt Lake Valley in 1841. "Under date of January 19th, 1858, in a letter addressed to the Editor of the *Precis Historiques Bruxelles*, and following a description of the Great Salt Lake Basin, Father De Smet says: 'In 1841 I traversed much of this valley in my rambles in the Rocky Mountains.'" But, according to Dean Harris, "there appeared in De Smet's writings no exhaustive or detailed account of his visit to Salt Lake." And as the only thing that could give importance to his visit to Salt Lake Valley, *viz.*, that his glowing description of the valley decided Brigham Young to lead his people there for settlement, which claim has been disposed of adversely in these pages, *ante*, Ch. LXIII, note 1—it is not necessary to say more of it than is here written. Reference has also been made in former chapters to the passage of some emigrating companies that passed through the Salt Lake Valley, enroute for California, such as Captain Bartleson's company, 1841; and later companies led by Hastings and Reed (see Ch. LXIX, note 2; also Ch. LXX). Further reference to them, however, as connected with events in Salt Lake Valley previous to the advent of the "Mormon Pioneers," will not be necessary.

33. The mountaineers assumed to make light of Fremont's maps of the regions with which these men professed such an intimate knowledge. Several journals kept by the "Mormon Pioneers" report that Bridger said "he was ashamed of the maps of Fremont, for he knew nothing about the country only the plain traveled road, that he could correct all the maps that had been put out about the western world" (Woodruff's Journal, entry for June 28th, 1847). The answer to this complaint against Fremont's maps is that Bridger and the mountaineers generally were not competent judges of maps. Captain R. B. Marcy states that "Bridger was an illiterate man, tall, thin, wiry, with a complexion well bronzed by toil and exposure with an independent, generous open cast of countenance, indicative of brave and noble impulses." (Thirty Years of Army Life, p. 401). Fremont's topographical maps were chiefly the work of Mr. Charles Preuss, who accompanied Fremont on both the expeditions he reported to the government, and who had been "professionally educated" in topographical science. Of him Fremont says: "To his extraordinary skill, supported by the pleasure he felt in the execution of his duties I am indebted for the continuous topographical sketches of the regions through which we passed, and which were never interrupted by any extremity of fatigue or privation." Report, Preface, p. 5.

of September that he ascended a butte rising from the plain, and came in full view of the object of his search. Here follows his description:

“The waters of the inland sea stretched in still and solitary grandeur far beyond the limit of our vision. It was one of the great points of the exploration; and as we looked eagerly over the lake in the first emotions of excited pleasure, I am doubtful if the followers of Balboa felt more enthusiasm when, from the heights of the Andes, they saw for the first time the great Western ocean. It was certainly a magnificent object, and a noble terminus to this part of our expedition; and to travellers so long shut up among mountain ranges, a sudden view over the expanse of silent waters had in it something sublime. Several large islands raised their high, rocky heads out of the waves; but whether or not they were timbered, was still left to our imagination, as the distance was too great to determine if the dark hues upon them were wood land or naked rock. During the day the clouds had been gathering black over the mountains to the westward, and, while we were looking, a storm burst down with sudden fury upon the lake, and entirely hid the islands from our view. So far as we could see, along the shores there was not a solitary tree, and but little appearance of grass; and on Weber’s fork, a few miles below our last encampment, the timber was gathered into groves, and then disappeared entirely.”³⁴

The 7th and 8th of September were spent in preparations to visit one of the islands of the lake for the purpose of making such observations as was then possible. Among the useful things that formed a portion of Fremont’s equipage was an India-rub-

34. Fremont’s Report, p. 151. More or less sport has been made of this account of Fremont’s first view of the Great Salt Lake, especially his reference to *Balboa*. “Fremont,” says Bancroft, “likens himself to Balboa discovering the Pacific; but no one else would think of doing so. He was in no sense a discoverer and though he says he was the first to embark on that ‘inland sea’ (Report 155) he is again in error, trappers in skin boats having performed that feat while the Pathfinder was studying arithmetic.” (Bancroft’s Utah, p. 32). This is unjust to Fremont. His reference to Balboa is in respect to a matter of “enthusiasm,” not to “first discovery.” In another passage of his report Fremont expressly concedes that white trappers had visited Salt Lake’s shores before him: “Hitherto,” he writes, “this lake had been seen only by trappers who were wandering through the country in search of new beaver streams and cared very little for geography; * * * and no instrumental observations or geographical survey of any description, had ever been made anywhere in the neighboring region.” (Report, p. 132). Fremont was mistaken, perhaps, in supposing that his boat was the first to be launched upon the lake’s waters; and he the first white man to visit an island in the lake; but he certainly does not represent himself as the first white man to discover this salt sea of the Great Basin. For Bonneville’s description of the Lake, given for the sake of completeness in these early accounts of “America’s Dead Sea,” read note 3, end of chapter.

ber boat, eighteen feet long, made somewhat in form of a bark canoe of the northern lakes, capable of carrying five or six persons and a considerable weight of baggage. It was in this boat that Fremont with Charles Preuss, Christopher (Kit) Carson, Baptiste Bernier, and Basil Lajeunesse, set out from the shore at the mouth of Weber River, and landed upon what is now from the east shore of the lake at the mouth of Weber River, is from twelve to fourteen miles in circumference, "being simply a rocky hill, which rises abruptly from the water to a height of from eight to nine hundred feet. From its summit Fremont took observations and ascertained that he was in latitude $41^{\circ} 10' 42''$, and longitude $112^{\circ} 21' 05''$ from Greenwich; and on the shore of the island at an altitude of 4,200 feet above the Gulf of Mexico. After spending part of two days and a night on the island the explorer reluctantly took his departure. In addition to making his observation for the latitude and longitude, five gallons of the water of the lake was roughly evaporated over his camp fire, which yielded him fourteen pints of "very fine-grained and very white salt, of which the whole lake" he remarks, "may be regarded as a saturated solution."³⁵ In the chemical analysis of the salt thus obtained he found 97.80 per cent. was chloride of sodium—common salt.

On the 12th of September, 1843, Fremont and his party left the valley, going northward.

What white man it was who first discovered Salt Lake is still an open question. Chittenden refers to a map of North America engraved for Guthrie's new system of Geography in 1811, in which is shown a lake without an outlet in nearly the same latitude and longitude as Great Salt Lake. On this map the lake has no name, but instead the following: "Lake, etc., laid down

35. Fremont had expected to find the mountain islands of the lake fertile, but in this he was mistaken. "In the first disappointment we felt from the dissipation of our dream of the fertile islands," he writes, "I called this *Disappointment Island*" (Report, p. 156). Because of the castle-like appearance of its summit, when approached from certain quarters, the "Mormon Pioneers" called it for a time "Castle called 'Fremont's Island.'"³⁶ It is about six or eight miles Island;" but later, when Stansbury made his topographical survey of the Lake he named it *Fremont Island*. "I deemed it but due to the first adventurous explorer of this distant region," he writes in explanation, "to name it after him who first set foot upon its shores." Stansbury's Report, p. 160.

36. Report, p. 157.

according to Mr. Lawrence, who is said to have traveled through this country to California in 1790-1791."³⁷

Chittenden also notes that a party of men belonging to the Astoria Company passed near the lake in 1811-1812, and speaks of other trapper parties who were in the region of the lake before 1824, and thinks it almost incredible that whitemen should have been in the immediate region of the lake without hearing of it, and hearing of it fail to visit such a remarkable body of water as it must have been represented to be. However, coming to the only known facts about the visit of white men to the lake, he says:

"So far as undubitable proof goes the discovery of the lake is connected with the expedition of General William Ashley which penetrated these regions 1823-6. A party of Ashley's men were encamped for the winter of 1824-5 in Cache Valley, trapping on Bear River and its tributaries. Here a controversy arose as to the course of Bear River after it left the valley. A wager was laid and James Bridger was selected to follow the river and determine the bet. This he did and soon arrived at its outlet in Great Salt Lake Valley. Testing the water he discovered it to be salt, and on reporting to his companions, all assumed that it was an arm of the Pacific Ocean. But in the spring of 1825,³⁸ four men in skin boats explored its shore line and found that it had no outlet."³⁹

Summing up the present status of the question of the discovery of the lake by white men our author says:

"The situation may be concisely stated by saying, that while Bridger is the first white man whom we positively know to have seen Great Salt Lake, we do not positively know that he was the first to see it."⁴⁰

Bancroft arrives at practically the same conclusion when he at the close of his discussion of the question he writes:

"That no white man ever saw the Great Salt Lake before Bridger cannot be proven; but his being the only well authen-

37. Hist. American Fur Trade, Vol. II, p. 794.

38. Bancroft put this event in 1826. (See Bancroft's Hist. of Utah, p. 20 and note).

39. Hist. of American Fur Co., pp. 794-5.

40. Ibid, p. 796.

cated account, history must rest there until it finds a better one."⁴¹

After the departure of Fremont nothing more of importance happened in Salt Lake Valley, except the passage through it of the several companies bound for California—already sufficiently noticed—until the arrival of the Mormon Pioneers. Their arrival of course marks the great modern epoch, not only of Salt Lake Valley, but of the entire Intermountain West. These “Mormon Pioneers” were not men of the wilderness, subsisting upon the game and such voluntary vegetable growths as will sustain life; nor did they come to identify their lives with the lives of the native tribes; they were not seeking for new hunting and trapping fields; nor were they merely a company of emigrants *in transit* for remoter objective points—“Eldorados” of human dreams; nor were they explorers for routes of travel, or in the interests of scientific knowledge. They came to Salt Lake and adjoining Rocky Mountain Valleys as the objective point of their journey, to find a refuge for their people from the storm and stress of religious persecution, which had so pitilessly beat upon them in the western states of the American Union. Their fellow exiles will come by tens of thousands to found homes, in which they hope to find peace; and communities in which they hope to find security and religious freedom. They will bring with them their women and children; their ploughs and spinning wheels and weaving looms. They will be Empire Founders, the true, and immediate benefactors of man. Their Pioneer Company has arrived on the shores of America’s Dead Sea; and their leader has said, “*This is the place.*” It is for us to write down the history of their empire-founding work.

NOTE 1: THE ADVENTURE OF ETIENNE PROVOT WITH MAUVIASE GAUCHE. The adventure of Provot, referred to in the text of the History, was as follows: While encamped with his party near the mouth of the stream which ever since the adventure—1824—has borne his name, Provot was visited by the Snake-Ute chief Mauvaise Gouche, meaning, “the man with the bad left hand,” a suggestive name conferred upon him by the French

41. Bancroft’s Utah, p. 20, note. For description of the lake see note 4, end of chapter.

Canadian trappers of the Wasatch region many years before." Gauche received a cordial welcome at Provot's camp, and later proposed a treaty of friendship; for doubtless the Provot party was regarded as intruders into the trapping fields of the fur companies Gauche served. It was further proposed that the treaty be ratified by smoking the Peace Pipe. In the midst of this ceremony, however, Gauche appeared ill at ease, and in explanation of his restlessness stated that his guardian spirit was angry because their was "iron" in their midst at the peace talk, and proposed that each party divest themselves of their arms and then resume the pipe of peace ceremony. In this the chief and his men set the example by divesting themselves of their arms; an example which, to humor the chief's supposed superstition, Provot and his men followed. No sooner was the smoking resumed, however, than Gauche gave a signal at which the Indians with tomahawks and knives they had concealed under their blankets attacked the white trappers. So sudden and unexpected was the attack that seventeen of Provot's party were killed before any successful defense or escape could be effected. Provot, being strong and active, escaped, with four others to the mountains, and the following year joined General Ashley in Green River valley. (The story is related in Chittenden's *American Fur Trade*, Vol. I, p. 276, as well as by Dean Harris, "Catholic Church in Utah," pp. 260-261. It will be found also in the "Letter-Book of Superintendent of Indian Affairs, St. Louis, Mo.," now in possession of Kansas Historical Society, and confirmed on the authority of Jedediah S. Smith, David E. Jackson, and Wm. Sublette. Chittenden, Vol. I, p. 276).

NOTE 2: SHORE LINE AND EXTENT OF THE ANCIENT INLAND SEA—LAKE BONNEVILLE. "In 1852 Lieut. E. C. Beckwith visited portions of the Great Basin in charge of a government expedition. He was impressed by the distinctness of the old beach lines, and correctly concluded that the Salt Lake had stood at a higher level. He says:

'The old shore lines existing in the vicinity of the Great Salt Lake present an interesting study. Some of them are elevated but a few feet (from five to twenty) above the present level of the lake, and are as distinct and as well defined and preserved as its present beaches.'

Quoting Pacific Railroad reports—Beckwith—Vol. 2, p. 67. Talmadge continues. "But high above these diminutive banks of recent date, on the mountains to the east, south, and west, and on the islands of the Great Salt Lake, formations are seen, preserving, apparently, a uniform elevation as far as the eye can

extend,—formations on a magnificent scale, which, hastily examined, seem no less unmistakably than the former to indicate their shore origin. They are elevated from two or three hundred to six or eight hundred feet above the present lake; and if upon a thorough examination they prove to be ancient shores, they will perhaps afford (being easily traced on the numerous mountains of the Basin) the means of determining the character of the sea by which they were formed," etc.

To this Dr. Tadmadge, adds: "Careful examination furnishes evidence at once abundant and conclusive that this ancient lake extended southward over the Sevier Desert, and probably over the Escalante Desert also, nearly to the Arizona line; westward over the Great Desert, into Nevada; and northward to the upper limit of Cache Valley and therefore 25 miles beyond the Idaho boundary. It formed the largest of the many flooded Pleistocene lakes of the Basin region. . . . When at its highest level, Lake Bonneville had an extreme north and south length of 300 miles, a greatest east and west extent of 180 miles; it presented an area of 19,750 square miles. The lake reached from 42 degrees 30 minutes to 37 degrees 30 minutes north latitude, and was divided almost equally by the line of 113 degrees west longitude. (The Great Salt Lake Present and Past—1900—by Dr. James E. Talmadge, late of Utah University.)

NOTE 3: BONNEVILLE'S DESCRIPTION OF GREAT SALT LAKE. The description is really Irving's, from *data* by Bonneville. The noted author says: "Captain Bonneville gives a striking account of the lake when seen from the land. 'As you ascend the mountain about its shores,' says he, 'you behold this immense body of water spreading itself before you, and stretching further and further, in one wide and far-reaching expanse, until the eye, wearied with continued and strained attention, rests in the blue dimness of distance, upon lofty ranges of mountains, confidently asserted to rise from the bosom of the waters. Nearer to you, the smooth and unruffled surface is studded with little islands, where the mountain sheep roam in considerable numbers. What extent of lowland may be encompassed by the high peaks beyond, must remain for the present matter of mere conjecture; though from the form of the summits, and the breaks which may be discovered among them, there can be little doubt that they are the sources of streams calculated to water large tracts, which are probably concealed from view by the rotundity of the lake's surface. At some future day, in all probability, the rich harvest of beaver fur which may be reasonably anticipated in such a spot, will tempt adventurers to reduce all this doubtful region

to the palpable certainty of a beaten track. At present, however, destitute of the means of making boats, the trappers stand upon the shore, and gaze upon a promised land which his feet are never to tread.' "

One can well doubt if the above description is given by one who had seen the lake from its eastern side. Irving, one would judge, was not very sure of the Captain's description, for he adds: "Such is the some what fanciful view which Captain Bonneville gives of this great body of water. He has evidently taken part of his ideas concerning it from the representations of others, who have somewhat exaggerated its features. It is reported to be about one hundred and fifty miles long, and fifty miles broad. The ranges of mountain peaks which Captain Bonneville speaks of, as rising from its bosom, are probably the summits of mountains beyond it, which may be visible at a vast distance, when viewed from an eminence, in the transparent atmosphere of these lofty regions." (The Adventures of Captain Bonneville, Irving—1837, pp. 234-5).

NOTE 4: GREAT SALT LAKE. The following description of the lake is from the very carefully prepared work of Dr. James E. Talmadge, some time Professor of Geology in the University of Utah.

(a) *Area and Altitude*: "The Great Salt Lake is the largest inland water body existing within the United States west of the Mississippi valley. It lies in the north central part of the State of Utah, between the parallels 111.8 degrees and 113.2 degrees longitude west from Greenwich, or 34.7 degrees and 36.1 degrees west from Washington, and between 40.7 degrees and 41.8 degrees north latitude.

Owing to the frequent and great fluctuations in volume incident to climate variations and other conditions of change, its area is inconstant, and the recorded surveys of the water surface show great discrepancies. In general terms its present dimensions have been recorded as follows: Average length, 75 miles; greatest width, 50 miles; extent of surface, 2,125 square miles. The altitude of the lake surface is 4,210 feet above sea-level.

(b) *Islands*: "Rising from the water surface are precipitous islands, appearing in their true character of mountain peaks and ranges, the lower part of their masses being submerged. Of these water-girt mountain bodies, Antelope and Stansbury islands are the largest; and the others are Carrington, Fremont, Gunnison, Dolphin, Mud, and Hat or Egg Islands, and Strong's Knob. The islands appear as continuations of the mountain

ranges which diversify the contiguous land area, and an examination of their structure confirms this inference."

(c) *The Lake Water*: "The first recorded determination of the solids dissolved in the lake water is that of Dr. L. D. Gale, published in Stansbury's report. Gale's results together with those of later examinations are presented here.

Solid contents and specific gravity of water taken from the Great Salt Lake:

Date of Collection.	Specific Gravity.	Per cent by weight.	Total Solids. Grams per litre of sample.	Authority.
1850.....	1.170	22.282	260.69	L. D. Gale.
1869 (Summer)	1.111	14.9934	166.57	O. D. Allen.
August, 1873...	1.102	13.42	147.88	H. Bassett.
December, 1885.	1.1225	16.7162	187.65	J. E. Talmage.
February, 1888.	1.1261	.....	.....	J. E. Talmage.
June, 1889.....	1.148	.....	.....	J. E. Talmage.
August, 1889...	1.1569	19.5576	226.263	J. E. Talmage.
August, 1892...	1.156	20.51	238.12	E. Waller.
September, 1892.	1.1679	21.47	250.75	J. E. Talmage.
1893.....		20.05	.....	J. T. Kingsbury.
December, 1894.	1.1538	21.16	244.144	J. E. Talmage.
May, 1895.....	1.1583	21.39	247.760	J. E. Talmage.
June, 1900.....	1.1576	20.90	241.98	H. N. McCoy and Thomas Hadley.

The composition of the solid matter existing in the lake water is a subject of importance. Some results of analyses are here given.

Analyses of Salt Lake Water, acids and bases theoretically combined; expressed in percentage of weight of samples:

	Gale.	Allen.	Bassett.	Talmage.	
	1850.	1869.	1873.	1885.	1889.
Sodium chloride	20.20	11.86	8.85	13.586	15.743
Sodium sulphate	1.83	0.93	1.09	1.421	1.050
Magnesium chloride	0.25	1.49	1.19	1.129	2.011
Calcium sulphate .....	....	0.09	0.20	0.148	0.279
Potassium sulphate .....	....	0.53	....	0.432	0.474
Potassium chloride .....	....	....	1.89	....	....
Excess of chlorine .....	....	....	0.20	....	....
Total	22.28	14.99	13.42	16.716	19.557

(d) *Life in the Lake*: Of animals but few species have been found in the lake, but of these two are represented by swarming numbers. Among the animal forms already reported as com-

mon to the lake, the writer has confirmed the presence of four: (1) *Artemia fertilis*, Verril; (2) the larvae of one of the Tipulidae, probably *Chironomous oceanicus*, Packard; (3) a species of Corixa, probably *Corixa decolor*, Uhler; (4) larvae and pupae of a fly, *Ephydra gracilis*, Packard. . . . Of the lake animals, the *Artemia fertilis* (or *Artemia gracilis*) commonly known as the brine shrimp, exists in greatest numbers. They may be found in the lake at all seasons, though they are most numerous between May and October.

CHAPTER LXXIII

INITIAL EXPLORATIONS: THE FOUNDING OF SALT LAKE CITY.

The day following the arrival of President Brigham Young in Salt Lake Valley was the Sabbath. Accordingly religious services were held both in the forenoon and in the afternoon; and a number of the Apostles addressed the assembled pioneers. The sacrament of the Lord's supper was administered, the emblems used being broken bread and water.¹

The burden of the discourse seems to have been expressions of gratitude that the Lord had led them to so goodly a land. Not a single death had occurred, and only a very few of their cattle or horses had been lost. "The brethren were exhorted," says Wilford Woodruff, "to hearken to counsel, do away with selfishness, live humbly and keep the commandments of God, that they might prosper in the land. . . . There was a universal feeling of satisfaction with the valley from the men that spoke upon the subject; said they were joyfully disappointed, that the whole appearance was altogether better throughout the valley than they had anticipated, or even dreamed of. At the close of the meeting President Young though feeble addressed the meeting for a few moments and informed the brethren that they must not work on Sunday nor hunt nor fish on that day."² In a word,

1. These are always the emblems of this ordinance except on rare or special occasions, when wine is used. At an early date—August, 1830—in the development of the Latter-day work, it was revealed to Joseph Smith that water would be acceptable in this ordinance, Doc. & Cov., sec. 27. And under this divine sanction this practice has obtained in the Church with the exceptions noted above.

2. Woodruff's Journal, entry for July 25, '47.

the law proclaimed in the Salt Lake Valley that day, was the law of God; and men were admonished to keep that law. The ten commandments and the Christian ethics were practically proclaimed to be in force in the new home of the Saints. It was upon this occasion also that Brigham Young proclaimed the "land law" of the community namely, that "no man should buy or sell land. Every man should have his land measured off to him for city and farming purposes, what he could till. He might till it as he pleased, but he should be industrious and take care of it."³

The principle of this first "land law" of Utah will be recognized as identical with that which actuated the great leader at Garden Grove, when he said there, in effect, that no man should hold more land than he could cultivate; "and that if a man would not till his land, it should be taken from him."⁴

Subsequently it was announced there would be no private ownership in the water streams; that wood and timber would be regarded as community property. It was also determined that only "dead timber" should be used as fuel, thus hoping to foster the growth of timber as its scarcity was the most serious obstacle then in view to the settlement of the valley. On these three laws, the prevention of monopoly in land; community ownership of the water, and of the timber, rested the prosperity of the early colonies in Utah. It was a necessary act of justice under the circumstances, this "land law." There was a community of nearly 20,000 Latter-day Saints on the banks of the Missouri River and enroute across the plains; they were engaged in a common purpose; they were united as exiles by the same decree of eviction from their homes—from their country. To permit the Pioneers, or the advanced companies of such a community to seize upon and monopolize the resources of the vallies to which they were migrating, would be a manifest injustice, hence these mandates issued from their wisest men take on the nature of statesman-like measures, wholly justifiable and absolutely necessary to safe guard the interest of all.

The day following the first Sabbath in the Salt Lake Valley

3. Ibid.

4. *Ante*, this History, Ch. LXII.

found the Pioneers anxious to explore the country surrounding their first encampment. But as all the activities of the camp proceeded in orderly manner, ten men, including all the members of the twelve present—eight—were designated to make explorations. Some went into the canons on the east side of the valley in search of timber. John Brown and Joseph Mathews crossed the Utah outlet and went to the west range of the mountains which they reported as some fifteen or sixteen miles distant, and the plain between the outlet and the mountains “covered with wild sage (*artemisia*) and destitute of fresh water.” President Young in company with several of the Twelve and others went northward and visited both the hot and warm springs, the former about five miles, and the latter less than two miles distant from their encampment. Several miles north of their encampment they ascended a peculiarly shaped, mound-like mountain for the purpose of getting a view of the valley that might reveal more of the general character of it than several days of exploring journeys might give. And this indeed was the case; for from its summit they noted the Utah Outlet from the point where it enters the valley at the south to where it empties its waters in the Salt Lake a little to the northwest of their view point. After noting this Elder Woodruff adds: “We also had a good view of the Salt Lake through our glasses, and many rivers and creeks running through the valley.”⁵ Before leaving the mound-like summit of the mountain on which they stood, some one suggested that here would be a good place to raise an ensign to the nations, whereupon Brigham Young named the mountain “Ensign Peak.”⁶ Because of the mountain being so named it was claimed in later years that the Pioneers on that day raised upon Ensign Peak the national flag of the United States, the stars and stripes. There is no evidence that they did any such thing. Had such an event happened it certainly would have been recorded in the journals of some of the men present. Brigham Young who gave the mountain its name, and makes an entry of that fact in his journal, says nothing of any

5. Woodruff's Journal, entry July 26, '47.

6. I ascended a hill north of the City site, which I named “Ensign Peak.” History of Brigham Young, Bk. 3, Journal entry for July 26, '47. This is all he says of the incident.

flag incident. Neither does Wilford Woodruff, who is given to recording details in his journal, and relates the incident of naming Ensign Peak at length.⁷ The fact of the loyalty of the Mormon Pioneers to their country rests upon a foundation so broad and deep, as we shall see in subsequent chapters, that it does not need fiction to sustain it. They honored their country's flag also; for before the close of the year 1847 it was raised within the fort erected on the present site of Salt Lake City, and the Mormon poetess, Eliza R. Snow Smith, had celebrated it in her "*Ode to the Flag*."⁸

7. The following is the complete entry upon the subject in Elder Woodruff's Journal: "26th, Monday * * * We * * * went north of the camp about five miles, and we all went on to the top of a high peak in the edge of the mountain, which we considered a good place to raise an ensign. So we named it "Ensign Peak," or Hill. I was the first person that ascended this hill which we had thus named. Brother Young was very weary in climbing to the peak, he being feeble [had not yet recovered from effects of mountain fever]. We then descended to the flat, and started north to visit some hot sulphur springs."

8. Elisa R. Snow arrived with one of the first companies following the Pioneers, and entering Salt Lake Valley in September and October. "Soon after our arrival in the valley," she relates, "a tall liberty pole was erected, and from its summit (although planted in Mexican soil), the stars and stripes seemed to float with even more significance, if possible, than they were wont to do on Eastern breezes." This inspired the "Ode" mentioned above, of which the following is an excerpt:

"I love that flag! When in my childish glee—
A prattling girl, upon my grandsire's knee—
I heard him tell strange tales, with valor rife,
How that same flag was bought with blood and life.

"And his tall form seemed taller when he said,
'Child, for that flag thy grandsire fought and bled!
My young heart felt that every scar he wore,
Caused him to prize that banner more and more.

"I caught the fire, and as in years I grew,
I loved the flag; I loved my country too.
* * * * *

"There came a time that I remember well—
Beneath the stars and stripes we could not dwell!
We had to flee; but in our hasty flight
We grasped the flag with more than mortal might;

"And vowed, although our foes should us bereave
Of all things else, the flag we would not leave.
We took the flag; and journeying to the West,
We wore its motto graven on each breast."

("The Women of Mormondon," Tullidge, 1877), Chapter XXXVIII. For the author's arrival in Salt Lake Valley, see Biography in L. D. S. Biographical Encyclopedia, pp. 693-697.

As the flag was raised most likely as early as October, 1847, and the treaty of peace which closed the War of the United States with Mexico was not signed at the village of Guadalupe Hidalgo until Feb. 2nd, 1848 (Hist. U. S., Morris, p. 325), the Latter-day Saints in Salt Lake Valley did raise the U. S. flag upon Mexican soil.

"The Ensign" that these Latter-day Saint Pioneers had in mind, and of which they had frequently spoken *enroute*, was something larger and greater than any national flag whatsoever; and what it was meant to represent was greater than any earthly kingdom's interest, and I speak not slightingly of earthly kingdoms either; but this "Ensign" in the minds of the Mormon Pioneers concerned not one nation, but all nations; not one epoch or age, but all epochs and all ages. It was the sign and ensign of the Empire of the Christ; it was a prophecy of the time to come when the kingdoms of this world would become "the kingdoms of our Lord, and of his Christ; and he shall reign forever and forever."⁹

On the occasion of calling the Pioneers camp together for reproof and instruction while yet on the Platte River, on the memorable 29th of May,¹⁰ President Young referred to this "Standard of Zion." Wilford Woodruff after relating how the President addressed himself to the few non-members of the Church present in the camp, and how they would be protected in their rights, but they must not introduce wickedness into the camp, "for it would not be suffered," he said:

"He then spoke of the standard or ensign that would be reared in Zion to govern the kingdom of God, and the nations of the earth, for every nation would bow the knee and every tongue confess that Jesus was the Christ; and this will be the standard—'*The Kingdom of God and His Law.*' . . . And on the standard would be a flag of every nation under heaven, so there would be an invitation to all nations under heaven to come unto Zion."¹¹

This was the significance of naming Ensign Peak on that 26th day of July, 1847. It was the gathering of Israel to the Standard of Zion that the Pioneers were thinking of, as is evidenced by many subsequent sermons in which the texts were—

9. Revelation xi, 15; also Daniel ii and vii.

10. See *ante*, this History, Ch. LXIX.

11. Woodruff's Journal, entry for May 29th, 1847.

"And it shall come to pass in the last days that the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established in the tops of the mountains, and all nations shall flow unto it. And many people shall go and say, Come ye, and let us go to the mountain of the Lord, to the house of the God of Jacob; and he will teach us of his ways, and we will walk in his paths: for out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem."¹²

"And it shall come to pass in that day that the Lord shall set his hand the 2nd time to recover the remnant of his people. . . . And he shall set up an Ensign for the nations, and shall assemble the out casts of Israel, and gather together the dispersed of Judah from the four corners of the earth."¹³

"All ye inhabitants of the world, and dwellers on the earth, see ye when he lifteth up an Ensign on the mountains; and when he bloweth a trumpet, hear ye."¹⁴

12. Isaiah, ii, 2, 3.

13. *Ibid*, xi, 11, 12.

14. *Ibid*, xviii, 3. These and other texts from Isaiah were woven into a discourse by Orson Pratt the Sunday following, *viz.*, August 1st, 1847. (Woodruff's Journal, entry August 1st.) Some years later this "Zion Ensign" idea inspired Parley P. Pratt's muse in the following verses:

ZION'S STANDARD.

Lo! the Gentile chain is broken,
Freedom's banner waves on high;
List, ye nations! by this token,
Know that your redemption's nigh.

See, on yonder distant mountain,
Zion's standard wide unfurled,
Far above Missouri's fountain,
Lo! it waves for all the world.

Freedom, peace and full salvation
Are the blessings guaranteed,
Liberty to every nation,
Every tongue, and every creed.

Come, ye Christian sects, and pagan
Pope and Protestant and Priest,
Worshippers of God or Dagon,
Come ye to fair freedom's feast.

Come, ye sons of doubt and wonder,
Indian, Moslem, Greek or Jew,
All your shackles burst asunder,
Freedom's banner waves for you.

On the 28th of July Brigham Young and the main exploring party crossed the Utah Outlet, which they found to be a slow, meandering stream not so clear as the streams issuing directly from the mountains. It was three feet deep at the ford, and about six rods wide. The party followed the California wagon trail to the south end of the Salt Lake, to a point afterwards called Black Rock, taking the name from a large rock of ebony hue that rises abruptly from the clear waters of the lake. Here the company took their first bath in the lake and were surprised at the buoyancy of the water.¹⁵

Turning the point of the mountain range (The Oquirrh) our explorers came into a valley opening southward, which they judged to extend twelve miles; and beyond, still southward, a narrow opening into another valley or plain. Returning to their noon encampment at the point of the Oquirrh range, they spent the night, and the next day moved southward along the east base of the mountain where they had camped, but found no water. Orson Pratt ascended a rise of ground some three miles beyond where the rest of the company stopped, and was rewarded with a view of Utah Lake and valley, which he judged to be twenty miles distant. "The number of streams putting into the Utah outlet from the east, between the lakes," he writes, "appeared to be about nine, while several other streams, from one to two miles in length, appeared to put into these nine, all of which afforded a fine opportunity for irrigating the valley east of the Outlet."¹⁶

Cease to butcher one another,
Join the covenant of peace,
Be to all a friend, a brother,
This will bring the world release.

Lo! Our King! the great Messiah,
Prince of peace, shall come to reign;
Sound again, ye heavenly choir,
Peace on earth, good will to men.

15. "We all bathed in the salt water, which is fully saturated with salt: its specific gravity is such as to buoy us in a remarkable manner." (Pratt's Journal, July 27th). "The waters of the ocean bear no comparison to those of the lake, and those who could not swim at all," says Erastus Snow, speaking of this first bath, "floated upon the surface like a cork, and found it out of their power to sink." (Journal, entry July 27th, '47). See note 4, end of Chapter LXXII.

16. Pratt's Journal, entry for July 28th, 1847. These are streams on the east side of Salt Lake Valley.

Meantime the two brethren, Joseph Hancock and Lewis Barney, sent eastward into the mountains to look for timber returned after a two days tour and reported "an abundance of good timber, principally pine, balsom fir, and a little cottonwood; access to the same very difficult."¹⁷

These brief exploring expeditions seemed to have convinced President Young that the best possible site for the beginning of a settlement had been chosen by the advanced company of Pioneers; for on his return to the encampment in the afternoon of the 28th, he at once inaugurated measures for the founding of a city. "Some of the brethren talked about exploring the country further for a site for a settlement; I replied that I was willing that the country should be explored until all were satisfied, but every time a party went out and returned I believed firmly they would agree that this is the spot for us to locate."¹⁸

Late in the afternoon, accompanied by Elders Heber C. Kimball, Willard Richards, Orson Pratt, Wilford Woodruff, George A. Smith, Amasa Lyman, Ezra T. Benson, all members of the apostle's quorum, and all the apostles then in the valley, accompanied also by Thomas Bullock, the President's secretary, Brigham Young "designated the site for the temple block between the forks of City Creek, and on motion of Orson Pratt it was unanimously voted that the Temple be built upon the sight designated."¹⁹

The apostles at the same time decided to lay out the city in blocks of ten acres with streets eight rods wide running at right angles; with twenty feet on each side given to side walks. The blocks were to be divided into lots containing one and one quarter acres in each. It was decided also to build but one house on a block, and that twenty feet back from the line and in the centre of the lot—"That there might be uniformity throughout the

17. Journal, entry of Brigham Young, July 28th, '47, Hist., Bk. 3, *Ms.*

18. *Ibid.*

19. Hist. Brigham Young, *Ms.*, Bk. 3, Journal, entry for July 28th. This was before the survey of the city was made. Wilford Woodruff of the event writes: "We walked from the north camp to about the centre between the two creeks [forks of City creek], when President Young waved his hands and said, 'Here is the forty acres for the temple (we had conversed upon the subject of the location of the temple previous to this) and the city can be laid out perfectly square north and south, east and west,'" (Journal, entry for July 28th).

city." One of the advantages of this plan, it was urged, would be the security of the city from fire in the event of fire breaking out at any one point. It was further determined that "Upon every alternate block four houses were to be built on the east, and four on the west sides of the square, but none on the north and south sides. But the blocks intervening were to have four houses on the north and four on the south, but none on the east and west sides. In this plan there will be no houses fronting each other on the opposite sides of streets, while those on the same side will be about eight rods apart, having gardens running back twenty rods to the centre of the block."²⁰

"It was moved and carried that there be four public squares of ten acres each laid out in various parts of the city for public grounds." "Let every man," said President Young, "Cultivate his own lot and set out every kind of fruit and shade trees and beautify the city."²¹

The city was named, *City of the Great Salt Lake*. Temple square was the initial center for naming the streets, and the streets around the temple block were called, respectively, North, South, East and West Temple Streets; the others to be named as required, First North, Second North, First West, Second West, and so following.

This plan of laying out the city was submitted to the whole camp in a sort of "town meeting" held in the evening on the site designated for the temple; and as each proposition making up the general plan had been submitted to vote in the council of the Apostles, so now was each proposition presented to the camp, which "passed all of the above votes unanimously, as they are recorded."²²

20. The reader will recognize that this plan of city-building is nearly identical with that given by Joseph Smith for the city of Zion in Jackson County, Mo. See this History, Ch. XXII. It is observed also in this same chapter that the general plan of building "cities of Zion" was followed in laying out all the settlements of the Saints in the inter-mountain west; and will doubtless always be followed, except where the nature of the site will render it impracticable.

21. Woodruff's Journal, entry July 28th, '47.

22. Journal Wilford Woodruff, entry for July 28: I am following throughout, in this account of founding the city, the journals of President Young, Wilford Woodruff, and Orson Pratt, with which the other annals generally agree, but where slight differences occur, I accept the above named as authority.

On the 31st of July, Orson Pratt began the survey of the City "The latitude of the northern boundary of the Temple block," he writes, "I ascertained by meridian observations of the sun, to be 40 deg. 45 min. 44 sec. The longitude, as obtained by lunar distances, taken by the sextant and circle, was 111 deg. 26 min. 34 sec., or 7 hours, 25 min., 46 sec. west of Greenwich. Its altitude above the level of the sea was 4,300 feet, as ascertained by calculations deduced from the mean of a number of barometrical observations taken on successive days."²³

The base line of Orson Pratt's survey was on the south east corner of the Temple Block, and government officials afterwards adopted it as the base meridian line.²⁴

Subsequently blocks of land for farming and pasturing purposes were laid off outside the city limits in five, ten and twenty acre plots respectively, the smaller plots lying nearest the city boundaries, the others following in the order of their size. All this, of course, to prevent monopoly of advantage, and possible attempts at speculations in town lots or nearby farming lands.

From time to time there came modifications of this general plan; as, for example, before the survey of the city was completed it was decided that it would be "more convenient" to have the Temple Block ten rather than forty acres, and it was reduced accordingly. Also as the city extended into the sharp hills on both sides of City Creek, it was found that the ten acre blocks, with their one and one quarter acre lots, were inconvenient because of the nature of the land in that part of the city; and the blocks were reduced to two and a half acres. Some further irregularities from even this modification of the general plan had to be admitted; as also in the matter of having but four houses built on one side of a block, and these on alternating sides of the blocks; but very generally the first plan was adhered to in the early decades of the city's history, and even now gives a uniqueness to the city that distinguishes it from other American

23. Journal of Orson Pratt, entry for July 31st, 1847. *Star*, Vol. XII, p. 180.

24. From Geo. W. Dean's Observations in 1869, taken at the Temple Block, the results were lat. 40° 46' 2"; long. 111° 53' 30". *Rept. Coast. Survey*, 1869-70. In taking lunar distances for longitude, it is usual to have four observers, but Orson Pratt had no assistant; hence probably the slight discrepancy. (Bancroft's Utah, p. 264, note.).

cities, and very much contributes to that air of spaciousness and breadth of conception in the ground plan of it that prophecies its coming greatness, and is at the same time a testimony of the largeness of the ideas of those who were its founders.

Historic Views and Reviews

ABRAHAM LINCOLN'S MOTHER

A FRIEND requests me to give for publication (if I can do so) a sketch of the family of Nancy Hanks, the mother of Abraham Lincoln, says Dan Ford. She tells me she has read every history of Abraham Lincoln, and considers it very strange that nothing has ever been written by the historians of the President's mother, except that her name was Nancy Hanks.

The historians never made any effort to trace the pedigree of the family. Raymond, in his "Life and State Papers of Abraham Lincoln," declares nothing is known concerning her ancestry or early life. He merely mentions that she was a Virginian by birth. The name Hanks is rare in America, yet we have a straighter line on the pedigree of the Hankses than we have of the Lincolns. Beyond the grandfather of Abe Lincoln, we know absolutely nothing of the family pedigree.

The earliest account we have of the Hankses is their first appearance in Gloucester County, Va., in 1673. In deed book No. 6, land grants, page 472, 1673, is recorded the grant of 264 acres to Thomas Hanks. And on page 476, same year, 1673, is recorded a patent to Thomas Hanks for 500 acres. In the early colonial history of Virginia, a person who paid for the passage of a person who came to settle in Virginia was entitled to a land grant of several hundred acres. This was why he was given a grant of land. The patent of 500 acres which is recorded was land paid for in cash or tobacco, which was the circulating medium in Virginia. In course of time, the family increased and emigrated westward. We next hear of them in Orange County, 140 miles west of Gloucester. Among the marriages recorded

in Orange Court House on March 26, 1803, is Rodney Hanks, son of Reuben and Elizabeth Hanks, to Alice Chandler. But they didn't stop at Orange Court House. We find a family of them in Rockingham County, Va., in 1790, and another in Shenandoah County. In 1780, Abraham Lincoln, grandfather of President Lincoln, removed to Kentucky from Rockingham County, Va., and we are certain that the Hanks family was with the Lincolns during that journey. The next account we have of the Hankses is in 1806. In that year, in Kentucky, Thomas Lincoln (father of the President), married Nancy Hanks.

The next account of the Hankses was at the battle of Tippecanoe, in Indiana, November 7, 1811. We find the names of Peter and James Hanks. Peter was killed. He was a member of Captain Berry's company of Militia from Kentucky. James belonged to a company of mounted riflemen and was from Kentucky. They may have been brothers, and if so, I am certain they were brothers of Nancy Hanks. In six years after the battle of Tippecanoe, Thomas Lincoln removed from Kentucky to Indiana.



LOSSING'S WASHINGTON LETTERS

There is an interesting story connected with the original manuscript of the circular letter addressed to Benjamin Harrison, Governor of Virginia, by George Washington, which is probably the most valuable of the autographs in Part I of the late Benson J. Lossing's collection of Americana, auctioned off by the Anderson Company recently. The letter consists of twenty-one pages folio, and is dated "Head Quarters, Newburgh," June 12, 1783. The body of the letter is in the handwriting of Jonathan Trumbull, Jr., who was secretary to Gen. Washington. It is thus described in the Lossing sale catalogue:

A remarkable manuscript of supreme interest, not merely as marking a great epoch in the life of Washington, but as outlining the principles by which he considers the United States should

be governed to take its place among the nations of the world. As a literary production nothing else that Washington ever wrote approaches this document, and it was evidently carefully thought over and worded. Washington, in referring to it, always termed it his "legacy."

It is the farewell letter which the Father of his Country addressed on June 12, 1783, to the Governors of the thirteen states. In it he urges oblivion of local prejudices and policies, and advocates an indissoluble union, a proper peace establishment, and a sacred regard to public justice, in other words, provision for the payment of the public debt.

Early in 1862 Dr. Lossing began the compilation of a work on the civil war, published in 1866-69. He visited the southern states to gather material for the book. Shortly before his death on June 3, 1891, at Dover Plains, N. Y., he sold at auction a number of his historical autographs. Mr. Burns, a short time before his death, said that after the demise of Dr. Lossing, Mrs. Lossing turned over to him another lot of valuable material, which he catalogued with great care, bringing out the fine points of each important item. The sale was announced to be held at Libbie's, in Boston. The finest and most valuable autograph of this collection, Mr. Burns said, was one of Gen. Washington's circular letters to the Governors of the states. It was addressed to Benjamin Harrison, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, who was elected Governor of Virginia in 1782.

Much interest was manifested by collectors, Mr. Burns said, and on the day of the sale a goodly number were present in the auction rooms. The general opinion was that the Washington letter to Gen. Harrison was the most desirable item of the lot.

Ere the auctioneer began the sale, however, Mr. Burns said, a gentleman came forward who said that he was from Virginia, that he was a State official, and that he was present to assert and maintain Virginia's sole ownership of the Washington letter. He denied, Mr. Burns said, Dr. Lossing's right to it. It was addressed to Benjamin Harrison, he declared, not in his private capacity, but in that of Governor of the State. It was, therefore, a State paper, and no one had just claim to it except Virginia.

Mr. Burns said that he tried to convince the gentleman that

he was in the wrong, but without avail. He told him that it had been given to Dr. Lossing by the Military Governor of Virginia after the close of the war, and that, therefore, it belonged to Dr. Lossing. The Virginian would not acquiesce. He said that no one except Virginia herself had any right to the letter. Neither President nor Congress, nor Military Governor, had any authority to give away what belonged solely to the State or Virginia.

Many years had elapsed since this incident, and Mr. Burns said that he did not quite clearly recollect what followed this unlooked for visit and action of the Virginia official, but his impression was that it either seriously interfered with the success of the sale or led to its postponement, and that the Virginian returned home with the precious missive.



FORT McHENRY ABANDONED

The bugle reveille call which has echoed across the Patapsco river and through historic Fort McHenry for the last one hundred and thirty-seven years was sounded on July 20 for the last time, marking the abandonment of the old garrison as a military post. The soldiers stationed there were sent to Fort Strong, Mass.

The old fort, over which floated the flag that inspired Francis Scott Key to write "The Star Spangled Banner," has long been regarded by the War Department as useless as a means of defence. Hereafter it will be in charge of a civilian caretaker.



HOW WITCHES WERE TRIED

When the witchcraft delusion of 1692 seized the province the people would not wait for the workings of the established tribunal of justice. It was too slow to suit them. No doubt they feared that it would be "reactionary" or inclined to be too respectful to the letter of the law. So they cried out for a special

court to hustle along the trial of the witches, and Gov. Phipps meekly yielded to the clamor and named seven judges to conduct the trials.

It was distinctly a popular court, and was controlled absolutely by the popular will. Not a single one of the seven judges was a lawyer. Two of the judges were clergymen, two were physicians, and three were merchants. The common law was thrown aside, rules of evidence were ignored, and the judges and juries were left untrammelled by any "quibbles of the law" to follow their own feelings and the popular will.

Says Washburn in his "Judicial History of Massachusetts:" "The trials were but a form of executing popular vengeance. Juries were intimidated by the frowns and persuasions of the court, and by the outbreakings of the multitude that crowded the place of trial, to render verdicts against their own consciences and judgment." He cites one case, that of Rebecca Nurse, in which the jury actually had the courage to bring in a verdict of not guilty. Whereupon "the accusers raised a great outcry and the judges were overcome by the clamor." The jury was sent back, returned with a verdict of guilty, and the woman was accordingly executed. Thus promptly and effectively did the popular will succeed in bringing about the judicial decision it wanted.



FIRST ASTOR HOME DOOMED

In the course of demolishing old buildings to make way for modern structures there is about to be pulled down one of the most interesting buildings, historically, in the Dominion.

It is the house in which the Astor family had its birth; that is, so far as the laying of the foundation stone of the fortune of the family is concerned. The original Jacob Astor lived in this house, which looked out upon the river, before the view was obscured; counted his skins in the basement; counted, also, no doubt, his profits, as one of the originators of the fur company, which proved a formidable rival to the Hudson Bay Company and made Montreal its headquarters.

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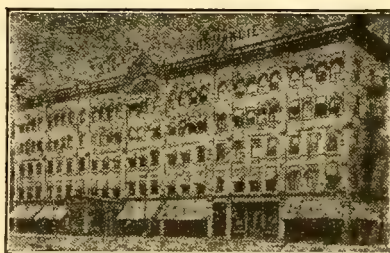
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GEORGE HAVEN PUTNAM
When 1st Lieut. and Adj. 176th Regt., N. Y. Vols.

AMERICANA

September, 1912

War-time Prisons in Virginia

The Personal Experiences of

GEORGE HAVEN PUTNAM

Adj. and Bvt.-Major 176th N. Y. Vols.

THE following record of my sojourn in the winter of 1864-65 in Libby and in Danville prisons was prepared under the instructions of the Commander of the New York Commandery of the Loyal Legion for publication in the volume of Reports of the Commandery. Forty-eight years have elapsed since the winter here described, and I cannot undertake to say that my memory can be trusted for all of the details or incidents.

My experience as a prisoner in Virginia began on the 19th of October, 1864, a day made famous by Sheridan's decisive victory at Cedar Creek. At the time of the battle, my regiment, which belonged to Grover's division of the 19th Army Corps, occupied a position on the extreme left of the line that had been assigned to the corps. On our left, the field sloped down to the Shenandoah Pike, while on the farther side of the pike, a rising ground extending to the flank of Massanutten Mountain was occupied by the 8th Corps. The line of the entire army faced southward, the only direction from which an attack seemed to be possible.

NOTE.—This account of personal experiences in Virginia prisons is taken by permission from the author's recently published book, "An Experience in Virginia Prisons During the Last Years of the War." G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

Within the preceding thirty days, Early's army had been sent whirling through Winchester, and had been driven back from its works on Fisher's Hill, with a serious loss of men and guns. It seemed certainly very unlikely that these beaten, tired, and hungry troops could venture an attack upon Sheridan's lines.

We were aroused in the foggy darkness by the sound of firing across the pike on our left. We realized that something was wrong with our friends in the 8th Corps, but it was impossible to see across the road, and during the first hour our understanding of what was happening was very confused. In falling into line on the alarm, we faced, as said, to the south, but when round shot came rolling along our trench from across the pike, it was evident that the attack to be repelled was to come from the east or from the southeast. Our brigade was wheeled to the left so as to face, or nearly to face, the pike, and before long the rest of the division wheeled in like manner, forming an extension of our line. A field-battery of four or six guns had been placed a little in advance of the position of my regiment. The first shots across the road had disabled some of the horses, and the men had dragged in behind our infantry line all of the guns but one. A brigade-commander (I think it was Colonel Dan. Macauley of the 11th Indiana) called from his horse for men to go out and drag in the last gun. A group of us started across the field, but just as we went forward, Macauley received a shot through his chest. The men in the line, finding that the "Butternuts" were working across the pike to the north, fell back, if I understand rightly not under any orders but with the instinct of veterans to keep themselves from being outflanked. When I reached the gun, I found that there were not enough men with me to make it possible to move the piece across the rough ground, and we were almost immediately cut off by an intervening line of the enemy. The slope was an uncomfortable resting-place, as for a brief time it was receiving a scattering fire from both sides. We lay down flat on the rough turf, and while I was not even at that time a large man, I remember having the uncomfortable feeling, as the zip, zip of the balls went over our heads, that I was swelling upward as big as an elephant. We had, however, but few minutes to be troubled with

this phase of the situation, as the second line of the enemy soon came sweeping across the road and promptly took possession of our little group.

In the course of an hour or so, these prisoners, aggregating, I think, ten or eleven hundred, were stood up in line, and certain non-commissioned officers, delegated for the purpose, "went through" each individual of the line with a thoroughness and precision that indicated previous practice. They took what under the circumstances was the most serious loss for men who had a long march before them, our shoes. I was pretty well down on the left of the line and some time before my turn was reached I was able to note what were the articles that were being appropriated. I realized that a considerable march had to be made and I was not at all happy at the idea of being obliged to do my tramping without shoes or with the fragmentary apologies for shoes that the "rebs" were chucking back to the Yankees in exchange. I took my knife and made some considerable slashes in the uppers of my shoes. The result was that they were not considered worth appropriating and they fortunately held together during the march and for some time thereafter. The only other man in the line, as far as I noticed, who saved his shoes was a young staff-officer of the 6th Corps, Lieutenant Vander Weyde. I had observed the youngster before because he had small feet and wore patent leathers with which he seemed to be well satisfied. The smallness of his feet saved for him his pretty boots. These were taken off two or three times by the examiners but no one was able to put them on, and with a half-indignant good nature, the last examiner threw back the articles with the words, "Here Yank, you can keep your damned pretty little boots." As far as I can remember, VanderWeyde had the only decent looking boots to be seen that winter in my division of the prison.

While, on the ground of our being hurried southward, we were somewhat encouraged about the final outcome of the battle, it was not easy to believe that what had seemed in the early morning to be so thorough a defeat could have been changed into a victory. In fact, it was weeks, before, through the leakage of news into the prison, we got knowledge of the actual outcome

of the day. In the course of the evening, our guards remembered to scatter among us a little hardtack taken from one of our own commissary wagons, but the ration was very small for the amount of marching that had to be done with it. Sometime before midnight, in company with VanderWeyde with whom I had fallen into "chumming" relations, I made a break for liberty. We remembered the region through which we had marched not long before as "ruthless invaders," and it was our idea to strike for a dry ditch which was on the farther side of a field adjoining the road. We bolted just behind the nearest guard and took him so far by surprise that his shot and that of the guard next in line did not come near enough to be dangerous, and we succeeded in tumbling into the ditch which we found unfortunately to be no longer dry. There was, in fact, an inch or two of water in the bottom. There was nothing to do but to lie quiet and wait until the column of prisoners and guards had passed. We were disappointed, however, to find that the sound of the marching continued for an indefinite period; and in fact pretty soon there were added to the tramp of feet sounds from a long series of wheels. It was evident that the trains, or such of the wagons as remained of the trains, were being moved southward. Then there came a rumble which seemed like that of field-guns. While we were puzzling in our minds as to whether the whole army could really be on the retreat, the question was answered in a most unsatisfactory fashion. Not only were Early's troops marching southward but they were going with such urgency that the road was not sufficient for their purpose. They were straggling into the fields on both sides, and a group of two or three, too tired and too sleepy to watch their steps, tumbled into our ditch on top of us. They said things and so did we.

It is my memory that the tramp to Staunton took the better part of three days. I recall our arrival in early morning in the main street of the little town, at breakfast time or at what seemed to us ought to be breakfast time. The prisoners were huddled into a little square in front of the inn and we were near enough to hear the sound of the rebel officers at breakfast. After what seemed to us a very long wait, the commissary came out on the little balcony of the hotel with some assistants bearing a few box-

es of hardtack. These boxes were thrown over from the balcony into the square in such fashion that they broke as they fell and the officers on the balcony enjoyed the spectacle of the prisoners scrambling for their breakfast. Later in the day, we were put into box cars and started on the journey for Richmond. There was but a single track and our train was switched frequently to allow of the passing of passenger trains and supply trains, so that our progress to Richmond was slow. The officers were marched across the town to Libby Prison where the captain of our guard secured a receipt for us from Sergeant Turner, while the men were taken over to Belle Isle.

The first of the prison functions was the stripping of every man to the skin for the purpose of a further appropriation of any valuables that he might have succeeded in concealing. In this fresh search, I lost \$150, that I had sewn into the inside of my shirt.

We were interested to see the adjutant of the prison noting down in a little memorandum book the sums taken from each man. "It will be all right, gentlemen," he said reassuringly, "these moneys will of course be returned to you." This ceremony completed, we were shown into the general living room on the top floor of the Libby building. It is my memory that at this time, October, 1864, the prison was full, but not crowded. Floor space was made for us under the supervision of one of our own officers who took upon himself the responsibilities of what might be called quartermaster's duties. At our request, Vander Weyde and myself were given floor space together, and we then took an account of our joint property. I had picked up en route (I do not recall where) a small piece of blanket and I had also succeeded in retaining a broken pocket-knife. My chum had a tin cup and a pocket-comb. These things were held in common. As personal appurtenances we had been fortunate enough to save our tooth-brushes which the examining sergeant had not considered worth appropriating. These tooth-brushes later became noteworthy. It is my memory that there were not more than a dozen or so among about 350 officers. The possessors placed their tooth-brushes through the button-holes of their blouses; partly because there was no other safe or convenient storage

place, and partly perhaps to emphasize a sense of aristocratic opulence. We became known as the "tooth-brush brigade." My chum, with some protest from me against the using of my knife, did some artistic carving on the handle of his brush, producing with no little skill a death's head and a skeleton.

In Libby, as later in Danville, the prisoners, comprising as said, only commissioned officers, maintained an organization and ordinary discipline. We accepted as authoritative the orders of the senior officer in the prison, and this officer associated with him two or three men who divided up between them responsibilities for keeping order, for assigning quarters, for adjusting difficulties, etc.

The Libby ration in these last months of 1864 comprised soup made out of inconspicuous little beans, and a chunk of corn bread. During the close of our sojourn in Libby, the soup part was cut off and the ration reduced itself to the corn bread. The corn bread as baked was marked out into squares, but for some reason each square of corn bread was a ration not for one but for two. The messes, therefore, were subdivided into pairs and the chums had to arrange between themselves each morning for the division of the flat chunk into two portions. My chum and myself took turns in cutting that chunk into two pieces. On one piece was laid the broken knife and the man who had done the cutting then called to the other fellow, who stood with his back to the cake, to say whether he would have it "with" or "without" (the knife). Whichever piece one got, the other always looked a little bigger.

I should not venture to estimate with any precision the size or the weight of the chunk of corn bread which came to us once a day. Some of us went through the form of cutting our chunk into three pieces with the idea that we would make three meals out of it; but it was very difficult to avoid eating up the three meals within the first hour even though we knew that we should have to wait until eleven o'clock the next morning for another chunk.

In reply to complaints that were from time to time submitted the prison officers had nothing to say but that it was the best they had and that the Yankees had better be thankful that they

got anything. I judge that by December 9, 1864, it must have been a very difficult task indeed for the rebel commissary-general to secure by his two lines of single track roads, one of which was from time to time being cut by our raiders, sufficient food to supply the army and the townspeople.

The abiding place through the night and through the greater part of the day was, as said, the strip of floor allotted to each. It is my memory that at this time Libby was not so crowded but that each man could have the advantage of putting his head back against the wall. Later, when we were transferred to Danville, the arrangement of space required four rows of sleepers, two with their heads to the wall and two with their heads to the centre. At the point of the wall in Libby where my own head rested (more or less restlessly) I found scratched (apparently with the point of a nail) on the two or three bricks the names of previous occupants of the quarters, names representing in most cases men who had "joined the majority." I naturally added, in order to complete the record, my own name on a brick a corner of which was still free. Some years after the war, a correspondent wrote to me from Richmond that he could if I wished send me this autographed brick in consideration of the payment of \$5.00. As, however, there would have been no difficulty in scratching my name on another brick, I did not think the purchase worth while.

The ship-chandlery of William Libby & Son was, as we all know, placed close to the edge of the James River, so that goods could be landed directly on the Libby pier. Looking across the river from the back windows of the prison, we were able, during the nights of December, to see from time to time the flashes of the guns from the lines of the Army of the James. We used to make our artillery officers study out the line of fire and give us their opinions as to whether they did not believe the flashes were getting nearer.

The prison had by this winter been so protected that there was no chance of any further attempts at escape by tunnelling. The cellar floor through which Rose and his associates had dug their tunnel in 1863 had been masoned over and under the later arrangement of the guards it would have been impracticable in any case to secure admission to this floor without observation.

A most important part of the protection, however, was given by the addition to the prison guard of a magnificent blood-hound.

There would have been no chance of an undiscovered tunnel while that dog was within reach.

On the first Tuesday in November, it was decided to hold in the prison a presidential election. I could not but fear, that in an election which was to indicate their approval or their disapproval of the management of the authorities in Washington, a majority of their votes might naturally be cast against the re-election of Lincoln. The men who had planned this test election trusted their comrades, and their confidence proved to be justified. When the vote was counted, it was found that we had re-elected Lincoln by about three to one. Years afterwards, I learned from Robert Lincoln that the report of this vote in Libby Prison, reaching his father months later, was referred to by the President as the most satisfactory and encouraging episode in the presidential campaign. His words were in effect: we can trust our soldiers. The votes had of course no part in the official count but they were, as Lincoln understood, important, as showing the persistent courage and devotion of the men.

One night late in December, we had an interruption which, while at the time fatiguing, gave ground for encouragement. We were ordered up at two o'clock in the morning and were hurried across the town and packed into box cars for Danville. We gathered, from the exchange of a word or two with the guards who permitted themselves to talk, that there was a scare at headquarters about the advance of our lines. The journey was exhausting partly because, in the hurry of getting rations for us, the authorities had found nothing more convenient than salt fish and the train was allowed to stop but seldom. But thirsty and tired as we were, we were happy with the thought that perhaps our men really were getting into Richmond.

We had quarters assigned to us in Danville in a tobacco warehouse, the windows on the southern end of which overlooked the River Dan.

The tobacco warehouse might have made a fairly comfortable abiding-place if it had been properly fitted up and cared for.

But the glass was broken from many of the windows, and Danville lies high enough to give many cold days and many still colder nights in the months of winter. The building comprised three floors, a ground floor and two upper floors. The sojourning of the prisoners was restricted to the two upper floors. The lower floor was used merely as a thoroughfare to the yard and for the water parties who were permitted once or twice a day to bring water from the river. It was the duty of the guard who protected the yard and of his fellow who patrolled the lower floor, to see that no prisoners were permitted to linger either in the yard or on their way back to their own floor. The two floors were divided so that by the beginning of the winter there were about two hundred on each floor. At the outset, the men were arranged in two rows with their heads to the wall and two rows with their heads to the centre. The additional comfort of the position by the wall was to some extent offset by the fact that it was nearer to the cold wind that came through the broken windows.

At either end of the room, was an old-fashioned stove fitted for the burning of wood, and as the weather grew colder, sleeping positions near the stove advanced in value. Exchanges of berths were made for property consideration. A piece of blanket, a pair of shoes more or less dilapidated, or a pocket-knife, constituted the exchange currency. The wood for the stove was brought in from the wood-pile in the yard by the prisoners, the work being of course done under guard.

The supply of wood was kept pretty scant and there were long hours when the fires were out and when our application for permission to bring in more wood received no attention. It is my memory that in Danville the daily ration was brought down to corn bread alone. Danville was at this time one of the great sources of supplies for Lee's army at Richmond, and the one-track road was very fully employed with the trains from the South bearing to Lee's army such supplies as were still to be secured in the almost exhausted Confederacy.

My selection of a chum proved fortunate in one way that I could not have anticipated. VanderWeyde was clever with his pencil and some portraits that he had sketched of the guards

attracted attention not only in the prison but with some of the officers outside. He was fortunate enough to be invited by one or two officers who had homes in town, to go to their houses and to sketch wife or daughter. He objected properly enough that his blouse was shabby and his trousers disreputable and also that in the absence of soap he was not fit for the presence of ladies. The officers wanted the portraits, and the result was that the fortunate VanderWeyde secured a bath with real soap, and a jacket and a pair of trousers that held together and that gave him in the midst of the rags with which he was surrounded, the appearance of an aristocrat.

While the occupations of the day gave very little opportunity for exercise, we found ourselves fairly sleepy by nightfall.

It was the custom, after we were all recumbent and there was quiet across the floor, for two or three of the men who had good voices and good memories to raise a song in which the rest of us joined as far as we knew how or when there was an easy chorus. We began jubilantly enough with *Marching through Georgia* and other verses of triumph or hopefulness, but in the later months the more frequent selections were such airs as *Mother, Will You Miss Me? Tenting on the Old Camp Ground*, and *Home, Sweet Home*.

Some of the improvised choirs had memory also of the words and airs of psalms and hymns and the singing of these constituted the only religious exercises of which I have memory. The singing went on until from the commander's corner of the room came the word "taps," after which we were all expected to be quiet and to get what sleep we could.

It was not easy to find occupation for the long hours of the day. In the earlier weeks of the winter, the more energetic of us drew lots for the opportunity of making the trip to the river, a hundred yards or so away, for the bringing in of water. The water parties comprised from six to eight men who were watched over by two or three guards. Under the earlier arrangement, each man carried a pail, but later as we grew weaker, a pail full or a pail half full was more than one fellow could manage and the routine finally came to be for two men to carry together a pail about half full of water. There was also occa-

sional requirement for parties to bring in wood from the wood-pile but in this luxury we were sadly stinted. There was for a time some activity in chess-playing.

Our chess-boards were made out of a couple of pieces of plank which we had been permitted to secure from the guard-house, and the squares on which had been marked out with charcoal. The chessmen had been carved, with no little labour, out of pieces of our fire-wood.

Something was done in the way of occupation or amusement by the more active-minded in telling stories by turn, stories which comprised everything from actual reminiscence to the vaguest fantasy. There were also instituted a few classes of instruction. In company with three or four others, I took lessons in Spanish from one of the officers who was a Mexican by birth. He succeeded in securing, through the kindness of one of the guards, a second-hand Spanish grammar which was divided up into as many pieces as there were students. Some of us, therefore, had to begin the grammar in the middle and some tackled their Spanish language from the final pages; but before the book was absolutely worn out, we did make some progress.

I myself undertook a class in German, but as I had no grammar or text available I had to work entirely from memory. I was assisted in my undertaking by a scholarly young captain, William Cook, who had had time before entering the service to get through some years at least of his course at Yale. Cook knew no German, but he had a good working knowledge of grammar. We did make some progress so that before the work of the class was given up there was quite a fluency of utterance, most of it pretty bad as far as the German was concerned, but still giving evidence of application. I recall that towards the end of our class work, Cook and I decided to give a banquet to our class. The feast could be described as Barmecide as there was nothing to eat and nothing to drink. But we gathered together on the floor as if we were sitting about a well-appointed table. From my end of the table I read out, as if from a menu, a list of the courses which as given were certainly most appetising and in the wording of which no expense was spared. The associate host from his end specified the wines which were to accom-

pany each course. After going through the motions of eating and drinking, the two hosts read in turn the toasts of the evening which had to be responded to by the men called upon. It was the instruction that the utterances were to be made in German with the permission when no German word was available, to fill in that gap with an English term.

During the first two years of the war, there was for the majority of the Northern regiments very little difference in class between the men in the ranks and the commissioned officers. The men in the ranks and the officers came from practically the same family groups and the same average occupations and they differed but little in average intelligence. As the war progressed, however, the ineffective officers who had gotten their commissions either by accident or by influence, were largely weeded out. The men who secured commissions during the last two years were much more largely men who were promoted from the ranks as they had shown capacity. They were naturally on the whole of better education, and of larger intelligence than the men who remained in the ranks and they possessed a better will power.

The senior officer in the Danville Prison during the larger part of the winter was Brigadier-General Joseph Hayes, of Boston, who had been in command of a regular brigade in the 5th Corps. It is my impression that Colonel Ralston who had commanded one of the regiments from Central New York, acted as associate with Hayes.

The officer next in rank to Hayes was a plucky and headstrong general named Duffié. Duffié had, I believe, seen service in France and was, I was told, a capable cavalry officer. He was ambitious, vain, and if crossed, somewhat hot-tempered. His qualities would not have been impressed upon my memory if it had not been for his responsibility in the direction of an attempt to escape, an attempt which was badly planned and badly executed and which cost the lives of several of our prisoners and the wounding of several more.

At the time of this attempt which was, I think, in the middle of January, 1865, General Hayes was ill and had been removed to the prison hospital. News had come from Richmond to the Confederate commander of our prison that a band of Yankee raiders were operating somewhere to the west of Danville, and

were probably intending to make a dash at certain of the bridges on the railroad running southward. A couple of companies, comprising perhaps 150 men, had been brought into Danville by train as the first contingent of a force which was expected to head off the raiders and to protect the bridges. We knew the number of this force because they were made the guests of the prison guard and in going into the guard-house for their noon-day meal, they had stacked their muskets within sight of our prison windows. It occurred to some one that if those 150 muskets could be seized, we should have enough force to overcome, at least for the moment, the prison guard, while the unarmed owners of the muskets would be helpless. Duffié (the officer highest in rank) jumped at the idea and called for volunteers to make a rush for the muskets.

The opportunity for getting at the muskets was to be made by the sending out of a party for water and at the moment of the water party's return, a rush was to be made with a column of a hundred or more, at the open door of the basement. The difficulties of the immediate execution of the scheme were serious. In order to get to our own lines on the northeast, it was necessary to make our way through Lee's army. The only direction in which we were not likely to encounter rebel forces was the southwest towards the mountains of North Carolina. That plan meant, however, finding our way without food, with very little clothing, and with hardly any shoes, through many miles of wilderness. Such a body of men could have been easily overtaken by a comparatively small force of cavalry. To most of us the plan seemed, therefore, to be an absurdity.

Duffié listened to the objections and then asserted his authority as commander. "I order the attempt to be made," he said, "and I call upon the men who have not forgotten how to obey orders, to follow." With such a word there was of course no alternative. A hundred and fifty of us fell in and received our instructions. Three or four were detailed to overpower and to choke senseless the guard who had charge of the prison yard, while another group was detailed to take care in the same manner of the guard or of the two guards who patrolled the lower floor. Other men were detailed to make up the water party, a

party which being left outside of the building, would, if we succeeded in breaking out, be in no little peril. The signal was given and the rush at the guards was made. One man was successfully stifled, but one of the two, or of the three (I have forgotten the number) succeeded, before being finally jumped upon, in getting out a yell of warning. The yell came just as the door had been opened to let in the water party. The guards outside made a rush at once to close the half-opened door and the column from within, taken by surprise, was a little late in making the counter rush. The guards succeeded in getting the door closed and the bar up, and then, putting their rifles through the gratings of the windows, they fired one or more volleys upon our men assembled on the lower floor.

We carried our wounded upstairs as the men from the guard-house rushed out and took possession of their muskets. There was nothing more to be done and the Confederate colonel in charge realized that the attempt was over. He marched in a little later with his adjutant and a couple of guards and had the wounded carried to the hospital.

In the course of the winter, a plan of escape of a very different character was attempted. In looking out of the upper windows of the prison, we could see on the side towards the open country a big ditch which was not many feet from the prison wall. The suggestion came to some that if by means of a tunnel from the basement, one or more men could reach the ditch, they could lie quiet until an opportunity came to slip away in the darkness towards the open country. The first difficulty was how to get to the cellar for the necessary work on such a tunnel. We had noted on first visiting the prison yard a pair of folding doors, barred from the inside, which from their position evidently gave entrance (or as barred, refused entrance) to the cellar. One of the guards was posted in the yard and it was his duty to remain there through the two hours (or later, as the watches were extended, through the four hours) of his service. The walls about the yard were high enough to make impossible any scaling, and even if an exceptionally tall prisoner could have gotten across, he would have found himself under the fire of the muskets of the guards who partrolled about the building. The guard having

charge of the yard got into the habit, therefore, as the winter progressed and the weather became more severe, of taking his station inside the door of the lower floor. This absence of the guard gave us the opportunity of testing the bar which held closed the doors leading into the cellar. It proved to be wooden and a hand-saw having been produced through the nicking with a penknife of the edge of an old table knife, the bar was, on one stormy evening when the wind made a sufficient noise, sawn through with no great difficulty. The pressing open of one of the folding doors revealed, as it could only reveal, an unknown darkness. We had, of course, no means of knowing how deep below the floor of the cellar might be. Lots were drawn for the duty or the privilege, of finding out, and a couple of men tumbling over found the drop not more than four feet. A third man snuggled into a corner of the yard to give warning when the coast would be clear so that the interlopers could make their way back again. It was only on stormy nights that this invasion of the cellar became possible but there were in the course of a month or two enough such nights to make possible a beginning of the work on the tunnel. The operation had to be conducted entirely by "feel" as the cellar was in total darkness. The floor of earth was, fortunately, fairly dry. A point was selected midway along the outer wall, that is to say the wall towards the open country, at which by measuring by "feel" the length of the bigger stones in the foundation, the prospector secured, or thought he had secured, a stone big enough as an archway for the tunnel. The excavating instruments comprised a couple of tin plates and a few shingles. The ground was fortunately soft, and as the cellar was not visited, for this particular tunnel there was no such difficulty as was encountered with most of the attempts at tunnelling from prisons, in disposing of the excavated earth. In the course of weeks, progress was made, but a miscalculation as to the length of the superlying stone or as to the strength of the stone, came near to costing the life of one of the tunnellers and resulted in the necessity of beginning the work over again. The stone fell in and caught our man somewhere on the shoulders. A hurried signal was given out to the yard and at considerable risk of discovery (fortunately there

was a heavy sleet on) several men tumbled in and succeeded in lifting the stone and in bringing out in a half-smothered condition their unfortunate comrade. He had his face washed and was slipped upstairs without being observed, and the next day, after a more careful examination as to the safety of the foundation stone above, a fresh beginning was made.

In the course of a few weeks, this tunnel was projected out beyond the building and beneath the walk along which marched the prison patrol. We had of course no spirit level and there was no light with which it could have been utilized. The working of the line of excavation was, therefore, a matter of feel and of guess-work, and it is not surprising that under the circumstances the engineering failed in precision. The tunnel had been permitted to slant upwards too close to the surface of the ground. As a result of this mischance, one of the guards in an early morning hour (fortunately at a time when no workers were busy in the cellar) fell through. Frightened as he was (I believe his arm was broken) he yelled murder, and the guard next to him fired off his piece. Then followed a general firing of pieces into the darkness and the turning out of the entire prison guard. We understood afterwards that the alarm had come to the guard-house that the Yankees were attacking the town, a belief that was shared by that number of the prisoners who had not been invited to take part in the work of the tunnel and who had no knowledge of the scheme. When the poor guard whom we had unwittingly entrapped was pulled out of the hole, there was of course no difficulty in tracing the line of the tunnel. The folding doors admitting to the cellar were closed with an iron bar, and we judged that the guards whose duty it was to hold post in the yard must have received a pretty sharp reprimand from their superiors.

In December, 1864, when it seemed as if the resumption of general exchanges might still be indefinitely delayed, an agreement was arrived at between the authorities on either side for the paroling of certain officers who could be used for the distribution among their fellow-prisoners of supplies delivered for the purpose under flag of truce. As the death-rate in the Southern prisons continued to increase, there was naturally an in-

creasing pressure brought to bear on the part of the kinsfolk of the prisoners upon the authorities in Washington to do something either to bring about exchange or in some other way to save the lives of the men. The authorities in Washington, carrying out promptly the agreement arrived at, paroled a Confederate general, Beale of Georgia, who was permitted to select as associates three or four other officers. A number of bales of cotton were sent up from Savannah, under flag of truce, only a week or two before the capture of the city by Sherman had transferred to the United States the title to all the cotton remaining in the city. This cotton was sold on the cotton exchange in New York for the account of General Beale, and the price being in the neighborhood of \$1.50 a pound, he secured sufficient funds for his purposes. The authorities in charge of the Confederate prisons acted more slowly, and it was not until February that parole papers were given to General Joseph Hayes of Boston, and to three officers selected by him as his associates. I was very fortunate, having but a slight personal acquaintance with the general, to be taken for his junior assistant in the work to be done in Richmond. The senior was Colonel Charles Hooper of Boston.

Hayes, Hooper, and myself were shipped back to Richmond on a train which seemed to be still slower than that by which we had three months back journeyed to Danville. At the close of February, 1865, the single track road from Richmond to Danville was in very bad condition, while the pressure upon the rails must have been very considerable. We were given quarters in Richmond in a tobacco factory, not very far from Libby Prison, and a coloured corporal from Weitzel's brigade was paroled to wait upon us. It was my duty as the youngest to report two or three times a week at the pier on the James where I met the officer in charge of our flag of truce boat, and to give a receipt to him for the supplies brought up. We had during the winter been permitted to write letters to be forwarded across the lines to friends at home. The restriction was that the letter should be on a half sheet and that it should be handed open to the adjutant of the prison. If the contents of the letter did not meet the approval of the adjutant, it was not to be forwarded. It was only

occasionally that we could secure scraps of paper on which to write, but I managed to place in the hands of the prison adjutant a letter to the home folks about once a week. It was only on my return home in March that I learned that but five of my letters had gotten through.

The supplies delivered to me from the flag of truce boat comprised blankets, blouses, shirts, trousers and shoes. I finally got hold of a couple of darkies who were too old to be of any particular service for the Confederate officials. These darkies got an old hand-cart, which, while too small to make the transport expeditious, answered the purpose fairly well. It was necessary for me to accompany each trip of the hand-cart, as otherwise the colored men would have been promptly arrested as thieves and the goods would have been lost.

I had promised, under the conditions of my parole, to go nowhere about the city excepting between the three prisons, Libby, Castle Thunder, and one other building, the name of which I have forgotten. General Hayes learned that in a building, not far from our quarters had been stored a number of packages sent through the lines for our prisoners, and he directed me to visit the building and to give him a report. I found some thousands of packages which had accumulated for years and many of which had crumbled almost to dust.

I made out lists of the names and addresses that could still be deciphered on the wrappers of the parcels which were not too much decayed and the contents of which could still be of value to the prisoners. These lists I compared with the rosters of the prisons and in the chance that some of the roster names might not have been correctly entered, I took pains more than once to call out the names at the roll-call of the prisoners. I recall but one or two instances in which I was able to connect the men with the parcels.

We had expected to make a long sojourn in Richmond, but within a fortnight of our arrival, we got news that the long-delayed exchange had been finally declared. When we heard that a date had been fixed for our departure, I reminded the general that we had still to receive from the adjutant of Libby Prison a report concerning the moneys that had been taken from us. I recalled the memorandum book in which the amounts had been en-

tered and the promise that these should be returned to us at the close of our imprisonment. The general was himself interested to the extent of some hundreds of dollars and he promptly instructed me to present his compliments at the office of Commissioner Ould and to ask for an accounting. At this late period in the campaign, the commissioner was a difficult man to find, but after various calls I finally succeeded in securing an interview and in giving him the message. I took the liberty of adding a statement of my own personal interest in the matter. One hundred and fifty dollars loomed very large in my memory and it certainly represented hard earnings. The commissioner seemed embarrassed. "Adjutant," he said "the officer who had charge of that part of the prison business in October last is now dead, and I am sorry to say that there was some confusion in his accounts. Of course, however, you gentlemen ought to have your money. I will look into the matter and see what can now be done." I reminded the commissioner that we were to leave for the North at an early date and asked if I could call the next day. I got an appointment but I did not find my commissioner.

And it was only after delivering through his secretary a rather peremptory note from the general, that I did succeed in securing a further word with him. "The general directs me to say, Commissioner, that he will take to Washington such report in regard to these moneys as you see fit to send. If the Confederate authorities instruct us to say that they are unable to trace the record of these deposits and to make good the promise given by the prison officials, the general will carry such statement to Washington." "No, no, Adjutant," said the commissioner with some annoyed hesitation. "Of course, we do not wish any such report to go out. It is a mere matter of detail and bookkeeping. The money will of course be forthcoming." "I am instructed, sir," I replied, "to call again to-morrow in case I can not secure your report to-day." I did call on the morrow, but to no purpose. I called for the last time the day following and waited until within fifteen minutes of the departure of the boat; but finally decided that home and freedom were of more value than a claim against the Confederate government for \$150, and leaving my name, I made a quick run for the wharf.

The long delay in arriving at the exchange had, as I understand, been due to two causes. The Southerners had from an early period in the war taken the stand that negro troops who had been, or who might have been, slaves should not be exchanged, and the same prohibition was to hold against the white officers of the negro regiments. Lincoln took the ground (very properly) that all the United States soldiers must be protected alike, and that until the negro troops and their white officers could be assured of receiving as prisoners the same treatment that was accorded to the other prisoners and could be placed upon the same basis for exchange lists, the exchange should be stopped. The block of the exchange on this ground continued for a series of months, and then, under the pressure of requirement from the generals demanding to have their ranks filled up, Davis conceded the point and consented to the re-establishment of exchange arrangements. He agreed also, at least in form, to give to the negro prisoners and to the officers of their regiments the same treatment that was accorded to the others.

The exchange was later blocked under a policy for which, I believe, Secretary Stanton must take the responsibility. In one of his letters of 1864, he pointed out that it would not be good policy to send back to be placed again on the fighting line, 70,000 able-bodied Confederates, and to receive in exchange men who, with but few exceptions, were not strong enough to hold their muskets. Stanton, while arbitrary, was not a cruel man. I doubt whether his judgment in this matter was sound, because it was not fair to our own prisoners or to the army as a whole. The conclusions that he reached, after having in his hands reports from the Northern prisons and reports of the examination of the men who were being returned from the Southern prisons, were undoubtedly however based upon a pretty clear understanding of the actual conditions. The exchange finally brought about on the first of March, 1865, was probably the result in the main of pressure brought to bear upon Stanton, through President Lincoln, on the part of the relatives of the prisoners and of the leaders in the field who took the ground that our soldiers were entitled to protection and to a fair chance for life, whether they were prisoners or not.

I learned when reporting for duty (by letter to the Adjutant-General in Washington) that my regiment which still belonged to Grover's division of the 19th Army Corps, was stationed at Newbern, North Carolina. The transportation given to me from the Quartermaster's Department, fixed a route from Norfolk through the Great Dismal Swamp Canal, and then by way of Albemarle and Pamlico Sounds to Morehead City. This was a part of the South that I had never visited, and I found the journey novel and interesting. During the weeks of my sojourn in Newbern, smallpox broke out in this contraband camp, and it became necessary for the protection of the town and of the soldiers, to shut off at once and absolutely communication between the contrabands and the Post and settlements. A cordon of sentries was drawn around the camp, and no one was allowed to pass one way or the other. Food was placed by the sentries at points at which it could be secured and taken into camp by the negroes, but there was at the time at least no medical aid and, according to the gossip that leaked out through the sentry lines, the stronger men and women were taking possession of the food, and those who were sick were dying from starvation as well as from the pest. Impressed with the accounts of the conditions and of the misery under which the colored community was suffering, two representatives of the Christian Mission, Vincent Colyer, an artist of New York, with an associate whose name I have forgotten, had an interview with General Terry and the post surgeon and offered to take charge of the contraband camp. The surgeon emphasized, naturally, that if these men once crossed the picket line they could not come back to civilization until the pest had been stamped out, but that condition Colyer, of course, already understood. The authorities were well pleased to accept the service and sacrifice offered, because, under the existing conditions, the risk of infection for the town and for the troops was very serious. Colyer and his friend made their way across the lines, taking with them medicines and supplies. They arranged for a trustworthy system for the sending out of reports of conditions and for the receipt from day to day of the further supplies that would be required.

Colyer organized, under threat of severe punishment for any disobedience, the men who were strong enough into gangs for

burying the dead, for caring for the sick, and for doing the cleaning up that was urgently required. The women, encouraged by the presence of trustworthy authority, took charge again of the cooking and washing. In the course of a few weeks' time small-pox was stamped out and Colyer and his associate, who had fortunately escaped the contagion, were free to return to civilization.

Early in April, Terry received orders to abandon the posts and garrisons on the coast, and to collect every fighting musket that he had available to make a line between the Goldsboro region and the Virginia border. Sherman was coming North from Columbia, and was anxious that Johnston, who was, with his old-time skill and persistency, making the best possible defensive fight with his retreating army, should be prevented from joining forces with Lee. Sherman had had news of the breaking of the lines in front of Richmond, and he realized that the purpose of Lee and Johnston would be to get together for a final struggle somewhere in the neighborhood of Danville. The battalions available were gathered in from the coast and marched through the State towards Goldsboro and my command was finally placed at Durham Station.

The Commissary-General, in ransacking the country for supplies, reported that he found substantial stores of corn-meal and of corn on the cob in various warehouses in Goldsboro and in other stations in the region. These had, of course, been collected for the needs of the army in Virginia.

Terry was able to make some show of troops between Goldsboro and the roads to Virginia; but the line was very thin and could not have withstood any well-directed attack from an army like Johnston's. Sherman kept himself, however, so close on the heels of the retreating Confederates that General Johnston, plucky and persistent as he was, had found it impracticable to break away northward and our thin line was never attacked.

A fortnight before the dramatic event at Durham Station, there came to our troops the overpowering sorrow of the news of the death of Lincoln. The work to which the Great Captain had devoted his best years and had now sacrificed his life, was in a sense completed. He had carried out his pledge of maintaining the life of the Nation.



Photo by C. T. Johnson, Jaffrey, N. H.
The Baker Homestead, Over 160 years old

The Historic Baker House

BY M. L. BRADFORD

ONE of the most historic buildings in southern New Hampshire is the old Baker House, in Jaffrey, a structure which is over one hundred and sixty years old. Never has a lamp or stove been used in the house, candles and fireplaces being utilized instead, while the methods of cultivating the surrounding land have always been the most primitive in character.

According to local tradition, Samuel Woodworth's poem, "The Old Bucket," was inspired by the old well at the Baker homestead. Regarding this tradition the present owner of the old farm says:

"I cannot say with certainty that the verses were written about our old homestead, but I have always been told that they were. I remember that, when a boy, the oldest settlers felt no doubt as to the truth of the tradition. There can be no question as to the fact that the poet visited Jaffrey frequently when he lived in this vicinity, and that he felt a deep interest in the old place. It is entirely probable, that, having refreshed himself with the water from the historic well, he should have wanted to immortalize its virtues in verse."

The building is a typical country farmhouse, perfectly representing the period in which it was built, with its long sloping roof to the north to serve as a shelter, while the living rooms lie to the south, or on the higher-wall side.

The Baker house was built by Thomas Dunshire, an early settler of Jaffrey who was given three lots of land in consideration of the fact that he established himself with his family in the settlement. The place is now owned by Milton Baker, a descendant of the original settler.

The poem, "The Old Oaken Bucket," was written in 1817. The poet, Woodworth, lived in Scituate, Mass., at the time, and had several friends in Jaffrey. The old well, which figures in the poem, if tradition be correct, may still be seen, although the well-sweep is partly dismantled.

The History of Some Grand Operas

BY EDWARD LISSNER

LESS than two years ago it was announced that Oscar Hammerstein, who had long been one of the most conspicuous figures in the field of grand opera in this country, had decided to retire and devote his efforts to musical productions in London. The other day, it was learned that, so far from carrying out these intentions, Mr. Hammerstein is to write another chapter in the history of grand opera by completely revolutionizing the methods of presenting such productions in the United States.

The project now being promoted by the builder of the Manhattan Opera House provides for the construction of an opera house in every prominent city in the land, and in these he proposes to present the best attractions that money can produce. In an interview, Mr. Hammerstein stated that his plan had advanced to such a degree that he is now able to give assurances that by the time the opera season of 1913 arrives, the first National Grand Opera Company will be making appearances in no less than ten new houses outside of New York City.

"I can figure now," he said, "that in time we will have opera houses in at least forty cities. Any city that takes an interest in the project and wants a house can have one. Any city that is not wide enough awake to co-operate of course will not get one.

"I have carried this idea in my head for years. There is no doubt that this is a gigantic undertaking. It is one of the biggest things ever tried and its effects will be so far reaching that it is impossible to measure them. It will solve the problem here as it has been solved in Europe."

Mr. Hammerstein said that since his return from Europe and the announcement of the possibility of re-entering the field of

grand opera he has been besieged with requests from representatives of many cities to include them in such possible representations of grand opera for seasons ranging from a week to several months. The demand he said, was for "real opera" and the cities were willing to pay for it, but he found it impossible to accept the proposals because outside of New York, Philadelphia, Boston and Chicago there "exists no auditorium fit for grand opera such as they demand."

Mr. Hammerstein would not go into details as to the financial arrangements by which he says he will work out his plan, but he said that with the assistance of men interested in the progress and welfare of their cities he is now able to begin.

"The fundamental feature of the project," he said, "is that all these new houses are to be alike in size, with imposing elevation, frontage of about 125 feet and a depth of about 225 feet. It is not necessary that the ground should be of extraordinary value, but it is imperative that the stages and all electrical and mechanical features be exactly alike. The orchestra space must be for not fewer than seventy-five musicians and the dressing rooms are to accommodate from 200 to 300 people.

"They will be designed also to serve as dormitories for the chorus, musicians and extra personnel of a grand opera organization. A section of each house will serve as a storage room for stock scenery. It will be seen that the construction and embellishments and architectural features of these houses being alike, their cost will be vastly below any estimate for a single one.

"The existence of such houses throughout the country makes the presentation of grand opera, in all the term implies, a certainty. The undertaking then assumes a national character. It opens a new field and never dreamed of opportunity for the furtherance and elevation of musical culture in this country. A city possessing such a house adds to its attractiveness and places a stamp of intellectual progress upon its citizens. Civic pride will become the reigning factor in the creation and maintenance of such an edifice. The local financial aid which I will require is comparatively trifling when the vast benefit of the project is taken into consideration."

Mr. Hammerstein said that such an institution as he proposes

has promising features from a financial standpoint. He has now under contract, actual or optional, a large number of the foremost operatic singers, he said, and he promises to create a grand opera company that the greatest opera houses of the world would be proud to possess.

Mr. Hammerstein suggested two continuous lines or operatic centres to house each season one or two grand operatic companies such as he proposes to organize: First, Albany, Syracuse, Buffalo, Detroit, Cleveland, Pittsburg, Cincinnati, St. Louis, Kansas City and Denver; second, Baltimore, Norfolk, Richmond, Atlanta, Birmingham, Nashville, Memphis, New Orleans, Galveston, Houston, Dallas and San Antonio. He said it was necessary to have at least ten cities in each circuit.

There would be at least two or three weeks of grand opera in each place each year under Mr. Hammerstein's plan, he says, and the rest of the time each house would be provided by him with concert and other attractions.

"Leaving aside the commercial aspect of this great undertaking," Mr. Hammerstein said, "the existence of these many opera houses will give an impetus to the furtherance of operatic knowledge and the cultivation of musical taste bordering almost on the chimerical. I feel that these houses, as well as the whole project will prove the birthplace for permanent grand opera in the vernacular by an individual organization in each large city of this country.

This is important news. The music loving public has been educated to demand the very best that can be had, and managers have learned that they must give the people what they want if they expect to retain their patronage. A season beginning with *Lohengrin* and ending with *Faust* no longer satisfies. Even the works of Wagner and Meyerbeer alone will not suffice. Those who love music insist that there shall be a taste of Puccini, Carpentier and other of the modern composers during the season.

Of the modern composers in this field, Puccini is the most popular. There is more demand for his work than that of any other composer, living or dead. Whether Puccini will live as Wagner has, is a question for the critics. Much of the rage for him may be due to the present ascendancy in this country of the

French and Italian opera and the partial eclipse of the German.

The opera which most recently endeared this Italian to American audiences, was his *Madam Butterfly*. The story behind it is simple. Puccini while in London was looking for a libretto. He confided this to Frank Neilson, then stage manager at Covent Garden, who suggested that he see *Madam Butterfly* then running at the Duke of York Theatre. Puccini did so and the piece appealed to him at once. He wrote part of *Madam Butterfly* while recovering from an accident. Much of it had been planned during the latter part of 1902 and the beginning of 1903. Puccini's idea was to make it an opera in one act divided by an intermezzo. The latter was used in treating the very effective and most eloquent silence on which the curtain fell, while the Japanese girl with her servant and baby were keeping their long vigil through the night for the return of her supposed husband. Puccini was aided in his work by the wife of the Japanese ambassador and even obtained some actual Japanese melodies from a friend of her's in Paris.

La Boheme was his fourth work. It was composed partly at Torre del Lago and in a villa occupied for a time by the composer at Castellaccio near Pescia. The book is founded on Murger's, *Vie de Bohême*. The libretto, however, follows the spirit rather than the letter. For instance two characters in the book, Francine and Mimi, are welded into one. The libretto is four more or less detached scenes from the story. Gorga was the original Rodolfo and Ferrani, the Mimi.

The desk where Puccini works is in the corner of an immense room, the largest in the house, divided off by carved wooden rails. It is a sanctuary, which no one is allowed to enter. The desk stands in the middle. It is so large that it practically takes up all the available room and is crowded with souvenirs and bibelots, many of which have fond recollections for the composer. Back of the desk is a piano, where Puccini plays the music as he composes it, and behind this is an enormous bookcase filled with the most valuable works of Italian writers.

If he is not as popular in America as Puccini, the fact remains that no composer has created as much sensation by his work as Richard Strauss. If we bar the initial production of *Parsifal* at

the Metropolitan, no other modern opera was the storm center of more controversy than *Salome*.

Strauss once characterized it and his Guntram as "*Musik-dramas*" and his *Feuersnot*, "*a singgedicht*."

The libretto of *Salome* was based on Frau Hedwig Lachman's German translation of Oscar Wilde's play. Strauss abridged it for his own purpose. During one of the orchestral rehearsals at Dresden, a member of the band, an Austrian, pointed out to the composer that a love *motif* in the piece is one of the cavalry calls of the Austrian Army, which he must have heard many times.

The story of the first opera, Guntram, was suggested by a newspaper article on certain secret societies that existed in Austria in the Middle Ages whose objects were purely artistic, partly religious and ethical.

Feuersnot appeared between eight and nine years later. The idea of that opera was evolved from an old saga of the Netherlands, which told of a certain young man who loved a maiden, who was cold and contemptuous toward him. The story was *risque* and Strauss and Wolzogen were obliged to change it before the libretto could be used.

Strauss never begins to compose anything until he has allowed himself a complete rest of several weeks. The major part of his creative work is done in the summer time. He needs the calm and quiet of the country to write in. There are too many other things to do when he reaches Berlin. But nevertheless all his compositions are scored there. When in the country, Strauss usually retires to a summer house right after breakfast, where he remains undisturbed, even from letters or urgent messages, till the midday meal. Sometimes, he reads or walks for the rest of the day. To quote an admirer, Strauss "is fastidiously methodical." His writing table is a model of neatness. All his manuscripts and sketch books are arranged, indexed and docketed with the most scrupulous care. Most of his composing is done in the afternoon and evening and he often keeps it up until one or two in the morning. The work never affects his nerves. When finished, his mind is absolutely freed from a thought of it and he goes to sleep immediately.

The composer who has done for the operatic stage what Emil Zola did for letters is Gustave Charpentier in his *Louise*. Future efforts may win him great fame, but *Louise* is destined to remain in the work nearest his heart.

Charpentier went to Paris in 1892 after spending five years at the Villa Medici, as a holder of the Prix de Rome. He was very poor and lodged on the borders of the Rue Montmartre. It was there that Charpentier came in contact with the little world of bohemians and working people, who inspired him to write *Louise*. The heroine is a Parisian working girl, loved and wooed by the poet Julian. The managers were not slow to recognize the merits of the work, as a whole, but there were certain passages they did not like and these they wanted changed. Charpentier refused though he was penniless at the time. In fact, all that stood between him and starvation was the keeper of a little dairy on the rue St. Luc, who supplied him with eggs, chocolate and milk. The managers finally gave in and *Louise* was put on. In the hour of triumph, Charpentier did not forget his subjects and early in the run of the opera, offered a special performance to the working girls of Paris. Later on, they were represented at a banquet given in his honor and presented him with a medalion, as a token of their regard.

For oddity in composition, *Pelleas et Melisande* of Claude Debussy, stands alone in the musical world. As one critic put it, the opera "is a new way of evolving and combining tones, a new order of harmonic, melodic and rhythmic structure." The method of Debussy was to have the work sung by characters to a kind of psalmodic declamation. He is strongly averse to the intimate coalescence of the voice and the orchestra. *Pelleas et Melisande* was first produced at the Paris Opera Comique in 1902. But Debussy was known before that as a composer, writer and critic. The opera, however, won him greater fame. This did not change his retiring disposition. It became manifest when requests began to pour in for his photograph. If there is anything Debussy abhors, it is posing for the camera. A very pressing request came on the morrow of the success of his opera from the editor of *Le Monde Musical*. The composer replied: "Willingly and you will receive the only one that has ever been



Photo by Mishkin, New York.

OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN

taken. But I tell you before hand—when I sat to the photographer, I was two years old and since then I have changed a little.”

Saint-Saëns, unlike the others named, has been prominent as a composer for many years. There is an interesting story behind his *Samson et Dalila*, which was first produced at the Grand Ducal Theatre of Weimar. The opera was begun before the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War. The second act was tried out in private, the part Samson being sung by the ill-fated painter, Henri Regnault, who was killed in the war the following year. The *Marche Heroique* was the tribute Saint-Saëns paid to his memory. The score of *Samson et Dalila* was terminated in 1872 and another performance of the second act given two years later, this time by Madam Viardot, at her country house at Croisey. She took the part of Dalila. Later on, the entire first act was given at one of Mons Colonne's concerts in Paris. The opera was finally sung in 1877. It was Liszt who, quick to recognize the genius of the work, undertook to have it mounted at Weimar. The opera was not given in France until 1890. Rouen was the scene of the first French production.

Saint-Saëns began his musical education at the age of three with lessons on the piano. When he began to play the first exercise, he was discovered playing it only with the right hand using the other to press the weak little fingers down in order to sound each note distinctly.

Jules Massenet has also been known to the music lovers of this country for some time. Last year, his new opera, *La Jongleur de Notre Dame* was brought out at the Manhattan with Mary Garden in the leading role. It will be heard this season. But Massenet is mostly associated in American minds with his *Manon*. This opera is a musical setting of Abbe Prevost's romance and was first produced at the Opera Comique in 1884. It was the first opera that Massenet had composed for that theatre in twelve years. During this period, he had won fame as a dramatic critic and an orchestral writer. The famous novel of Abbe Prevost had already been utilized for operatic purposes by Auber. Pucini has since used it as a text. The subject the novel furnished Massenet was particularly suited to his musical style.

Manon was written at The Hague. Massenet was well known

at the time and in order to work undisturbed by friends and admirers, he took rooms as a boarder under an assumed name. As a further precaution, he did not even send for a piano. This did not handicap him, however, for Massenet does not require a piano in order to compose. He thinks out his music, which he hears inwardly, and even by this method is said to arrange it for the orchestra. He labored unceasingly at his work. His only exercise was an hour's walk in the evening from which he would return with his coat collar turned up to conceal his features. Massenet was accustomed to write at a large table littered with music paper, each sheet bearing thirty staves. The people where he lodged began to grow curious. They finally decided he was a choir master. But just about this time, some one recognized Massenet and people began flocking to see him. The score of *Manon*, however, had already been completed.

There is no modern composer whose work is as well known to the mass of the American people as Mascagni. Indeed it is doubtful whether the compositions of Wagner and the other musical giants are as familiar as the intermezzo from *Cavalleria Rusticana*, which today remains a strong favorite not merely on but off the operatic stage.

The circumstances under which it was composed are interesting enough to bear repetition. Back in 1878, Verga published a volume of peasant sketches. They were powerful and attractive and imbued with the warm and realistic coloring of his native soil. These sketches appeared in the days when it was difficult for a young composer to get a hearing for his work. In order to encourage them, Sonzogno of Milan, a music publisher and man of much wealth and enterprise, offered a prize for a short opera in one act. Ten of the competitors went to Verga's sketches for their librettos. Mascagni won. He was leading a musical society at the time at Cerignold. He laid the scene of *Cavalleria* in the land of the dagger and stiletto and told the old story of love's conquest and faithlessness. The opera was composed under much difficulty. For Mascagni was so poor that he did not have the money to hire a piano and his little family were almost starving at the time.

Despite the present ascendancy of the French and Italian com-

posers, the Wagner operas remain factors in the success or popularity of each season. If so much had not already been written about the great German composer, his name and work would have appeared at the beginning here.

The plot of *Rienzi* was suggested by Bulwer's novel. Wagner read it in 1837. He finished the libretto and began work on the music while acting as conductor at Riga. The opera was written without hope of immediate production, but with a view of future performance at some theatre of large resource. The opera was finally put on at the Dresden Court Theatre in 1842. During a rehearsal of the overture, the trombones were too loud, whereupon Wagner said with a laugh:

"Gentlemen, we are in Dresden, not marching around the Walls of Jericho."

The libretto of *Tannhauser* was begun before *Rienzi* was put in rehearsal. Wagner remarked that his dog had helped him in the score of the opera. His composing was done under trying conditions. He was morbid and despondent at the time and the only comfort he derived was from his dog and a few friends. The dog usually sat at Wagner's feet. While the composer was at the piano, singing boisterously, the dog often leaped on a table nearby, peered into Wagner's face and began to howl. The composer would stop, shake the paw of the animal and exclaim:

"What, does it not suit you?" then add, quoting from Shakespeare: "Well, I will do thy bidding, gently."

The reader may be surprised to learn that the beautiful "*Song to the Evening Star*" met with much criticism when the opera was produced. Chelland, a German composer, said that it was wrongly harmonized and suggested certain harmonies, which should be substituted for those employed by Wagner. Later a favorite division of the composer, when among his friends, was to sit at the piano and sing the song, "*a la Chellard*."

The sketches for the book of *Lohengrin* were made before the production of *Tannhauser*. Liszt was quick to recognize the power of the opera and undertook to produce it at Weimar. The directors promised to spend \$1,500 on the production, "a sum unprecedented at Weimar within memory of Man," Liszt wrote. Herr Beck, the tenor, found the title role too much for him. He

retired from the stage shortly after and it was said that the music of Wagner had ruined his voice. Liszt undertook the piano, choral and orchestral rehearsals, while Genast attended to the staging.

Wagner enjoyed no royal road to fame. The scores of *Rienzi*, *The Flying Dutchman* and *Tannhauser* were returned unopened by the managers. He worked hard on *Lohengrin* and when the possibility of putting that opera on grew remote, turned to the Ring of the Nibelung. Twenty-five years later when that cycle was about to be produced at Bayreuth, he wrote to Praeger:

"It appears to me that the whole German Empire is created only to aid me in attaining my object."

Wagner did not seek the piano for ideas. He never touched the keys until the ideas were composed. The piano he used as a sketch book on which he worked and re-worked his subject, steadily modelling the matter, until it assumed the shape he had in mind. His composing was done in an elegantly well-arranged studio. It meant much labor and excitement for him. Wagner worked to excess. With some exception, he attended to every detail in the production of his operas. He not only indicated the position on the stage that he wished the various characters to take, but in one instance actually made little chalk marks to insure the following of his directions.

Meyerbeer was also a German, but he left the Fatherland and went to live in Paris, where he gave his great masterpieces to the world. We still hear them year in and year out.

Les Huguenots was probably his most famous opera. It followed *Robert le Diable*. Both were the result of his settling in Paris, where he buried himself deep in the literature of French opera. The library of Meyerbeer in the French capital contained hundreds of opera scores, great and small, many of which were hardly known by name even to the best informed. *Les Huguenots* was put on in 1836, but did not at once realize the hopes that had been built upon it. A reason was the great success of *Robert le Diable* and a general idea that the new piece would be along the same lines.

La Prophete was one of Meyerbeer's last grand French operas. It was produced at the *Academie* in April, 1849, and in London the following July. The opera had been completed some

time before, but its production was postponed, owing to the lack of a singer competent to meet the requirements of the principal character.

The triumph of Gounod with *Faust* inspired Berlioz to go to the same theme. This led to his *Damnation of Faust*. The opera was not completed until 1846, though its composition was begun long before. Strange to say, it failed and for ten years after, Berlioz did not offer any composition to the French people. This lack of appreciation soured him though some believed he expected too much. It was not until after his death that the public recognized the genius of his opera.

The operas of Verdi have also stood the test of time. They have served to bring out the great voice of Caruso and other modern stars.

The production of *Rigoletto* was marked by numerous difficulties. Verdi, who always chose his own subjects and planned his librettoes, directed Piave to draw his material from Hugo's "*Roi s'amuse*." Piave did and called the work, *La Maledizione*. The opera was intended for La Fenice in Venice and therefore had to be submitted to the Austrian censorship. Aware of the source of Piave's inspiration, the officials forbade the production of the opera until all the characters had been changed. Thus the King became the Duke of Mantua, while Triboulet was turned into Rigoletto and the local color of the story quite done away with. The opera was written while Verdi was in retirement at Busetto.

Aida was composed by command of the Viceroy of Egypt. It is one of the rare instances of a successful piece being written to order. A new Italian opera house had just been built in Cairo and the Khedive, Ismail Pasha, applied to Verdi, asking his terms for a new opera to be written upon a libretto provided with a national subject. Verdi demanded 4,000 pounds sterling and 6,000 if his presence was required to conduct the rehearsals. The terms were accepted. Mariette Bey, a celebrated Egyptian scholar, made a sketch of the plot, which was sent to Verdi for his approval. Ghislanzoni wrote the libretto. Verdi added the powerful scene of Radames' trial in the third act. His dread of the sea led him to decline the direction of the rehearsal and Signor Bottesini acted instead.

Five Municipal Shields

BY GEORGE K. SMITH

MANY persons who have stopped to watch the work of the Municipal Building which is now being constructed in New York City have been puzzled to guess the purpose of the five devices which appear upon the shields over the great pillars of the structure.

The greatest interest, perhaps, has been shown in the pair of shields affixed above the pillars on either side of the gateway through which Chambers street passes. To the student of armorial bearings, these shields seem very much like a variation of the British coat-of-arms, and many questions have been asked as to the reason for placing such a device, with its coronet, upon New York's Municipal Building.

An investigation discloses the fact that the mysterious shields tell, heraldically and decoratively, the history of New York. Upon one we have the arms of the Province of New Netherlands; on another the arms of the City of New Amsterdam; a third reproduces the arms of the British province of New York, while the fourth shows the arms of the American State and City of New York. The coat-of-arms which has been given the place of honor on the building, reproduces the arms of the Province of New York, as established in 1664, when the British took it from the Dutch and renamed it in honor of James, Duke of York, afterwards King James II., whose arms became those of the province.

It is these arms that overlook the Chamber Street entrance, and it is the Duke's coronet, in the proper form of a coronet for a prince of the blood royal, that surmounts the shield.

The quarterings are those of the Stuarts, who styled themselves Kings of Great Britain, France and Ireland. The French

title was dropped by George III, in 1801. In the first, or upper left hand, quarter as one faces the shield, are the leopards of the House of Lancaster and the lilies of France. This device is repeated in the fourth, or lower right hand, quarter. In the second, or upper right hand, quarter, is the lion rampant within a border, for Scotland, and in the third, or lower left hand, quarter, is the harp of Ireland.

The devices to be placed upon these shields were matter for deep research and many conferences on the part of R. T. H. Halsey of the Municipal Art Commission and of Messrs. McKim, Mead and White, the architects, and it was only after all authorities on the subject had been consulted that the Art Commission put its authoritative approval upon the designs.

Grant and the Third Term

BY WILLIAM HALL

IN view of the interest shown in the discussion of permitting a President of the United States to serve more than two terms, the attitude which President Grant assumed when he was invited to permit his name to be presented for re-election is of considerable political as well as historical importance.

It does not seem to be generally known that a strong effort was made to persuade General Grant to stand for a third term. It is somewhat surprising that this phase of the great general's career should have been left to such obscurity.

The facts are these: It was Roscoe Conklin who was delegated to ascertain how Grant felt in regard to a third-term candidacy. The following letter recently unearthed by Mr. H. H. Thompson, secretary of the Peoples Bank of Passaic, N. J., from the files of an old newspaper, shows how the general answered Mr. Conklin. For some inexpressible reason, unless it be through sheer neglect, the standard biographers of Grant neither incorporate this letter or mention it.

It reads as follows:

NEW YORK, May 2, 1880.

MY DEAR MR. CONKLING:

I am in receipt of your last letter and have very considerably weighed the matter in all its bearings. The tribute you pay my services to the country I appreciate, but at the same time I fear you overestimate my services and under estimate the indulgence of our country.

There have been exigencies that warranted a second term, but I do not believe that the best interests, or the country's good, ever demanded a third term or ever will.

I had my doubts even as to the advisability of a second term, and you know that I have so expressed myself to you in our confidential talks. This is a big country, full of brainy and ambitious men, who can serve the country eminently well as its President, and I sincerely question the policy of thwarting their noble ambition.

In a republic, cosmopolitan like ours, a man's fame is too frequently dependent upon the status of public sentiment. Fame in this country ebbs and flows. Today you are the peer; tomorrow you may be submerged beneath the wave of adverse sentiment. This is another reason why the noble ambition to be a President should not be restricted to one man.

I feel that our country has amply repaid me for all my service by the honors it has bestowed upon me and I feel that to be a candidate or accept the nomination for a third term would be ingratitude, and would eventually affect me with the people who have loved me and whom I love.

I am still of the opinion that I should speak to the country, that I should break the silence in a letter declining emphatically to accept a nomination for a third term.

I appreciate your efforts, your friendship and loyalty, but I fear that your zealousness for me is an error, not of heart, but of mind. Knowing that, with all your nobleness, you have a highly sensitive nature, and knowing your antipathy for the Maine statesman, I have always deferred from speaking of him to you, but I now feel that I should speak on that matter and plainly.

This estrangement between you two, unless checked, must prove a mutual disadvantage. It will hurt Mr. Conkling. It will hurt Mr. Blaine. It will be a stumbling block in the way of the ambition of both.

I believe that could the differences existing be amicably adjusted the nomination this year, would go to one, leaving the honor four years hence more than a probability for the other. It is not only necessary for the good of each that an amicable adjustment be reached, but for the good of the party; and more for the good of the country.

I fear that the presentation of my name at the convention

would not only assist in the defeat of Mr. Blaine but seriously affect your future besides warping my career. Even should I be nominated it could only come after a spirited contest, in which much bitterness would be injected; and then I doubt if I could be elected, as I seriously doubt whether any man can ever again be elected, even for a second term, unless, perchance there should arise some extraordinary emergency, which now appears improbable, even in the dim future.

I am aware that this matter has gone on to an extent where an announcement from me refusing to accept would be looked upon by some as cowardice. But would it not be far better to be considered a coward than a usurper? I also appreciate your position in, as you say, "The final and supreme effort of your life for supremacy," yet, in the face of all, I still believe that my name should not be presented. And, further, I believe that your anxiety about the effect an announcement from me would have on your future is an error.

I trust you will consider gravely and carefully my wishes. I am generous enough to suffer myself rather than to have my friends suffer, if I am convinced that any act of mine would cause them to suffer.

Awaiting your reply before acting, I remain, sincerely your friend,

U. S. GRANT.

While it is apparent that General Grant followed the unwritten law set by the First President, his letter shows that he can scarcely be regarded as entitled to be called a "true prophet." The idea that he was the last man to hold the Presidency, "even for a second term," reads strangely in view of the number of men who have filled the President's chair since the day when General Grant left it.

To the friends of the candidate of the Progressive party, there must be some satisfaction in the fact that General Grant's predictions have not been realized, or, at least, they may take hope from the letter's later assurance that there is a possibility that in times "of extraordinary emergency," even the third-term law that custom has developed might properly be violated. To their mind, such an emergency now confronts the nation.

“Doctoring” Two Hundred Years Ago

BY HELEN LOCKWOOD COFFIN

“ENJOYING poor health” is an impossible pleasure these days. Between the “regulars,” who stand waiting to carry the patient off to the operating room and literally see what ails him, and the New Thinkers, who assert impersonally and without sympathy that nothing ails anybody because nothing is, there is no longer any satisfaction or comfort in being an invalid. We sigh for “the good old times.” Then, we think, we should have dared confess to a certain uneasiness and gained some pleasure and profit from a dose of peppermint, without the fear of either an operation for appendicitis or an affirmation of Perfect Health.

A cheery and invigorating glimpse into the ways of the sick in the good old days comes to us in the “*Pharmacopoeia Extemporanea*,” written by one Thomas Fuller, M. D., and printed in London in 1719. It is, as the author explains, “A Body of Medicines, containing a Thousand Select Prescripts, answering most Intentions of Cure.” A cursory glance through these prescripts shows that there was some satisfaction in being under the weather two hundred years ago. Even the names of the medicines smack of comfort; there are “quilts” and “nightcaps” galore, and a “consolatory draught” on every other page. The very act of becoming ill is invested with a certain quaint charm, since it is recorded that the patient “fell into” a distemper, or a consumption, or whatever it might be. It was considered an accident for which he was in nowise responsible. Nobody said:—“Didn’t you know any better than to swallow those germs?”

“Hysterics” were perfectly respectable and nothing to be ashamed of; “hysterical ales” and similar decoctions were kept in the family medicine chest and “women obnoxious to vapours”

were advised to make them their "constant drink," or at least to use them "three times a day for a good while." Appearances, too, were taken into consideration and medicaments were compounded with an eye to beauty and general effect. A frankincense plaster is recommended as a "slightly neat plaister, to be put on the wrists in a fever." Avaunt, ye modern porous plaster! I blush for thy unsightliness!

My copy of the *Pharmacopoeia* is the third English edition. The original Latin edition was published in 1714. I do not know how many similar "assistances to young physicians" were then in existence, but I judge from the preface that this was a new venture in an unfallowd field, because the author takes so many words and pains and pages to "first shew the Occasion of Compiling and Publishing my *Pharmacopoeia*. Then wherefore I translated it; And lastly endeavor at an Apology for Both."

He assures us that long before he "ventured upon Practice" he "made up a very great Collection of the best and neatest Medicines" he could "pick up from Books, Bills, and Communications; and then composed a Manual out of it All." Not, he hastens to add, "to transcribe Receipts out of, but to consult upon Occasion, and use as an Assistant to my Memory and Invention." Wherefore, as he sets forth, all along in the Course of his Business he did not tie himself up "to the Preciseness of Set Forms;" but "evermore varied Prescripts as Indications directed and Palates allowed; for"—Listen to this, Oh ye Physicians of Today!—"I tasted almost Everything I ordered."

His first "endeavor at an Apology" is for publishing; his second for publishing in English. He was clearly the victim of circumstance. It seems that "a certain young Gentleman, a Bachelor in Physies," after making a copy of this manual carried it off with him "into Holland and Flanders and died at Antwerp and left it there." For the which thoughtlessness all fair-minded people are constrained to blame the young Gentleman. He caused the author great uneasiness:—"For I knew not into what Hands it might fall; and perhaps the Dutch might print it upon me, rough as it was, and unprepared for the Press;" and thus was he forced to publish his own version. As for putting it into English, he pleads the "Example of our great Predeces-

sors in all ages. Hippocrates and the Grecians used only their Mother Tongue. . . . The Arabians wrote all their Works in Arabic. . . . If others of all ages have published Medicines and done it in their vulgar Tongue, for what Reason then must I alone be singled out and censured and ill-used, as though I, and none but I, prostituted Learning, profaned the Profession, and assisted Empirics?"

He tried hard to steer a safe passage between Profanation of the Profession and Dissemination of Knowledge; he frankly confesses that the result is "full of hard Words and a sort of Latin-English." He says this is partly "from direct Design, to keep up the Dignity of Physic, set it above the Reach of the Vulgar, and to secure it to Those to whom it belongs; and partly upon mere Necessity. For Philosophy and Physic are not yet so naturalized among us, as to speak plain English; and therefore we must allow them to keep their native Greek and Latin terms of Art and many times Expressions also; otherwise we should be ridiculously singular and less understood."

His "ridiculously singular" English is one of the joys of the books. The "Prescripts for Cures" abound in statements which are "less understood." For instance, just what do you think the author means to say of a "Cephali Ale," when he asserts that it "assists the Chylification and Sanguification; edulcorates the Serum of the Blood; corroborates the Brain; depurates the Spirits and extricates them from their ill-sorted Copula?" Or by this description of honey:—"Honey consists of a sweet, viscid Principle manifest, and of an acrid Volatile, something occult?" Or by these directions regarding a "sweetening scorbutic Ale:—you make as Many and as Few as you please at a Time, so as to have them fresh one under another." Or by this:—but I will speak no more of his English; for I have suddenly come upon this in his preface:— "And Those that are so Ignorant and Ordinary that they cannot apprehend what I write, should be so diffident also as not to read it."

The directions given with the prescripts are enlightening. They "practically explain," to quote the author, a number of things hitherto familiar, but less understood. Take our old friend, the mustard plaster. We have known it to "rouze up

and expand" upon occasion, but we haven't sifted out the cause. Dr. Fuller says, in commenting on the "several Kinds, manner of Operation and Rational Use of Applications to the Feet" that "they act (not upon the Feet primarily) but on the Spirits. They are of two Sorts; such as rouze up and expand, as Mustard, etc., and such as pacify the enraged Spirits, as Chickens and Pigeons slit open alive, Lamb's Lungs, etc., warm. And we use them when the Spirits being vehemently irritated, fly into Explosions."

Usually Dr. Fuller's directions are delightfully informal. You are to put in "four handfuls" of this or that; or "as much fine sugar and nutmeg as will make it grateful;" or "as much dandelion as you think fit;" or "boil it in a convenient quantity of barley water." Occasionally the processes are somewhat involved. For example:—"The best way to fetch out the Faculties of most Ingredients" is to "work the Ale together with them in it." I shall not venture to comment on that until I have tried it. But always the kindly spirit of helpfulness and consideration on the part of the author is in evidence. A favorite admonition of his is to "Let the Patient off with a Pint twice a day."

We appreciate his kindness the more when we discover what constituted "medicines" in those days. Among them were such revolting messes as dragon's blood, powdered bees, "humane cranium," crabs' eyes, vipers' flesh, live millipedes, tails of crawfish and—but we draw the veil. Even such flowery prescriptions as Conserves of Red Roses or Red Poppy Water cannot take the taste out. Surely any patient would be grateful to be let off with a pint twice a day. Other ingredients are curious but not nauseating,—as "the finest writing paper, cut small;" cobwebs, eggshells, sifted ashes of broom and bean stalks; "clean filings of needles;" rust of iron "made into fine dust," and an old friend in a new dress, "camphire."

The moon's phases are credited with considerable influence and the physician is advised to contemplate the heavens before prescribing for his patient. Certain "cures" are to be given "three days together before the new and full moon." A julep, "used with Benefit against the Epilepsy" should be given for a

prevention of a "paroxism near the Lunary periods; for about these Times the Brain suffers wonderful Alterations, insomuch, that at the Full Moon it groweth so turgid (which appears by Wounds in the Head) as to fill up the whole Capacity of the Skull; yea, hath often been seen to thrust out through a Wound. And as the Moon waneth, appportionately again subsides to the New and then is in its least Appearance. Thus we see Oysters and all shell-fish are fuller and better at the Full and contrary at the New."

Dr. Fuller experimented upon a number of titled and interesting patients, as he is in no wise loath to have us aware. And such is fame that these Lords and Ladies with their "divers Vapours and Dolours" are still enjoying them for the benefit of all who read this book. One of them, a "certain baronet's Daughter," has stirred my sympathy. Her case is used as a shining example of what not to do for gout. It seems that with this disease "infinite Caution ought to be used in external Applications. For if the morbid Matter be thereby dislodged but not corrected, nor carried off, it may shift to some noble Parts, the Brain, or Stomach." This is what happened to the Baronet's Daughter. Her trouble "flashed suddenly up into her Head, and entirely took away her Sense, and laid her in a strange sort of Amazement, with a mixture of Fright and Fury."

This "strange sort of Amazement" is apt to pounce unexpectedly upon the innocent reader of this book. He is seeing things in broad day-light:—dragons' blood and the flesh of vipers; red roses and red poppy water; small pieces of notepaper wrapped in cobwebs; all these assail him in one fell swoop, with a mixture of Fright and Fury. He is of a mind to turn him to the New Thinkers and deny the deniable and affirm everything else, for which laudable ambition he has the gracious permission of Dr. Fuller. For, says the author in his preface:—

"The Ignorant, the Idle, and the Envious, who do nothing for the Publick themselves and hate, ridicule, and hinder those that labor for it, may now go on and think as their malignant Nature inclines them."

Columbus

(On the occasion of the unveiling of the Statue, at Washington,
June, 1912)

BY J. K. FORAN, LITT. D.

ASST. LAW CLERK, HOUSE OF COMMONS, OTTAWA, CANADA

UNVEIL his Statue! Let us behold
Those features fine and nobly bold,
Cast in the grand heroic mould
Of bygone Saints and Sages;
Carve on the pedestal his name,
That now belongs to deathless fame,
And sheds, like to a living flame,
A light on History's pages.

Christopher, the "carrier of Christ,"
First with the aborigines held tryst,
First on this continent to hoist
The Cross above our sod;
Columbus, he, the "carrier-dove,"
Who 'gainst the ocean tempests strove,
To bear the message of true love
And sow the seed of God.

Unveil his Statue! Let it stand
Here in the center of the land;
From Mountain peak to ocean's strand
'Twill greet the Nations' eyes.
The centuries may roll away,
But to earth's last and fateful day,
Columbus o'er the world holds sway,
Here, 'neath Columbia's skies.

Let music swell and cannons boom,
Let lights like day the night illumine,
He needs no better, greater tomb,
 Than in the wide world's heart;
Let joybells to his honor ring,
Let myriads their offerings bring,
And garlands in profusion fling
 Around this noble work of Art!

It matters not how Time shall sweep,
Or greatness on our Future peep,
Or Glory's Dawn upon us creep,
 Or fame and splendors flow,—
It matters not how Nations rise,
Or which shall grasp the envied prize
Of Power, that earthly power defies,
 Above them all HIS fame shall glow!

Unveil his Statue! Let us see,
Here, in this land of Liberty,
The one who leap'd Atlantic's sea
 And found a Continent.
And while upon his face we gaze,
And songs of unrestricted praise
Around his image here we raise,
 Let gratitude to God be blent,
 In a Te Deum heavenward sent.

New York in the Thirties

M. H. GALLAGHER

THE diary of Philip Hone, a leading business man of old New York was recently published by one of his descendants.

Philip Hone's business was that of auctioneer. He auctioned the cargoes which the merchant sailing ships brought from across the big pond. In 1820, having amassed a fortune, he retired from business, and from that time until the day of his death he interested himself in the social and public life of the growing city.

In 1826 Philip Hone was elected mayor of New York. Afterwards he became president of the first Bank of Savings organized in that city. His home was located at the corner of Broadway and Park place, the site upon which the tall Woolworth building is now being erected.

The diary which is now attracting considerable attention, especially among those who are interested in Old New York affairs, fills two volumes, and covers the period from 1827 up to within a few days of his death in 1851. Few works of this kind have gone with anything like so much care into the smaller details which really constitutes the life of a city. In its pages we find almost as much information as could be gleaned from the files of the papers of that period, but what makes it of greatest interest is the record which it gives of the business development of the city, and the steady rise in values. From the diary we also learn that the cost-of-living troubled New Yorkers even in those days. Indeed for a bird's-eye view of Metropolitan conditions from seventy to ninety years ago it is impossible to find a more valued piece of literature than the diary of the retired

merchant, Philip Hone from which the following extracts were taken:

“Tuesday, August 4, 1829.—The house and lot No. 49 Wall street, recently occupied by the Pacific Insurance Company, 29 feet on Wall street and about 130 feet deep, was sold this day at auction for \$38,100.”

Four years later he recorded several interesting transactions in the block where now stands the Astor House, and the block above it, where the Woolworth Building is going forward:—

“Wednesday, January 11, 1832.—Halsted F. Haight's property sold this day. The three story house, lot 22 Vesey street, formerly occupied by the late Bishop Hobard, 25 feet front by 102 feet in depth, bought by Mr. Ward for \$18,500. The lot of ground next to my residence, corner of Broadway and Park place with three tenements, one on Broadway and two on Park place, the lot 25 feet on Broadway and 24 8-100 in the rear, in length on Park place 121 10-100, and along my line 120 feet 6 inches, bought by L. Bronson for \$37,000. I bid for this lot \$36,700, and regret since the sale that I had not gone farther. It is worth more to me than to any other person.

“The house at No. 18 Park place, occupied by Charles McEvers, was sold at auction on Saturday to James J. Roosevelt, Jr., for \$14,200; lot 25 feet by 75 feet.”

The following significant record is printed a few pages further on:—

“Friday, January 27, 1832.—The lot corner of Wall and Broad streets, 16 and 8-100 on Broad street and 30 feet on Wall street, was sold this day at auction for \$17,750.”

It does not appear from the above which of two famous corners was sold. On the east corner of Wall and Broad now stands the Drexel Building occupied by J. P. Morgan & Co., and on the west corner, adjoining the Stock Exchange, is the Wilks Building. The Drexel property fronts 113.52 feet in Broad and 82.7 feet in Wall street, and the land was assessed for 1911 at \$2,500,000. The Wilks land fronts 58.2 feet in Broad and 84.10 in Wall street, and this year its assessed value is \$2,100,000. All land in New York is assessed at so-called “full value.” So it seems that the J. P. Morgan corner was worth about \$37 a square foot in 1832, and is worth about \$270 a square foot to-day.

It appears that the boom in land values which began about 1830 kept up for several years without a break.

The diary continues:—

“April 30, 1833—The sale of lots in the upper part of the city goes on without any interruption from any cause, foreign or domestic. Mr. Kane has sold his large house, corner of St. Mark’s place and Second avenue, to Charles Graham, for \$75,000. He called this morning to offer it to me for the last time before he closed the sale; but I do not want it, nor indeed would I consent to remove to any other situation, unless I was compelled to by selling my house in Broadway. Mr. Boardman offered me, about two months since, the price I asked for my house, \$55,000; but I was to take in part payment seven lots of ground on the Second avenue, below St. Mark’s place, at a valuation of \$35,000. This I declined, for I could not imagine then, nor can I now, that they are worth so much money. He has, however, sold them since for \$38,000, and speculators say they are a bargain.”

Second avenue at St. Mark’s place was then a fashionable suburban neighborhood. The land at the northwest corner, fronting 48 feet in Second avenue and 120 feet in St. Mark’s place, is this year assessed at \$65,000. From this it would seem that the price paid for the land at this corner in 1835 was very high.

The next real estate entry in the diary has an intimate interest for the residents of the upper west side of Manhattan:—

“August 3, 1835.—The prices of property in and about this city and Brooklyn keep up astonishingly; unimproved lots are higher than ever. Several great sales have been made at auction during my absence, but I think the greatest is the property of the late Mrs. Ann Rogers, which goes principally, I believe, to her grandchildren, the children of her daughter, Mrs. Howard. It consisted of her proportion of the Rose Hill estate left by her first husband, Nicholas Cruger, and the country seat at Bloomingdale, about six miles from the city, on the banks of the Hudson River. The amount of the sales of these two pieces of property was \$688,310. Fifteen years ago they would not have brought \$40,000. The money goes into good hands.

Bloomingdale village in the early part of the last century com-

prised a collection of some twenty houses along Bloomingdale road (now Broadway) at what is now about 100th street. Here the grocer, shoemaker, wagon maker and village smithy had their shops, and to this "centre" came the farmers of the district and the owners and employes of the fine estates which overlooked the Hudson River. About the time of this land sale the Bloomingdale "district" had grown to include the territory which is now bounded by Ninety-ninth street and Central Park West, St. Nicholas avenue, 137th street and the Hudson River.

Just north of Bloomingdale village or "centre" was the Humphrey Jones property of 109 acres. The homestead of this estate was between 101st and 102d streets near the river. In 1786 this entire property was sold to John Jones for £2,300. In 1798 Robert T. Kemble bought it for \$25,000. In 1811 it went to William Rogers for \$29,000. Rogers died in 1818, bequeathing the property to his wife, Ann, and the mansion there became known as the Ann Rogers house, and was so called for years. These historic facts are recited by Hopper Striker Mott in his book "Old Bloomingdale."

Mrs. Rogers died in 1833. Her executors, William Heywood and Francis B. Cutting, had the land surveyed and mapped, and according to Mr. Mott the proceeds of the sale on November 1, 1835, were \$716,000. This date is three months later than Mayor Hone's entry.

At this sale William P. Furniss acquired a tract at the southern boundary of the estate and he built a "grand mansion" on the ground now bounded by 99th and 100th streets, West End avenue and Riverside Drive. Only a year ago this beautiful old mansion among the trees looking down upon the river was torn down. Upon the entire block has been erected costly apartment houses. Single lots twenty-five feet by one hundred feet in this block are being held at \$50,000. And in 1835 the whole 109 acres sold for \$716,000!

The following has been quoted much, in fragments, since the Woolworth project was first made public:—

"March 8, 1836.—I have this day sold my house in which I live, No. 255 Broadway, to Elijah Boardman for \$60,000, to be converted into shops below, and the upper part to form part of

the American Hotel, kept by Edward Milford, in which I imagine Mr. Boardman to be interested. I bought this property on the 8th of March, 1821, after my return from Europe. I gave Jonathan Smith \$25,000 for it. I made a large profit; but the rage for speculation is at present so high that it will prove an excellent purchase. The house belonging to the Phoenix insurance Company, two or three doors above Warren street, was sold this day at auction for \$40,000. The building is worth little or nothing, and the lot only 25 feet by 106 feet; mine is 37 feet by 120 feet, and is very cheap compared with the other.

"I am to retain possession until the 15th of October, unless I choose to give it up before. I shall leave this delightful house with feelings of deep regret. The splendid rooms, the fine situation, my sunny library, well arranged books, handsome pictures—what will become of them? I have turned myself out of doors; but \$60,000 is a great deal of money."

On the whole Mayor Hone was a shrewd dealer in land. He sold his lot for about \$13 a square foot. The Woolworth concern has obtained title to the entire Broadway front between Park place and Barclay street, and their parcel extends in depth 192.3 feet on Barclay and 235.10 feet on Park place, making a total plot of about 31,500 square feet, which was assessed for 1911 (the land only) at \$2,372,000, and this is approximately \$72 a square foot.

A few days after selling his place Mr. Hone expressed alarm at the high prices of land and living:—

"March 12, 1836—Everything in New York is at an exorbitant rate. Rents have risen fifty per cent. for the next year. . . . Lots two miles from the City Hall are worth \$8,000 or \$10,000. Even in the Eleventh ward, toward the East River, where they sold two or three years ago for \$2,000 or \$3,000, they are now held at \$4,000 or \$5,000. Everything is in the same proportion; the market was higher this morning than I have ever known it—beef twenty-five cents per pound, mutton and veal fifteen to eighteen cents per pound, small turkeys \$1.50. This does very well for persons in business and speculators, who make, as the saying is, "one hand wash another," but it comes hard upon those retired from business, who live upon fixed in-

comes, particularly public officers, clerks in banks and counting houses, whose salaries are never raised in proportion to the increased cost of living."

Six weeks after selling his house, Mayor Hone wrote as follows:—

"April 22, 1836.—This day hired the house belonging to Mr. Bloomer, the upper one of the two marble houses with porticos in Broadway, opposite Washington place, for \$1,600. It is a fine house, delightfully situated and quite convenient to the place where I intend to build."

This "hired" house was No. 716 Broadway; he rented it for \$1,600 a year. At that time it stood far out in the thinly built up section of the city. It was a handsome house which cost \$30,000 in building some years before, and the land cost \$7,800. It was sold at foreclosure sale in 1841 for \$14,000. In 1889 it brought \$75,000 and was then torn down. On March 24, 1836, Mr. Hone bought from Samuel Ward the northwest corner lot at Broadway and Third street, twenty feet in Broadway, and 130 feet in Third street, for \$15,000. Here he built himself a new house.

Mayor Hone's foreboding of disaster to follow the riot of speculation in the first half of the "thirties" was prophetic. The panic of 1837 did, indeed, sweep away fortunes which had been easily made. The financial condition is well indicated in the following:—

"April 21, 1837.—An evidence of the pecuniary distress which pervades the community is to be found in the reduced prices of stocks and unimproved real estate. . . . Lots at Bloomingdale, somewhere about 100th street (for the whole island was laid out in town lots), which cost last September \$480 a lot, have been sold within a few days at \$50."

Though the hard times continued for several years, Wall street properly increased in value:—

"November 21, 1838.—The house at the corner of Wall and Hanover streets has been sold to the North American Trust and Banking Company by Thomas E. Davis for the enormous sum of \$223,000; higher than anything which has yet been heard of. The building is somewhat notorious from its having been erected

upon the site of one built by J. L. & S. Joseph, which about the time it was completed fell to the ground one night with a crash which shook all Wall street, and its fall was a precursor of a much more tremendous crash in that celebrated street, commencing with the failure of the firm that erected it, and ending with the suspension of specie payments and the bankruptcy of one-half of the merchants and traders of New York."

Mayor Hone was one of the founders of the Whig party and felt almost a worshipful admiration for Daniel Webster and Henry Clay. Conversely, the dictionary did not have words adequate to express his detestation of Andrew Jackson, whom he blamed for the panic. On November 21, 1838, the *New York Commercial Advertiser* printed the following under the heading "Sale of Valuable Real Estate; the St. Joseph's Building:"—

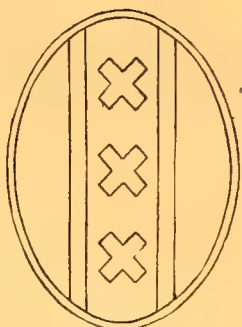
We are informed that Thomas E. Davis, Esq., has disposed of the substantial fire-proof building at the corner of Wall and Hanover streets, directly opposite the New Merchants' Exchange, to the North American Trust and Banking Company, for \$223,000.

The first floor is at present in the occupancy of the United States Bank in New York and the American Trust Company.

This lot was the east corner of Wall and Hanover, where now stands the banking house of Brown Brothers. On the west corner was the Merchants' Exchange, now the National City Bank Building. Evidently the junction of Wall and Hanover was then the very heart of the financial district. The St. Joseph's Building, alleged to be fire-proof, was a plain pile five stories high. The land is now owned by the Wall and Hanover Street Realty Company, and the plot 59 feet on Hanover and 61 feet on Wall is assessed at \$700,000.

It cannot be told from the following whether the real estate market had fully recovered in 1839, but the city was surely growing:

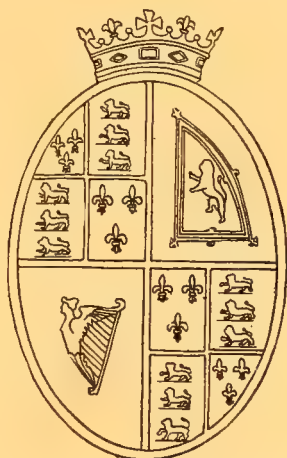
May 30, 1839.—One hundred and sixty-one lots, being part of Henry Eckford's property in Seventh and Eighth avenues and Twenty-second, Twenty-third and Twenty-fourth streets, were sold to-day at auction at very high prices. The sale amounted to \$224,045, being an average of more than \$1,500 a lot, and a large part of the property remains unsold.



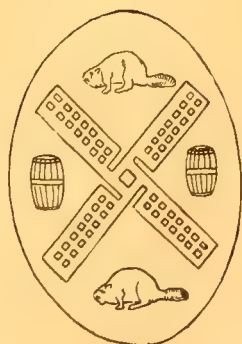
NEW AMSTERDAM.



STATE OF NEW YORK.



PROVINCE OF NEW YORK.



CITY OF NEW YORK.



NEW NETHERLANDS.

The Shields on New York's new Municipal Building

But there is no doubt from the following that the city was suffering from the panic of 1837 at least three years after the first blast of the storm:—

March 7, 1840.—The ancient mansion of the late Mrs. E. White, No. 11 Broadway, opposite the Bowling Green, was sold at auction one day this week by order of her executors, and brought only \$15,000. The lot is 39 feet front in Broadway, 27 feet wide in the rear and extends through to Greenwich street nearly 200 feet. This is the saddest proof of the fall in real estate in this devoted city that has been realized as yet. There has been no time within my recollection that this lot would not have brought more money, and before General Jackson's accursed experiments it would have been worth double the price it brought.

This property is now the site of the building of the Bowling Green offices, occupied by the transatlantic steamship companies. The building occupies Nos. 5, 7, 9 and 11 Broadway. The plot fronts 162.4 feet on Broadway and runs back 200.8 feet. The land assessment value was \$1,750,000 for 1911.

At last prosperity came back to New York, and A. T. Stewart built his first big department store. But our diarist did not recover his happy spirit of earlier days. The reader will perhaps smile at the lugubrious tone of the following:—

April 7, 1845—The site of Washington Hall, in Broadway, between Chambers and Reade streets, was lately sold by the heirs of Mr. John G. Coster to A. T. Stewart, who is preparing to erect on the ground a dry goods store, spacious and magnificent beyond anything of the kind in New York, or the Old World either, as far as I know. In removing the rubbish after the hall was burned the corner stone was brought to light and exhumed this morning. . . . Well do I remember the ceremony of laying this cornerstone, on the Fourth of July, 1809, when the federalists were on their high horses, and when I subscribed \$250—which I wish I had now—and walked in the procession to the North Church, where Julian C. Verplanck (who happened just then to be a federalist) delivered the oration, and Robert Morris, Jr., father of Robert H. Morris, the late Mayor, now an ultra democrat, then an out and out federalist, was one of the vice

presidents of the Washington Benevolent Society. These fire-brands of that fine old party are now shining lights in the Loco-Foco camp, and abuse their old associates who continue to fight under their original colors. How do the very stones rise up in judgment against them!

In September, 1846, the new Stewart Building was nearly completed, and Mr. Hone recorded the fact. He observed also on that day:—

There is nothing in Paris or London to compare with this dry goods palace. My attention was attracted in passing this morning to a most extraordinary, and I think useless, piece of extravagance. Several of the windows on the first floor, nearly level with the street, are formed of plate glass, six feet by eleven, which must have cost four or five hundred dollars each, and may be shattered by a boy's marble or a snowball as effectually as by a four pound shot; and I am greatly mistaken if there are not persons (one is enough) in this heterogeneous mass of population influenced by jealousy, malice, or other instigation of the devil, bad enough to do such a deed of mischief.

Washington Hall, which was burned, was a public hall for meetings and also a hotel. The land was sold to A. T. Stewart for \$65,000. The site of the block was 151 ft. on Broadway and 225 ft. on Reade and Chambers streets. On April 20, 1906, this property was sold by the Hilton estate to Felix Isman, of Philadelphia, for \$4,500,000. The Stewart Building, as the structure is still called, is now used by the city of New York to house several of its municipal and county departments. The land is assessed for 1911 at \$4,225,000.

A year before his death, Mayor Hone wrote:—

“May 30, 1850.—The mania for converting Broadway into a street of shops is greater than ever. There is scarcely a block in the whole extent of this fine street of which some part is not in a state of transmutation.”

By “the whole extent” of Broadway he meant “this fine street” from Bond street to Bowling Green.

The Bear Flag Revolution

BY AL H. MARTIN

CONCEIVED in the matrix of flaming patriotism; emblematic of the adventurers who had crossed a continent to possess a foreign land, the famous Bear Flag of California has garnered fame unrivalled by the banners of sister commonwealths. Around its birth Legend has woven fanciful stories, until the origin of the famous banner has become shrouded in the illusions of a fond and admiring people. Yet the sober facts are tinted with a romance and beauty that pales into insignificance the more vacant fabrications of fiction.

For long years preceding the clash between Mexico and the United States, which culminated in the Mexican War, England, France, Russia, the United States and other nations had cast covetous eyes on the fertile lands and sun-kissed waters of California. The very name was founded on romance, and the golden spirit of its people seemed but reflections of a perfect climate and unsurpassed natural advantages. The great westward movement of the American race was in full swing before 1840 and hundreds of immigrants from the eastern states had found cherished homes in the broad valleys of the new land. So serious had the invasion of the Americans become to be considered by the native Californians, that in 1845 decisive steps were taken to check the power of the great alien march from the East. Following a series of disorders and factional disputes Governor Manuel Micheltorena was deposed and the reins of government delegated to Pio Pico, the last Mexican governor to preside over the destinies of California. General Jose Castro, a man of intense patriotism, possessing an undying hatred for all foreigners, and commanding fair ability, was appointed commander-in-chief of the military. Castro immediately assumed an aggres-

sive policy toward all foreigners, with Americans given particular attention. An order was promulgated ordering all Americans to leave the country, but no immediate attempt was made to enforce the command, and the Americans treated it with general contempt. But in June, 1846, through a misunderstanding the long-smouldering feud between Americans and Californians suddenly blazed forth. Castro had ordered Lieutenant Francisco de Arce to take a small body of soldiers and remove some government horses from the Mission San Rafael to the headquarters at Santa Clara. De Arce took a guard of 14 men to execute the order. At New Helvetia, now the city of Sacramento, the Californians were forced to cross the Sacramento river, this being the only point where the horses could swim the turbulent stream. An Indian watched the fording and reported to the American settlers that two or three hundred armed Californians were invading the valley. Captain Fremont and his band of explorers were encamped about sixty miles above Sutter's Fort, and the Americans instantly decided de Arce was marching north to attack the Pathfinder. Intense excitement prevailed, the news flew from village to village, and the settlers armed themselves and almost to a man joined Fremont and his little band. Here they met William Knight, who had met de Arce and his command with the horses. Knight stated de Arce had said that Castro had finally decided to expel the Americans from the Sacramento valley and that the horses were to constitute part of a battalion of two hundred men. As soon as this force was assembled the Americans would be driven from the country and the Bear River pass sealed to prevent further arrival of immigrants from the United States. The settlers were men of daring and resource, little disposed to submit to the high-handed methods of the Mexican commandant. A consultation was held and a decision reached to pursue de Arce and capture the horses. By this means the designs of Castro would be checkmated. Twelve men volunteered for the expedition, and the oldest, Ezekial Merritt, was selected for captain. The little force stole upon the Californians at daylight on June 10, 1846, and effected a complete surprise. De Arce immediately surrendered. The Americans

confiscated the horses but permitted the men to depart freely. The revolution had been inaugurated.

Finding new-comers had swelled his force to thirty-three, the intrepid Merritt resolved on a master-stroke. An advance was ordered on the town and military post of Sonoma, and on the morning of the 14th of June the place was surprised by the handful of farmers. General M. G. Vallejo, Colonel Victor Prudon, Captain Salvador Vallejo and Jacob P. Leese were placed under arrest and taken to Sutter's Fort. Merritt took personal command of the accompanying guard, and a force of eighteen men was left to garrison Sonoma. William B. Ide was chosen commander and a military protectorate established. Within a few days arrivals had increased the force of Americans to forty. Ide held a consultation with his men and on the 18th of June issued a proclamation setting forth the objects of the revolutionary movement, and the principles to be followed in the event of success. The Americans were men of iron, and the edict did not mince words nor deal cautiously with the great problems confronting the hour. The revolutionists knew well what awaited them in case of failure. Already Fremont had been asked to join his forces with them, take command, and declare war against the Mexican Government. But the American army officer was forced to reject the offer, although his sympathies were avowedly in favor of his countrymen. War had not been declared between the two nations, and the American settlers were rebels against the constitutional authority of Mexico. But the vision of a blank wall, and a file of soldiers at sunrise held no terrors for the virile men who had made homes three thousand miles from their birthplace, and had already demonstrated their right to the seats of the strong. Mexican bullets and nameless graves might be waiting, but before the harvesting many would be the reapers who would pass ere the work was done. Barred from the colors of their own land the Americans determined on the creation of a banner of their own—a banner strikingly symbolical of the spirit and courage of the hour.

To Granville P. Swift, Peter Storm, William L. Todd and Henry L. Ford was intrusted the work. A piece of new, unbleached muslin was procured to which Mrs. John Sears sewed

strips of red flannel at the bottom. The drawing of a suitable emblem was delegated to Todd. He proposed the lone star of Texas, and Ford suggested the additional figure of a grizzly bear. Both forms were adopted. The star was placed in the upper left-hand corner of the flag and the image of a bear in the upper central section. The figures were first sketched with pen and ink. Immediately below the bear were the words "California Republic." The bear and star were painted with pigment made of linseed oil and Venetian red or Spanish brown. The words were filled in with ink. The banner was first raised over the bulwarks of Sonoma on June 18th. It is not strange that the lone star and grizzly bear had been decided on as fitting emblems. The heroic fight of Texas against the tyranny of Mexico had won the admiration of the world, and the famous single star had fired the imagination of the American people. The grizzly bear was most fittingly symbolic of California. From the first coming of Man to the mountains of California had the grizzly been known and justly respected. Supreme monarch of hill and vale, fierce as the mother tigress, stately, courageous; the very personification of resistless power, it was right that the great bear should be selected as typifying the spirit and resolution of the men constituting the new dominion. In their hearts dwelt loyalty for the land of their birth, reverence for its institutions, a fierce aching love for the starry banner they had cherished from childhood's rosy hours. But they were not permitted the use of their native colors in warfare against a foreign people.

Proudly the Bear Flag floated over the bulwarks of Sonoma until July 11th, twenty-three days after its raising, when the news was received that the United States had declared war against Mexico, and California had been seized in the name of the American people by Commodore Sloat. The receipt of the long-prayed for tidings sent a thrill of joy and patriotism through the ranks of the Bear Flag insurgents. Gently the Bear Flag was lowered and in its place rose the Stars and Stripes. The colors had been sent to Sonoma by Commander Montgomery, of the sloop-of-war Portsmouth, lying in San Francisco bay. Little did the insurgents dream of the reverence with which the Bear Flag was to be cherished in after years. For them it had

been but the substitute for the proud banner of their fathers. But deeply as the National banner is cherished in California, the love for the Bear Flag has grown with the years, and its story is proudly told when the sons and daughters of California gather. Insignia of a brave people it has garnered honors and reverence with the advancing years, and for decades the original banner was proudly displayed in the quarters of the Society of California Pioneers, at San Francisco. The terrible earthquake and fire which devastated San Francisco on the 18th day of April, 1906, destroyed the famous flag and guidon, also the only photographs ever taken of the historic standard. The photographs now in existence are mostly reproductions of original views secured from the burned plates. Other towns have claimed the birthplace of the Bear Flag, and other banners have advanced pre-eminent pretensions, but to Sonoma and the standard flung to the breeze June 18th, 1846, belong the crowning honors.

As nearly as it has been possible to ascertain, the members of the Bear Flag party were: Ezekial Merritt, William M. Scott, William Dickey, Granville P. Swift, Robert Semple, Henry L. Ford, Samuel Gibson, William Anderson, Samuel Neal, James A. Jones, W. Barti, William B. Ide, John Potter, Henry Booker, William Fallon, Henry Beason, George Fowler, Horace Sanders, Thomas Cowie, John H. Lelly, John Gibbs, Benjamin Dewell, Harvey Porterfield, Franklin Bedwell, Joseph Wood, William B. Elliott, Andrew Kelsey, William Hargrave, John Grigsby, William Knight, Ab Elliott, David Hudson and Frank Grigsby. Others there were, but the pencil of Time has dealt less lightly with their memories. Such were the men forming a portion of the little battalion that conquered California in the face of overwhelming numbers and obstacles calculated to daunt the hearts of the boldest.

History of the Mormon Church

BY BRIGHAM H. ROBERTS, Assistant Historian of the Church

CHAPTER LXXIV

ARRIVAL OF PUEBLO DETACHMENTS OF THE MORMON BATTALION.
PIONEER WOMEN. RETURN OF PIONEERS TO WINTER
QUARTERS.

IT will be remembered that Elder Amasa M. Lyman was sent from Fort Laramie early in June, in company with three others, to meet the Battalion detachments *en route* from Pueblo to join the Pioneers. On the 27th of July he rode into the Pioneer encampment at Salt Lake, and reported that these detachments of the Battalion, under command of Captain James Brown, together with the company of Mississippi Saints, were now within two days' march of Salt Lake Valley. President Young and the Twelve, with some others, two days later, formed a mounted company and met these Battalion and Mississippi companies at the mouth of Emigration Canon. There were about 140 of the Battalion; 100 of the Mississippi Saints, swelling the number that had arrived in Salt Lake Valley to about 400 souls. These last arrivals altogether had about 60 wagons, 100 head of horses and mules, and 300 head of cattle.¹

The detachments of the Battalion presented a problem to the council of the Twelve. They were under orders to march to California, but the term of their enlistment had expired on the 16th of July. Did the officers in command have the right to muster them out of service? What would be the moral effect in the

¹ Woodruff's Journal, MS. entry for 29th July. Also Erastus Snow's Journal, entry of 28th July.



Front View of "Cott. Cottage"

M.A. Gurnea

United States if these detachments were mustered out of service here in Mexican territory without other authority than the Mormon officers in command? It was finally determined, after being considered in council, that the Battalion should be mustered out of service, and Captain James Brown and a small company piloted by Mr. Samuel Brannan, should go to California and report to the U. S. army officials there, taking with them a power of attorney from each member of these detachments of the Battalion to collect the balance of pay due for his service. That Captain Brown made his report and drew the pay as agreed upon by the members of the Battalion has already been noted.²

The day after their arrival in the valley the Battalion contributed to the community service by erecting a bowery 40x28 feet under which to hold religious worship on the ensuing Sabbath day—and a grateful shade it must have been from the constant glare of the sunshine in that transparent atmosphere, where no forest temple presented solemn depths of shade for that holy purpose. Also during this first week in the valley Col. Stephen Markham reported that thirteen plows and three harrows had been stocked, and three lots of ground broken up and one lot of thirty-five acres planted in corn, oats, buckwheat, potatoes, beans and garden seed.”³

Three days after the arrival of the Pioneers their camp was visited by Indians located in the valley. There were two tribes, “Utes,” or “Utah’s,” and “Shoshones.” The visits grew in frequency and with constantly increasing numbers. On one occasion within the first week, when representatives of both tribes were in the Pioneer camp, a Ute stole a horse from a Shoshone and rode up the valley with his prize. He was followed by the Shoshones, however, who killed him and returned to the Pioneer camp with the stolen horse. The frequency of these Indian visits with their begging and persistent efforts to trade for guns, ammunition and clothing, was likely to become a great incon-

² *Ante*, this History, Ch. LXVI.

³ History of Brigham Ms., Bk. 3. Journal entry for July 31st, '47. These grains and vegetables did not mature: “Although,” writes Parley P. Pratt, “there were obtained for seed a few small potatoes from the size of a pea upward to that of half an inch in diameter. These being sound and planted another year produced some very fine potatoes, and, finally, contributed mainly in seeding the territory with that almost indispensable article of food.” Pratt’s Autobiography, 1874, p. 401.

venience to the colony, and therefore at the public meeting held in the second Sunday in the valley a resolution was adopted "to trade no more with the Indians except at their own encampment; and hold out no inducements to their visiting our camp."⁴

President Young must have taken quite seriously such irregularities of the camp of the Pioneers as we have already noticed in a former chapter;⁵ for he now proposed to them a solemn renewal of their covenants to righteousness, a new avowal of their acceptance of the gospel of Jesus Christ, by baptism, President Young himself to set the example.⁶ This was first proposed to the Twelve and their immediate associates, then to the camp, now more properly, perhaps, to be considered as a colony.

The proposition was joyfully and very generally accepted by the Saints.

On the 7th of August a selection of blocks within the City survey was made by the Twelve for themselves and their immediate friends.⁷ It was also decided that one of these ten acre

4. Erastus Snow's Journal, entry Aug. 1st. A number of Indians were in the Pioneer camp when this resolution was passed; and whether they learned the import of it or not, during the night they left and visits from them became less frequent. (Woodruff Journal entry Aug. 1st). The Utes are referred to as apparently friendly "and not disposed to steal, though they have a bad name from some of the mountaineers." (Ibid entry July 28th).

5. *Ante*, Ch. LXIX.

6. The Baptisms began on the 6th of August. Brigham Young was the first to receive the rite; then Heber C. Kimball and all the rest of the Twelve. ("August 6th: At night I was baptized by Elder Kimball, and then baptized Elders Kimball, Richards, etc." . . . who were confirmed at the water's edge and set an example to the Church. Hist. Brigham Young Ms., Book 3, Journal entry). This quotation because some writers reverse the order, and say President Young first baptized his associates. All received the ordinance of confirmation, and in connection therewith had sealed upon them the holy Apostleship "with all the keys, powers and blessings belonging to that office." "We considered this a duty and a privilege," writes Wilford Woodruff, "as we had come into a glorious valley to locate and build a temple, and build up Zion—we felt like renewing our covenants before the Lord and each other." (Journal, entry for Aug. 6th) on the 7th—Saturday—55 brethren were baptized. Sunday when the proposition was presented to the congregation, 224 responded, making a total of 268.

7. "In the afternoon the Twelve went on to the Temple Block and picked out their inheritances. President Young took a block east of the Temple, and running southeast to settle his friends around him. Brother Heber C. Kimball took a block north of the Temple, and will settle his friends on the north. (President Young says Kimball's block was N. E. of the Temple—Journal, entry Aug. 7th, Hist. Brigham Young Ms., Bk. 3). O. Pratt south of the Temple, joining the Temple Block and runs south. W. Woodruff took a block cornering on the Temple lot at the southwest corner, joining O. Pratt's block and will settle his friends on the south. A. Lyman took a block 40 rods below or west of W. Woodruff's block, and runs southwest of the Temple [on which] to settle his friends. Geo. A. Smith took a block joining the Temple on the west and runs due west. It was supposed Bro. (Willard) Richards

blocks should be inclosed by building houses of logs or adobes—sundried bricks—in the form of a fort, as a protection against possible Indian assaults. There were to be gateways on opposite sides of the enclosure; the buildings to be 8 or 9 feet high, 14 feet wide and 16 or 17 feet long; the chimneys were to be made of “adobes,” the hearths of clay. All openings were to be on the inside of the enclosure, except such port holes on the outside as might be judged necessary for observing the approach of an enemy. The block selected for this enclosure was four blocks south and three blocks west of the temple site, long afterwards called the “Old Fort,” then “Pioneer Square,” now a public park and play ground for children.⁸ Work upon the fort began on the 11th of August; and by the evening of the 21st Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball moved into their “houses,” being the first to do so.⁹ Meantime the name for the city occupied the attention of the council of the Apostles. It was decided first to call it “*The City of the Salt Lake, Great Basin, North America.*” This in the council of the Apostles on the 14th of August.¹⁰ On Sunday the 22nd, the name was presented to the congregation and accepted. At the same time names were adopted for local streams. The “Utah Outlet,” which carried the overflow from Utah, or Timpanogis Lake, to the Great Salt Lake, was called “Western Jordan.”¹¹ The

would take his inheritance on the east, near Bro. Young. None others of the Twelve were present in the camp. Bro. Benson had gone back to meet the camps, [then enroute for the valley] and three of the quorum were in Winter Quarters” (Woodruff’s Journal, entry 7th of August). After this there was some slight changes made in the first selection of blocks, chiefly, however, in extending the blocks into tiers of blocks in the direction of the side from which they respectively started from the Temple, and these to be subdivided among the immediate friends of the Apostles making choice of said tier. (Woodruff’s Journal, entry for 13th Aug.).

8. See city plat accompanying Ch. LXXIII.

9. Woodruff’s Journal, entry for Aug. 11th and 21st respectively.

10. Woodruff’s Journal, entries for 14th and 22d August.

11. This to distinguish it from the Jordan of the East, Palestine. It was doubtless the case, though nothing is said of it in the journals of those days, that the similarity of physical features of the Salt Lake Valley and Palestine led to calling this “Outlet” “Western Jordan.” Palestine has its Dead Sea, so called because it has no outlet, no life abounds in its waters, and its shores are desolate. Upwards of sixty miles northward is the fresh water lake, or Sea of Galilee, from which flows the Jordan River to the Salt Sea. It will be observed that in Utah the salt sea is in the north, the fresh water lake in the south, and the connecting stream flows northward; whereas in Palestine these similar natural features are reversed in location; but the fact of their existence, though in reversed order, would be sufficient to suggest naming the connecting stream between the bodies of fresh and salt water the “Western Jordan.”

stream running through the site surveyed for the city was called "City Creek." Two creeks coming out of the next two considerable canons were called "Little Canon and Big Canon Creek,"¹² respectively; and the larger stream beyond these was named Mill Creek.

The first name given to the city founded by the Pioneers—"City of the Salt Lake"—was changed when the city received its charter of incorporation—1851—to "Great Salt Lake City." Subsequently the "Great" was dropped and the name became as it still remains—"Salt Lake City." "Western" soon went into disuse as a descriptive pre-fix to "Jordan," and "The Jordan" became and remains the name of the "Utah Outlet." The Canon Creeks, Little and Big, shortly became "Emigration" and "Parley's Canon Creek," respectively.

The fact of human life and death was early asserted in the Salt Lake Colony. A daughter was born to one of the Battalion families which had wintered at Pueblo. The ninth of August was the date a tent on Temple square the place. The father and mother were John and Catherine Campbell Steel, and the child was named "Young Elizabeth Steel," being named for President Young and Queen Elizabeth of England. A second child was born on the 15th of August, in the family of Geo. W. Therkill, one of the families of the company of Saints from Mississippi, which had wintered at Pueblo and joined the Pioneers from Winter Quarters at Fort Laramie on the first of June, and journeyed with them to Salt Lake Valley. An examination of the roster of Orson Pratt's Advance Company will disclose the fact that quite a number of this Mississippi contingent was enrolled in that company.

This second child was also a daughter and was named Hattie A. Therkill. It was in the family of Geo. W. Therkill also that the angel of death struck down his first victim in the valley. A child three years old, a boy, playing on the banks of City Creek fell in and was drowned. His body was found in the creek about 5 p. m. of the 11th of August. The occurrence threw

12. Since called "Emigration" and "Parley's Canon Creek," respectively, the latter named after Parley P. Pratt.

a gloom over the colony, which President Young sought to dispel on the following Sunday by a discourse on the sureness of the salvation of children.¹³

In connection with these incidents in the Crow family, the mother of which would be so affected by this birth and death in her household, separated only by four days, it is but proper to say that the women of this Mississippi Company of Saints who entered Salt Lake Valley with the Pioneers have been quite generally overlooked. Much has been written of the three noble women who accompanied the Pioneers from Winter Quarters to Salt Lake Valley, so much, in fact, that the idea quite generally prevails that they were the only women who entered the valley with the Pioneer company. That, however, is not the case. In the advance company of seventeen Mississippi Saints which joined the Pioneer Company from Winter Quarters at Fort Laramie, on the first of June, six of them were women and girls, viz.:

Elizabeth Crow,
Harriet Crow,
Elizabeth J. Crow,

Ira Vinda Exene Crow,
*Iraminda Almarene Crow,*¹⁴
Martilla Jane Therkill.

These women from the state of Mississippi, sharing the hardships and toils of the journey; braving the uncertainties and dangers of Pioneer life; sacrificing the conveniences and even luxuries of their southern homes—for they were among the well-to-do planter families of the south—their names and sacrifices and toils and sufferings for the Gospel's sake, and in opening a new place of settlement for the Church, no less than their sister Pioneers from Nauvoo and Winter Quarters, are worthy a place in song and story,—and in the Latter-day Saint Pioneer History. Elizabeth Crow was an aunt of John Brown's, the latter the daily companion of Orson Pratt in the last stages of the Pioneers' journey. Elizabeth's father "was Captain Benjamin Brown, brother of Bishop John Brown, and served through the

13. Woodruff's Journal, entry of July 22d.

14. Twin Sisters.

war of the American Revolution." The other five women of this group are thought to be her daughters.¹⁵

With the arrival of the Invalided Battalion detachments and the families that had wintered with them at Pueblo, and the families that made up the balance of the Mississippi company, all of whom arrived in the Salt Lake Valley on the 29th of July—only five days after the advent of Brigham Young—the number of Pioneer women, of course, was very greatly increased; and these were still further augmented by the large companies which arrived in the valley between the middle of September and the 10th of October, 1847; by which time, 2,095 souls had arrived in the valley, in which the number of women exceeded that of the men.¹⁶

It can also be said that in this movement of the church to the west both as to these first Pioneer companies and in all Pioneer companies that followed them, the Mormon women, in all that makes for heroism, patient endurance, silent suffering, tender sympathy issuing from love's fountain, calm courage, and clear, soul-inspiring faith,—were not one whit behind their brothers. In all things the men and women of this movement were worthy of each other.

Meantime exploration had been pushed as far north as Cache and Bear River valleys, and as far south as Utah Lake. The

15. Elizabeth (Brown) Crow was born in South Carolina, 1795, and died in California in 1893. "Fifty years ago To-Day" (The date for this collection of events was compiled for the publishers, for the most part, by Franklin D. Richards, Church Historian, at the time, 1897; and by John Jaques and Milton A. Musser, Assistant Church Historians. See Addenda to Compilation of July 24th, 1897.

16. Doubtless the most sympathetic and thoughtful appreciation of the women pioneers of the Mormon community, and of their class in all colony planting, was expressed in an address by Dr. Charles William Elliot, at the time—1892—President of Harvard University. This address was delivered before a very large gathering in the "Mormon Tabernacle" at Salt Lake City, on the evening of the 16th of March of the year above given. The detention of the Doctor's train in the wilderness of the Rocky Mountains led to reflections upon the Pioneer journey through that wilderness, and the "Planting" of the first colony in Utah, which he characterized by the terms "superb" and "christian." Then: "Did it ever occur to you what is the most heroic part of planting a colony of people which moves into a wilderness to establish a civilized community? You think, perhaps, it is the soldier, the armed man or the laboring man. Not so; it is the women who are the most heroic part of any new colony (Applause). Their labors are the less because their strength is less. Their anxieties are greater, their dangers greater, the risks they run are heavier. We read that story in the history of the Pilgrim and puritan colonies of Massachusetts. *The women died faster than the men; they suffered more.* Perhaps their reward was greater too. They bore children to the colony. Let us bear in our hearts veneration for the women of any christian folk going out in the wilderness to plant a new community." (*Deseret Evening News*, March 17, 1892.)

exploring party of four who had gone north had accompanied Captain James Brown and Samuel Brannan's party which started for California *via* of Fort Hall on the 9th of August. Returning on the 14th these explorers of the North valleys brought cheering news to the Salt Lake colony. "The messengers," writes Wilford Woodruff, "bring a glorious report of Cache Valley and the country between us and there,—that is, rich soil and well watered, and well calculated for farming purposes. Also Bear River Valley for stock grazing." The party called on Miles Goodyear, at the mouth of Weber canon, where he had a small garden picketed—"corn and vegetables doing well,"¹⁷ was the report. The expedition to Utah Lake and valley had for its object the securing of fish, and ascertaining to what extent the fish of the lake could be counted upon as a source of food supply. In this the exploration was not very successful.

With so much accomplished, preparations began for the return of some of the Pioneers to Winter Quarters to arrange for the migration of the body of the church to the new home that had been selected. There were also a large number of the Battalion men anxious to return to their families; accordingly, on the 16th of August, a company of Pioneers and Battalion men were organized and rendezvoused at the mouth of Emigration Canon for the return journey.¹⁸ There were 24 of the Pioneers and 46 of the Battalion; 34 wagons; 92 yoke of oxen; 18 horses; and 14 mules. The company's teams being principally made up of oxen, it is spoken of in our annals as the "ox train of returning Pioneers;" and being so made up it was thought this company would need a week or ten days the start of a company intending to start later, in which there would be no ox teams. Rather to the annoyance of the horse and mule train, however, they did not overtake the ox train, though the latter waited for them five days on the Platte; during which time they had killed and dried the meat of 30 buffalo cows. It was demonstrated both on the out going and returning journey that, all in all, oxen, unless horses and mules were grain

17. Woodruff's Journal, entry Aug. 14.

18. Hist. B. Young Ms., Bk. 3 Journal, entry Aug. 16. Bancroft gives date of starting as 17th Aug.

fed *en route*, made the better team for crossing the plains, as they would make from 15 to 25 miles per day and often gain in strength with no other feed than the grass of the plains and the brouse and grass of the hills.²⁰

The "Ox train" was under the captaincy of Shadrach Roundy and Tunis Rappely, though Lieutenant Wesley Willis was in command of the Battalion members of the camp.²¹

Ten days later, August 26th, the second company of Pioneers and Battalion members started on the return journey. There were 107 persons; 71 horses, and 49 mules.²² The company was unable to take with it any ample stock of provisions, as what had been brought by the Pioneer company was necessary and none too plentiful for those who must remain. Accordingly the returning companies would depend chiefly upon the game and fish that might be taken en route to Winter Quarters, supplemented by such provisions as could be spared by the immigrating companies they would meet.

"Father John Smith," so he was familiarly called by "all Israel," uncle of the Prophet Joseph, and a very worthy man, was left in charge of the colony at Salt Lake, as Brigham Young then and even after the reorganization of the First Presidency, made it part of his administrative policy to have with him, or within easy call, a majority of the Twelve Apostles. Seven members of that council started with President Young on this return journey, as Ezra T. Benson, the other member of the group of eight Apostles who made the westward journey, had been sent with three companions from the colony on the 2nd of August, to meet the companies of saints then *en route*²³ from Winter Quarters, with the glad tidings that the place for settlement had been located, seeds planted, the site for a temple chosen, and the work of laying out the city begun—good news indeed for exiles now in the second year of camp life with no certain abiding place.

20. "The grass is getting dry and not much substance in it, and our horses are failing upon it. I am thoroughly convinced that oxen are far preferable to either horses or mules for such a journey" (Woodruff's Journal, entry for 5th Oct., '47. Other journals *passim* to the same effect).

21. Richard's Narrative, Ms., p. 13-14.

22. Ibid, quoted by Bancroft, Hist. Utah, p. 265, note.

23. Woodruff's Journal, entry for Aug. 1st and 2d.

On leaving the Colony at Salt Lake, as he and Heber C. Kimball mounted their horses; Brigham Young rose in his stirrups and shouted—

*“Good-bye to all who tarry! I fell well!”*²⁴

And so departed.

Four days out they met their fellow Apostle Elder Benson and companions returning from their visit to the approaching nine companies of Saints. He brought to the Pioneers letters from their friends and families both *en route* and at Winter Quarters, as also news from the outside world. Benson returned Eastward with his fellow Apostles, while his companions went on to the valley with their precious mail and news of the whereabouts of the approaching companies, and the probable time of their arrival.

On Big Sandy River the returning Pioneers met the first of the westbound companies of the Saints, the fifties of Parley P. Pratt and Peregrine Sessions, this is on the 4th of September. Some disarrangement of plans had occurred with reference to the organization and order of marching of these companies—plans worked out by President Young and his associates before they left Winter Quarters for the Pioneer Journey.

It will be remembered that two members of the Apostles' quorum had just arrived from England on the eve of the departure of the Pioneer camp, Elders Parley P. Pratt and John Taylor. They had not had the advantage of associating with the rest of the quorum in projecting and maturing these plans of the journey, and yet as ranking officers in the church, after the departure of all the rest of the presiding council, they were very naturally looked upon as the directing and presiding authority in forming and marching the camp. Besides the disarrangement of the order of procedure, there had been manifested *en route* some disorder in the companies, some bickering and jealousies as to rights of precedence in the order of march, a thing not to be wondered at when the number—more than fifteen hundred people—are taken into account. For disarranging the plans projected by the majority of the Apostles' quorum—“also governed by revela-

24. Hist. Brigham Young Ms., Bk. 3, Journal, entry 2d August.

tion," remarks Elder Woodruff—and for some disorder in the companies, the two Apostles, Elders Pratt and Taylor, were taken sharply to task before the council at this meeting with the first companies. Elder Pratt was the ranking Apostle of the two, and had taken the lead in these matters, and upon his head fell the burden of reproof. "Brother Young chastized him for his course," writes Wilford Woodruff, "and taught us principle."

"He said that when we set apart one or more of the Twelve to go and do a certain piece of work they would be blessed in doing that, and the quorum would back up what they did; but when one or more of the quorum interfered with the work of the majority of the quorum, they burn their fingers and do wrong. When the majority of the quorum of the Twelve plant a stake of Zion, and establish a President over the stake, and appoint a High Council then has the minority of the Twelve, one or more, any right to go and interfere with those councils? No; unless they [the councils] should get corrupt and do wrong. Then it would be the duty of any one of the quorum of the Twelve to show them their error and teach them what was right; and should the majority of those councils get corrupt and try to lead astray the people, it would then be the duty of any one of the Twelve to disannul those councils and call upon the people to sustain him and appoint a new one; but while the councils are trying to do right, it would be the duty of the Twelve who might be with them, to assist them in carrying out those views that the majority of the Twelve had established."²⁵

The council sustained President Young's reproof; and although Elder Pratt was not at first disposed to accept it, he finally yielded and acknowledged his error and was forgiven.²⁶ President Young took occasion to refer to the burden he felt he

25. Woodruff's Journal, entry 4th Sept., '47.

26. In order to disclose the spirit in which these men wrought, I here subjoin Elder Pratt's account of the culmination of this affair: "I was charged with neglecting to observe the order of organization entered into under the superintendence of the President before he left the camps at Winter Quarters; and of variously interfering with previous arrangements. In short, I was severely reproved and chastened. I no doubt deserved this chastisement; and I humbled myself, acknowledged my faults and errors, and asked forgiveness. I was frankly forgiven, and, bidding each other farewell, each company passed on its way. This school of experience made me more humble and careful in future, and I think it was the means of making me a wiser and a better man ever after." (Autobiography of Parley P. Pratt, pp. 400, 401.)

was carrying, writes Milford Woodruff, and declared that "he would chastize brother Parley or any other one of the quorum as much as he pleased, when they were out of the way, and they could not help themselves; but he did it for their good, and only did it when constrained to do it by the power of God."

Elder Kimball followed Brother Young, the account is from Woodruff's Journal: He said he wanted Brother Young "to rest as much as possible, and let his brethren bear his burdens." He said he wanted Brother Young to save himself, for he was wearing down. "I feel tender towards you—I want you to live; and if I or my brethren do wrong, tell us of it, and we will repent." Brother Brigham Young said there was not a better set of men on earth than the Twelve, and he intended to chastize them when they need it that they might be saved and love him and stick to him.²⁷

"We all felt it good to be there, for the Lord was with us," is the concluding sentence of Elder Woodruff's account. Two days later, on the Sweet Water, the returning company met Elder Taylor's and Joseph Hornes' companies. Several inches of snow had fallen. Snow! and this early in September! The incident occasioned some anxiety among the Saints concerning the climate of the mountain region to which they were moving. Elder Taylor turned the incident to a theme of merriment, bade them be of good cheer, and proposed to insure the lives of the whole company "at \$5 per head."²⁸

These camps made a feast for the returning pioneers. It was in the nature of a surprise. While the Twelve and other prominent Elders were engaged in council meetings, the sisters had prepared a feast worthy of their guests. One hundred and thirty sat down to the meal which was royally served.²⁹ A dance party

27. Woodruff's Journal, entry Sept. 4th, '47.

28. Life of John Taylor, p. 190.

29. "Several improvised tables of uncommon length, covered with snow-white linen, and fast being burdened with glittering tableware, gave evidence that a surprise was in store for the weary Pioneers. Game and fish were prepared in abundance; fruits, jellies and relishes reserved for special occasions were brought out until truly it was a royal feast.

"Moreover, though the place selected for the spread was adjacent to the camp, it was successful as a surprise. The Pioneers knew nothing of what had taken place until they were led by Elder Taylor through a natural opening in the bushes fringing the enclosure, and the grand feast burst upon their astonished vision.

"One hundred and thirty sat down at the supper; and if for a moment rising

followed in the evening, and something of the weariness and the monotony of the past year was forgotten.

On the 9th of September the returning Pioneers met the last company of westward bound Saints, led by Jedediah M. Grant. He brought news of them from the East. He told them of the continued warm friendship of Col. Kane, and of the inveterate opposition of Senator Benton of Missouri. During the night about fifty head of horses were stolen by the Indians. Thirty from the Pioneer's camp, twenty from Grant's. Horsemen were sent out in pursuit of the stolen animals, but only succeeded in bringing back five of the missing horses. This loss materially weakened both encampments.³⁰

Nothing further happened of note on the return trip of the Pioneers except an attack on the camp on the morning of the 21st of September by a war band of Sioux Indians. The attack was made just as the order had been given to bring in the horses preparatory to starting on the day's drive. The Indians charged simultaneously on the camp and on the herders in the hope of throwing all into confusion. In this, however, they were disappointed as the brethren acted with great promptness and bravery, quickly arming themselves, and some of them mounting such horses as were at hand, they dashed into the very midst of the attacking party and secured most of the horses they had frightened and were attempting to steal. Eight or ten horses, however, in spite of all that could be done, were run off by the Indians.

Thwarted in their full design on the camp, the chief at the head of his two hundred warriors tried to explain the matter

emotions at this manifestation of love choked their utterance and threatened to blunt the edge of appetite, the danger soon passed under the genial influence of the sisters who waited upon the tables and pressed their guests to eat: in the end they paid a full and hearty compliment to the culinary skill of the sisters.

"Supper over and cleared away, preparations were made for dancing, and soon was added to the sweet confusion of laughter and cheerful conversation the merry strains of the violin, and the strong, clear voice of the prompter directing the dancers through the mazes of quadrilles, Scotch-reels, French-fours and other figures of harmless dances suitable to the guileless manners and the religious character of the participants. Dancing was interspersed with songs and recitations. 'We felt mutually edified and blessed,' writes Elder Taylor, 'we praised the Lord and blessed one another.' So closed a pleasant day, though the morning with its clouds and snow looked very unpromising." (History of John Taylor, Ch. XXI).

30. Woodruff's Journal, entries for Sept. 8th and 9th.

away by saying they were good Sioux, friends of the whites, and had mistaken the encampment of the whitemen for a camp of the Crow or Snake Indians, with whom they were at war. Some of these Indians were those whom the Pioneers had fed on the outward journey; and finally the chief proposed that if the white chief (Brigham Young), would go to his encampment they would smoke the peace pipe and return the horses run off that morning. It was not thought prudent for President Young to accept this proposal; but three of the brethren, *viz.*, Heber C. Kimball, Wilford Woodruff, and Stephen Markham volunteered to go in order to secure the horses, though the whole Pioneer camp knew that the chief's claim of mistaking the Pioneer camp for an encampment of Indians was a mere subterfuge. The Indian camp proved to be some six or seven miles distant, and all told there were over a hundred lodges, and about five or 600 people, with 1,000 horses. The pipe smoking ceremony over the three Pioneers were permitted to pick out their seven or eight head of horses, not an easy task, from a band of nearly one thousand. They also saw very many of the fifty head that had been stolen on the 9th inst., and spoke to the chief about returning them, and he gave them some encouragement to believe that he would return them at Fort Laramie; but nothing ever came of it.³¹ At Fort Laramie the Pioneers were overtaken by Commodore Stockton and about forty men returning from San Francisco Bay to the Eastern States. Presidents Young and Kimball dined with the Commodore at the Fort.

31. Woodruff Journal, Sept. 21st, '47. At Fort Laramie a plan was devised to get back the horses that was decidedly adventurous. Ten men were to go to the Indian encampment to negotiate for the return of the horses, followed an hour later by twenty-five men to be close at hand in the event of an emergency. The first company under command of Col. Stephen Markham; the second under E. T. Benson. The expedition had not proceeded far, however, when they learned that the Indian camp had been warned from the Fort to "cache up their horses," as this expedition had started to recover those belonging to the Pioneers (Woodruff's Journal, 24th and 25th Sept., '47). Of this circumstance Erastus Enow writes: "Mr. Bordeaux [in charge at Fort Laramie] at first promised to send an interpreter with our messengers and to use his influence in our favor; but the next day when we had made up a company well armed and mounted for the expedition, Mr. Bordeaux refused to send an interpreter, or rather stated that his men refused to go. He also spoke very discouragingly of the expedition and said the Indians would secret our horses and our efforts would be unavailing. Whether he was sincere in his counsel and advice or whether he was afraid of injuring his influence and trade with the Sioux, or whether he was leagued with them in their robberies, is more than I can determine." (Journal entry for date of incident).

After leaving Fort Laramie the journey down the Platte was slow and monotonous. The teams were constantly growing weaker, and food in the camp was often exhausted, and only intermittently replenished by the killing of game *en route*.

On the 18th of October a company of sixteen men with three wagons from Winter Quarters, led by Hosea Stout, Geo. D. Grant, and James W. Cummings, met President Young's camp. They had come to render such assistance as might be necessary to enable the Pioneers to reach Winter quarters. A second company of about twenty wagons, led by Bishop Newel K. Whitney and others, met the returning camp at the Elk Horn, bringing with them food and grain in abundance.

A mile from Winter Quarters the Pioneer camp was drawn up in regular marching order, addressed by President Young, and dismissed to go to their homes on arriving in the City.³² As they drove into the city, the streets were lined with the people who welcomed them with handshaking, exclamations of thanksgiving for their safe return, and with smiles through tears. The return journey of the Pioneers was completed.

* * * * *

Omitting the Pioneer and Mississippi companies, as already sufficiently accounted for in these pages, the other eleven companies of 1847, all arrived in Salt Lake valley by the tenth of October. The companies are listed by Thomas Bullock, secretary to Brigham Young and one of the Historians of Pioneer camp, as follows:

“Brigham Young's pioneer company, 148; Mississippi company, 47; Mormon battalion, 210; Daniel Spencer's, 204; Parley P. Pratt's, 198; A. O. Smoot's, 139; C. C. Rich's, 130; George

32. President Young's address, including a brief *resume* of the pioneer journey, according to his own record, was as follows, “Brethren, I will say to the Pioneers, I wish you would receive my thanks for your kindness and willingness to obey orders. I am satisfied with you—you have done well. We have accomplished more than we expected. Out of one hundred and forty-three men who started, some of them sick, all of them are well. Not a man has died; we have not lost a horse, mule or ox but through carelessness. The blessings of the Lord have been with us. If the brethren are satisfied with me and the Twelve please signify it by uplifted hands.”

All hands were raised. President Young continued:

“I feel to bless you in the name of the Lord God of Israel. You are dismissed to go to your own homes.” History of the Church,—Cannon,—*Juvenile Instructor*, Vol. 18, p. 327).

B. Wallace's, 198; Edward Hunter's, 155; Joseph Horne's, 197; J. B. Nobles, 171; W. Snow, 148; J. M. Grant's, 150.

"Making a total of 2,095 for the year."

To appreciate the heroism of this Latter-day Saint movement to the west, one must contemplate the chances taken by these companies which followed the Pioneers. It was late in the season when they started from the Elk Horn—the latter part of June—too late for them to put in crops that season even if they stopped far short of the eastern base of the Rocky Mountains. They barely had provisions enough to last them eighteen months, and then if their first crop failed them in the new mountain home selected, starvation must follow for they would be from eight to ten hundred miles from the nearest point where food could be obtained, and no swifter means of transportation than horse or ox teams. It was a bold undertaking, this moving over two thousand souls—into an unknown country, and into the midst of tribes of savages of uncertain disposition, and of doubtful friendship. Had it not been for the assurance of the support and protection of God, it would have been not only a bold but a reckless movement—the action of madmen. But as it was, the undertaking was a sublime evidence of their faith in God and their leaders.

There is no question but these men had laid their all upon the altar of their faith in the providence of God, including their altar of their faith in the providences of God, including their fate. They must succeed or perish in the wilderness to which they had come; and with a faith that has never been surpassed, they placed themselves under the guidance and protection of God, and we shall see in the sequel that they trusted not in vain.

On Sunday the 3rd of October, a conference was held at the Salt Lake colony as arranged previous to the departure of the Pioneers. At this conference "Father John Smith," who had been left in charge of the colony of the Twelve, was chosen as the President of the Salt Lake Stake of Zion, with Charles C. Rich and John Young (brother of President Young) as counselors. President Young and all the Apostles were sustained as presiding over the church, except Lyman Wight, then in Texas. Action in his case was suspended until he could appear before the

Saints in person to render an account of his proceedings. A high council was chosen for the Salt Lake Stake, whose names follow:

Henry G. Sherwood, Thomas Grover, Levi Jackson, John Murdock, Daniel Spencer, Lewis Abbott, Ira Eldridge, Edison Whipple, Shadrack Roundy, John Vance, Willard Snow and Abraham O. Smoot.

Charles C. Rich who had been in charge of the artillery company while crossing the plains and the mountains was now elected military commander of the colony, under the direction of the stake authorities. Albert Carrington was elected clerk, Historian and deputy Post Master for the city of the Great Salt Lake. John Vancot was elected marshall of the City. This the crude beginning of civil government in the Salt Lake Valley.

The one block selected for inclosure by the Pioneers for homes was found inadequate for the number who made their way into the valley that fall; and as soon as this was apparent additions were made of one block adjoining on the north and another on the south, called the North and South Forts, respectively. They were connected with the "Old Fort" by gates, and each of them had gateways to the outside for ingress and egress. The houses on these additional blocks, as on the first one, were built solidly together of adobes or of logs, the highest wall on the outside, the shed-formed roof sloping inward. Acting both upon reports of the climate and the dryness of the soil in the valley, the people made the roofs of these houses, consisting of poles, brush, and earth, too flat, with the result that when the winter and early spring rains fell they leaked badly, much to the discomfort of the people.³³

33. "The result was that nearly every house leaked during the first winter, and umbrellas, where such a luxury as an umbrella was owned, were frequently in demand to shelter those engaged in cooking and even in bed persons would be seen sitting or lying under an umbrella." *Hist. of the Ch.—Cannon—Juvenile Instructor*, Vol. XIX, p. 60.

During the spring and early summer another block was evidently added to the three already described, since in a general epistle, issued after President Young arrived in Salt Lake Valley in the summer of 1848 it is said: "On our arrival in this valley we found the brethren had erected four forts, composed mostly of houses, including an area of about forty-seven acres." *Mill. Star*, Vol. XI, p. 228.

May 2nd 1864



Fortunately the first winter in the valley was a mild one; it would have been disastrous had it been severe.³⁴

Notwithstanding all these discouraging circumstances the high spirits of the colonists never failed them. Religious services were regularly held; the gathering of Israel, the redemption of Zion, the hope of eternal life in celestial glory to such as love Jehovah, obey his law, and seek his honor and his glory—the assurance of God's approval in all this, voiced to their souls by the consciousness of the uprightness of their own intentions and efforts—kept hope bright in their humble lives. Joy and gladness were in their midst, "thanksgiving and the voice of melody." Again, as throughout their nearly two years sojourn in camps through Iowa, *en route* across the plains and over the mountains, the laughter of children was heard, woman's tender ministrations were in evidence, anniversaries of births and weddings were celebrated; there were wooings and weddings; there were dances and merriment; and where these are, privations, the hardships of pioneer life, scarcity of food and clothing, can never break down the spirit of man and make him hopeless.

CHAPTER LXXV

REORGANIZATION OF THE FIRST PRESIDENCY—GENERAL EPISTLE ON CHURCH POLITY—POLITICAL PARTIES AND THE SAINTS IN IOWA —LAST JOURNEY OF BRIGHAM YOUNG OVER THE PLAINS

Happily the harvest of 1847 had been abundant in all the settlements of the Saints on the Missouri river. "We found on our arrival that the brethren at Winter Quarters," writes Wil-

34. "Neither their food nor their clothing was of such a character as to enable them to endure cold weather. Many were without shoes, and the best and only covering they could get for their feet was moccasins. Their clothing, too, was pretty well exhausted, and the goat, deer, and elk skins which they could procure were most acceptable for clothing, though far from pleasant to wear in the rain or snow" (History of the Church—Cannon-*Juvenile Instructor*, Vol. XIX, p. 60). "The winter was mild and pleasant," writes Parley P. Pratt, "several light snows and severe frosts; but the days were warm, and the snows soon melted off. The cattle did well all winter in the pastures without being fed. Horses, sheep and cattle were in better order in the spring than when we arrived, I mean those which were not kept up and worked or milked, but suffered to live where there was grass. Early in March the ground opened and we comenced plowing for spring crops." (Letter of Parley P. Pratt to Orson Pratt, Sept. 5th, 1848, *Mill. Star*, Vol. XI, p. 22).

ford Woodruff" had been greatly blessed in their labors in tilling the earth, that it had brought forth a great abundance of corn, buckwheat, turnips and other vegetables, and the city was full of hay and surrounded with corn."¹ At a conference held on the east side of the Missouri in December, President Young in complimenting the brethren told them they had built, fenced, and made as many improvements in the short time they had been there, (i. e. on the Missouri) as they would in Missouri in about ten years," "and they have raised a crop," he adds, "equal to any we used to raise in Illinois."² This in a letter to Orson Spencer, 23rd January, 1848.

This circumstance relieved President Young and his associates of the Apostle's quorum of much anxiety; and left them free to consider at once many things concerning the church that were pressing for attention. Among these the removal of the Saints from the Omaha Indian lands, urged by the Indian agents, which involved the abandonment of Winter Quarters;³ the condition of the Saints scattered in the branches of the Church throughout the United States; the Church in the British Isles, and elsewhere; the forwarding of a printing press to the mountains; laying plans for the education of the youth of the community, soon to be gathered into the mountains; the reorganization of the First Presidency of the Church; the maintenance of the land holdings of the saints in Iowa and their political relationship to the people of Iowa—these and many other questions were all pressing for solution.

Council meetings of the Apostles' quorum and the high councils in the various settlements on the Missouri were held almost daily.

It was decided to vacate Winter Quarters in the spring; as many of its inhabitants as possible to go to Salt Lake Valley;

1. Woodruff's Journal *Ms.*, entry for Nov. 1st, '47.

2. President Young in a letter to *Mill. Star*, Vol. X, p. 114.

3. "In compliance with the wishes of the sub-agents, we expect to vacate the Omaha lands in the spring." (General Epistle of the Twelve to the Church, Dec. 23d, 1847, *Mill. Star*, Vol. X, p. 84. The sub-Indian agent was anxious for the removal of the Saints from Winter Quarters, but he wrote President Young prohibiting the Saints from moving their log cabins over the river to Kanessville. Shortly after this the agent wrote President Young soliciting charity in behalf of the Pawnee chiefs—"an appeal that was not made in vain, for the President caused that they should be supplied freely with beef and corn." "History of the Church," Cannon, *Juvenile Instructor*, Vol. 18, p. 361.

and those who could not do this were to move to the east side of the river and locate at Kanessville, a settlement so named in honor of their friend Colonel Thomas L. Kane,⁴ but since called "Council Bluffs."

It was decided that Elder Jesse C. Little who had made the journey to the Salt Lake Valley with the Pioneers and had returned with them, should resume the presidency of the churches in the eastern states; that John Brown, another of the Pioneers, be appointed to labor in the southern states; that Ezra T. Benson, Amasa M. Lyman and a number of other Elders should visit the branches of the Church in the south and east both to instruct the Saints and gather means to assist in the western movement; that Orson Pratt should go to England to preside over the missions in the British Isles; that Wilford Woodruff should be sent to take charge of the work in Canada and Nova Scotia. Thus an impetus was given to the missionary work of the church; and the saints scattered abroad would be made acquainted with the movements of the Church leaders in selecting and founding a

4. Colonel Kane was still active in the interest of his Mormon friends. The *Millennial Star* of the 15th April, 1848, gives an account of a meeting held in New York, for the purpose of listening to an appeal on behalf of the distressed Mormons, now scattered in the far West. The account of the meeting is interesting from the prominence of the men participating in it; a number of them became national characters:

The Hon. William V. Brady, mayor of the city, presided; assisted by the Hon. Theodore Frelinghuysen, and Rev. Dr. Whitehouse, Vice-Presidents, and Rev. Rufus Griswold, Secretary. Mayor Brady, in taking the chair, made a few remarks in explanation of the object of it, (i. e. the meeting) and introduced Col. Thomas L. Kane, of Philadelphia, who stated that on his return, recently, from the Far West, he had been brought in contact with the Mormons, scattered over that country, and during an intimate intercourse with them, had opportunities of observing their distresses, and of ascertaining their character. They were a simple, kind-hearted and well meaning people, and were borne down by afflictions and privations; for a more explicit explanation of which he referred to two Mormons then present, Messrs. Ezra T. Benson and Jesse C. Little, who had shared in the general suffering, and to the accuracy of whose statements he was willing to pledge his own word and responsibility. He had everywhere found the Mormons pining from want and disease; and their sufferings were of a nature to justify the strongest appeal to the philanthropic.

The Honorable Benjamin F. Buttler in furtherance of the object of the meeting offered a series of resolutions, the concluding one

Resolved, That upon statements made by Col. T. L. Kane, of Philadelphia, we commend to the favorable consideration of our fellow citizens, the application about to be made to them by Messrs. Benson, Appleby, Little and Snow, the committee now in this city, for donations to relieve emigrant Mormons in their present necessities.

The resolutions were unanimously adopted, and, after some conversation between gentlemen present, and Col. Kane, the meeting adjourned. (*Mill. Star*, Vol. X, pp. 113-4). The account is quoted from a "*New York Paper*." It is not of record that the meeting resulted in any material benefit to the Saints.

new gathering place for the Saints, by those who had participated in that work, and therefore were better prepared to impart information, and represent the very spirit in which the work had been accomplished. Orson Hyde, Geo. A. Smith, and Ezra T. Benson were appointed to take charge of affairs at Kanesville and vicinity. It was also decided in the early spring of 1848, as a number of the Saints were likely to stay at Kanesville for some time—to publish a paper in the interests of these then frontier settlements. Orson Hyde was sent east to procure a press and type for the proposed publication.

En route from Salt Lake Valley President Young conversed with his brethren of the Apostles on the subject of reorganizing the Presidency of the Church.⁶ He took occasion to bring the subject to the attention of the Twelve when in council meeting at the house of Orson Hyde, at Kanesville, on the 5th of December. There were present at that meeting Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Orson Hyde, Orson Pratt, Willard Richards, Wilford Woodruff, George A. Smith, Amasa M. Lyman, Ezra T. Benson. After each of these Elders had spoken his mind with reference to the subject, Orson Hyde moved that President Young be sustained as the President of the Church, and that he nominate his counselors. This was unanimously carried, and President Young named Heber C. Kimball and Willard Richards as his counselors, and all were unanimously sustained.⁷

5. Hyde accompanied Woodruff who was enroute for Canada as far as St. Louis; where they separated, the former going to Washington. Letter of Woodruff to Orson Spencer, England, *Mill. Star*, Vol. X, p. 316.

6. His conversation with Elder Woodruff on the subject is thus related by the latter in his *Journal*: "Oct. 12, (1847) I had a question put to me by President Young, what my opinion was concerning one of the Twelve Apostles being appointed as the President of the Church with his two counsellors. I answered that a quorum like the Twelve who had been appointed by revelation, confirmed by revelation from time to time, I thought it would require a revelation to change the order of that quorum. [But] *Whatever the Lord inspires you to do in this matter, I am with you,*" Woodruff's *Journal*, entry for 12th of October, 1847.

7. "Many interesting remarks were made by the various individuals who spoke," [this included all the members of the Twelve present], writes Wilford Woodruff, "and we were followed by President Young. After which Orson Hyde moved that Brigham Young be the President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and that he nominate his two counsellors, and they three form the first Presidency. Seconded by W. Woodruff and carried unanimously. President Young nominated Heber C. Kimball as his first counsellor; seconded and carried unanimously. President Young nominated Willard Richards as his second counsellor; seconded and carried unanimously." (Woodruff's *Journal*, entry for Dec. 5th, 1847).

Three weeks later this matter was brought before a general conference of the church at Kanesville, where, in the interim, the brethren had erected a "Log Tabernacle" especially for the occasion, capable of accommodating from 800 to 1,000 people. It was 65x40 feet in side dimensions, with a recess for a stand for the priesthood and a clerk's desk, 20x10. Some 200 workmen were engaged in its construction.⁸

The conference lasted from the 24th of December to the 27th inclusive. It was on the last day of the conference that the action of the Twelve in naming the First Presidency was ratified by unanimous vote of the conference; and at the same time "Father" John Smith, uncle of the Prophet Joseph, being the brother of the first presiding Patriarch, was unanimously chosen to be the presiding Patriarch of the Church.

"The spirit of the Lord at this time," said Brigham Young a month later, "rested upon the people in a powerful manner, in so much that the Saints' hearts were filled with joy unspeakable; every power of the mind and nerve of their body was awakened." "A dead stillness reigned in the congregation while the president spoke." He said:

"This is one of the happiest days of my life; it's according as Heber prophesied yesterday, our teachings to-day have been good. I never heard better. Is not the bliss of heaven and the breezes of Zion wafted here? Who feels hatred, malice or evil? If you come to the door with a bad spirit, it would not come in with you; no, it could not mingle here: but when you enter, your feelings become as calm and gentle as the zephyrs of paradise; and I feel glory, Hallelujah! Nothing more has been done to-day than what I knew would be done when Joseph died. We have been driven from Nauvoo here, but the hand of the Lord is in it,—visible as the sun shining this morning; it is visible to my natural eyes; it's all right: and I expect when we see the result of all we pass through in this probationary state, we will discover the hand of the Lord in it all, and shout Amen—it's alright! We shall make the upper courts ring; we have some-

8. An attempt was made to hold this conference on the 4th of Dec. in a large double block-house occupied by one of the brethren, but the Saints congregated in such large numbers, crowded the house and so shouted at the windows for admission that the conference was adjourned for three weeks in order to give opportunity for the above mentioned "Log Tabernacle" to be constructed. (See Letter of Brigham Young to Orson Spencer, *Mill. Star*, Vol. X, p. 114). Brigham Young gives the dimensions as 60x40. I follow Woodruff's Journal in the text.

thing to do before then. I don't calculate to go beyond the bounds of time and space where we will have no opposition,—no devils to contend with; and I have no fault to find with the providences of the Lord, nor much fault to find with the people; and if the devils keep out of my path I will not quarrel with them. As the Lord's will is my will all the time, as he dictates so I will perform. If he don't guide the ship, we'll go down in the whirlpool.'"⁹

This speech was followed by music from the band, and the shout of "Hosanna, Hosanna, Hosanna to God and the Lamb. Amen! and Amen!" The shout was led by George A. Smith, in which the Saints joined most heartily.¹⁰

Thus the breach in the Church organization occasioned by the martyrdom of President Joseph Smith and Patriarch Hyrum Smith, and the apostasy of the two counselors of President Smith—William Law and Sidney Rigdon,—was healed, and the organization thus completed was prepared to resume all its functions by its regularly appointed officers as ordained in the wisdom and in the very councils of God.

The action of this conference held December 24th-27th, was confirmed by action of the annual conference of the Church held at Kanesville on the 6th of April, 1848.¹¹

Subsequently this action of the Saints in the settlements on the Missouri River, in conference assembled—being the largest number of Saints in one body, with several High Councils presiding in various divisions of the Church in those settlements¹²—was ratified by unanimous vote of the Saints in the Salt Lake Valley, in the conference of the Church held in that place on the

9. Brigham Young in Letter to Orson Spencer, England: *Mill. Star*, Vol. X, p. 115.

10. This shout of "Hosanna" is given only on very great occasions. It is usually given three times in immediate succession; and when voiced by thousands and sometimes tens of thousands in unison, and at their utmost strength, it is most impressive and inspiring. It is impossible to stand unmoved on such an occasion. It seems to fill prairie or woodland, mountain wilderness or Tabernacle with mighty waves of sound; and the shout of men going into battle cannot be more stirring. It gives wonderful vent to religious emotions, and is followed by a feeling of reverential awe—a sense of oneness with God.

11. General Epistle of the First Presidency, etc., *Mill. Star*, Vol. XI, p. 227.

12. For the names of these subdivisions to which were given high councils, see this History, Ch. LXVIII. It should be remembered that in Winter Quarters alone there were 22 organized wards, whose bishoprics acted upon this matter of reorganizing the Presidency. Ibid, note 6.

8th of October, 1848, there being about five thousand people in the valley by that time¹³

The action was also ratified by the Saints of the British Isle in General Conference assembled at Manchester, England, August 14th, 1848, at which there were present delegates from twenty-eight conferences, with a mebership of 17,902. Of officers present there was one of the Twelve Apostles (Orson Pratt); 15 High Priests; 7 Seventies; 75 Elders; 27 Priests; 6 Teachers; and 6 Deacons.¹⁴

From this it will be seen that the action of the conference at Kanesville in reorganizing the First Presidency was as promptly as possible presented to all the large groups of the Latter-day Saints assembled in conferences; and in every case it was ratified with unanimous approval. From that day forward to the day of his death, Brigham Young was sustained as the President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints; also as the Prophet Seer and Revelator of God to said Church, in all its general conferences of the Church, as also by all the stake and mission conferences, and that with unanimity and good will.

Returning now to other events at Kanesville and Winter Quarters following the return of the Pioneers to those places, there remains to be considered a notable "General Epistle" issued under date of December 23rd, 1847, four days before the organization of the First Presidency. It was sent to "*The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints abroad, dispersed throughout the Earth, Greeting.*"

Besides a synoptical recital of the historical events occurring

13. The action is thus stated in a signed communication of Brigham Young to Orson Hyde, Geo. A. Smith and Ezra T. Benson, under date of October 9th, 1848. "On Sunday, the 8th, conference convened at 11 a. m., was opened by singing and prayer by Elder Taylor. After the Choir had sung another hymn, President Young resumed the business of the conference by introducing the order of the day; when Elder Parley P. Pratt nominated President Brigham Young as the First President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, seconded by Elder Heber C. Kimball and carried without a dissenting voice.

"Elder Pratt then nominated Heber C. Kimball to be President Young's first counsellor, seconded and carried unanimously. Elder Pratt nominated Willard Richards as his second counsellor, seconded and carried unanimously. Elder Pratt then nominated John Smith to be Patriarch over the whole Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, seconded and carried unanimously. (*The Frontier Guardian*, Kanesville, Iowa, Feb. 7, 1849).

14. *Mill. Star*, Vol. X, p. 252; where the names of the officers are given; also the names of the conferences, and the statistics in detail.

in the Church since the departure of the Twelve from Nauvoo in the Winter of 1846, and announcing the intention of reorganizing the First Presidency, the Epistle deals with the conditions prevailing in the Church at the time the epistle was published, the policy then it was the intention to pursue and the counsel the Apostles would have the Church follow. It is these parts of the communication which make the epistle both notable and valuable as an historical document. Excerpts will demonstrate its importance, and reflect the spirit of the Great Latter-day work:

Faith of the Saints in the Government of the United States; their loyalty:

“The Saints in this vicinity are bearing their privations in meekness and patience, and making all their exertions tend to their removal westward. Their hearts and all their labours are towards the setting sun, for they desire to be so far removed from those who have been their oppressors, that there shall be an everlasting barrier between them and future persecution; and although, as a people, we have been driven from state to state, and although Joseph and Hyrum, our Prophet and Patriarch, were murdered in cold blood, while in government duress, and under the immediate control, inspection and supervision of the governor and government officers—we know, and feel assured, that there are many honest, noble, and patriotic souls now living under that government, and under similar governments in the sister states of the great confederacy, who would loathe the shedding of innocent blood, and were it in their power, would wipe the stain from the nation. If such would clear their garments in the public eye, and before God, they must speak out; they must proclaim to the world their innocence, and their hatred and detestation of such atrocious and unheard of acts; but with this we have nothing to do; only we love honesty and right wherever we find them; the cause is between them, their country, and their God; and we again reiterate what we have often said, and what we have ever shown by our conduct, that notwithstanding all our privations and sufferings, we are more ready than any other portion of the community to sustain the constitutional institutions of our mother country, and will do the utmost for them, if permitted; and we say to all Saints throughout the earth, be submissive to the law that protects you in your person, rights, and property, in whatever nation or kingdom you are; and suffer wrong, rather than do wrong. This

we have ever done, and mean still to continue to do. *We anticipate, as soon as circumstances will permit, to petition for a territorial government in the Great Basin.*

Replying to the question "what shall we do?" the epistle advised the Saints who had been driven from Nauvoo, and all in the United States and Canada to gather to the east bank of the Missouri to the lands recently vacated by the Pottawattamie Indians, and then owned by the United States; where, by industry, they could soon gather sufficient means to prosecute their journey; for it was only intended that Kanesville and vicinity should be a recruiting point on the westward march of the Saints.

The Saints in the British Isles were advised to immigrate as speedily as possible to these same lands, coming *via* of New Orleans to Kanesville, which would be an all water journey. All were urged to come immediately and to bring with them—

"All kinds of choice seeds, of grain, vegetables, fruits, shrubbery, trees, and vines—everything that grows upon the face of the whole earth that will please the eye, gladden the heart, or cheer the soul of man; also, the best stock of beasts, bird, and fowl of every kind; also, the best tools of every description, and machinery for spinning, or weaving, and dressing cotton, wool, flax, and silk, etc., or models and descriptions of the same, by which they can construct them; and the same in relation to all kinds of farming utensils and husbandry, such as corn shellers, grain threshers and cleaners, smutt machines, mills, and every implement and article within their knowledge that shall tend to promote the comfort, health, happiness, or prosperity of any people. So far as it can be consistently done, bring models and drafts, and let the machinery be built where it is used, which will save great expense in transportation, particularly in heavy machinery, and tools and implements generally."

As the migrating Saints were to pass through a land infested by savage tribes of Indians they were admonished to bring with them good firearms and an abundance of ammunition. The Saints in Western California were given the liberty of remaining in that land if they so elected. The Saints on the Society and other Islands of the Pacific Ocean were at liberty to remain there "until further notice;" but the promise is made that more

Elders would be sent to them as soon as that was practicable.¹⁵ But if a few of their young, or middle aged, intelligent men "wish to visit us at the Basin," said the Epistle, "we bid them God-speed, and shall be happy to see them."

"The Saints in Australia,¹⁶ China and the East Indies generally, will do well to ship to the most convenient part in the United States, and from thence make to this point (i. e. Kanessville), and pursue the same course as others do; or, if they find it more convenient, they may ship to western California."

The traveling ministry everywhere were admonished to preach the gospel and administer its ordinances in simplicity. "Teach them the principles of righteousness and uprightness between man and man; administer to them bread and wine, in remembrance of the death of Jesus Christ, and if they want further information tell them to flee to Zion—there the servants of God will be ready to wait upon them, and teach them all things that pertain to salvation. . . . Should any ask, "*where is Zion?*" tell them in America; and if any ask: *What is Zion?* tell them the pure in heart."¹⁷

Respecting dissenters the Epistle said:

"Since the murder of President Joseph Smith, many false prophets and false teachers have arisen, and tried to deceive many, during which time we have mostly tarried with the body of the Church, or have been seeking a new location, leaving those 'prophets' and 'teachers' to run their race undisturbed: . . . and we now, having it in contemplation soon to reorganize the Church according to the original pattern, with a First Presidency and Patriarch, feel that it will be the privilege of the Twelve, ere long, to spread abroad among the nations, not to

15. The missions on these Islands were established, it will be remembered, as early as 1844, by Elders Addison Pratt, Noah Rogers and Benjamin Grouard. By 1848 the membership of the Church on those islands numbered upward of 1,800 souls (See Report of Church Historian Orson Pratt in *Utah Pioneers*, p. 26, and *Mill. Star*, Vol. XI, p. 229).

16. The work was opened in Australia in 1840, by Elder William Barrat; and in the East Indies by Elder William Donaldson, in 1840. (Historian's Report of Missions, *Utah Pioneers*, p. 26). The "Saints in China," must have referred to English sea-faring, or English resident members of the Church in that land, as no mission had then been opened in China.

17. This word "Zion" it will be observed like the word "Heaven," is used variously, as the name of a city, or of a land, or of a condition of mind; "Let Zion rejoice for this is Zion *the pure in heart!*" Doc. and Cov., Sec. 97. Just as "Heaven" refers, accordingly as it is used, to either a place or state of being, or of mind.

hinder the gathering, but to preach the gospel, and push the people, the honest in heart, together from the four quarters of the earth."

The Rich to help the Poor:

"It is the duty of the rich saints everywhere, to assist the poor, according to their ability, to gather; and if choose, with a covenant and promise that the poor thus helped, shall repay as soon as they are able. It is also the duty of the rich, those who have the intelligence and the means, to come home forthwith, and establish factories, and all kinds of machinery, that will tend to give employment to the poor, and produce those articles which are necessary for the comfort, convenience, health and happiness of the people; and no one need to be at a loss concerning his duty in these matters, if he will walk so humbly before God as to keep the small still whisperings of the Holy Ghost within continually!"

Duty of Parents to Children:

"It is the duty of all parents to train up their children in the way they should go, instructing them in every correct principle, so fast as they are capable of receiving, and setting an example worthy of imitation; for the Lord holds parents responsible for the conduct of their children, until they arrive at the years of accountability before him; and the parents will have to answer for all misdemeanors arising through their neglect. Mothers should teach their little ones to pray as soon as they are able to talk. Presiding Elders should be particular to instruct parents concerning their duty, and Teachers and Deacons should see that they do it."

Education:

"It is very desirable that all the Saints should improve every opportunity of securing at least a copy of every valuable treatise on education—every book, map, chart, or diagram that may contain interesting, useful, and attractive matter, to gain the attention of children, and cause them to love to learn to read; and also every historical, mathematical, philosophical, geographical, geological, astronomical, scientific, practical, and all other variety of useful and interesting writings, maps, etc., to present to the General Church Recorder, when they shall arrive at their destination, from which important and interesting matter may be

gleaned to compile the most valuable works on every science and subject, for the benefit of the rising generations.'"¹⁸

Museum projected:

We have a printing press, and any who can take good printing or writing paper to the valley will be blessing themselves and the Church. We also want all kinds of mathematical and philosophical instruments, together with all rare specimens of natural curiosities and works of art that can be gathered and brought to the valley, where, and from which, the rising generations can receive instruction; and if the Saints will be diligent in these matters, we will soon have the best, the most useful and attractive museum on the earth.¹⁹

The Temple:

All Saints who loved God more than themselves—"and none else are saints"—were urged to gather together and build the house of the Lord—an holy Temple; for the time had come for the saints to establish the Lord's house in the tops of the mountains, for his name and glory and excellence shall be there. Kings, Presidents, Emperors, Rulers of all nations and tongues and people were invited to participate in this work:

"Help us to build a House to the name of the God of Jacob," said the Epistle to Rulers and their people, "a place of peace, a city of rest, a habitation for the oppressed of every clime, even for those that love their neighbor as they do themselves, and who are willing to do as they would be done unto."

18. These suggestions were followed by the migrating Saints, with the result that from the books, charts, maps, etc., hauled across the plains and over the mountains by ox wagons within the two years following, a free public library was opened in Salt Lake City as early as 1850; and early in the same year, 1850 (Feb. 28th)?, the "University of Deseret," the precursor of "Utah University," was founded. And the Presidency in a General Epistle to the Church in the spring of 1849 said: "There have been a large number of schools the past winter in which Hebrew, Greek, Latin, French, German, Tahitian, and English languages have been taught successfully." (*Mill. Star*, Vol. XI, p. 230).

19. From this projected beginning arose the Deseret Museum of to-day. It possesses the most varied and greatest collection of curiosities, historic relics, and rare mineral specimens of the intermountain states. "The section devoted to the cliff-dwellers contains numerous human bodies in their sepulchral wrappings of fur and feather cloth, with weapons, ornaments, tools, clothing, utensils, and other personal possessions buried with the dead; and is conceded to be one of the most remarkable collections in the United States. * * *

The Deseret Museum is not wholly a local institution. Its ethnological section contains material illustrative of the life of the American Indians, the Hawaiians, the Samoans, the Maoris and others. The natural history section has specimens from North America, Europe, Asia, India, Africa, Australia, New Zealand and the Antarctic, while the sections devoted to Mineralogy and Paleontology have a practically world-wide scope." (*Utah, Its People, Resources, etc.*, 1912, p. 43).

Conclusion—At Peace—The Nature of the Kingdom—Pre-eminence—Motto:

“We are at peace with all nations, with all kingdoms, with all powers, with all governments, with all authorities under the whole heavens, except the kingdom and power of darkness, which are from beneath; and [we] are ready to stretch forth our arms to the four quarters of the globe, extending salvation to every honest soul: for our mission in the gospel of Jesus Christ is from sea to sea, and from the rivers to the ends of the earth; and the blessing of the Lord is upon us; and when every other arm shall fail, the power of the Almighty will be manifest in our behalf; for we ask nothing but what is right, we want nothing but what is right, and God has said that our strength shall be equal to our day. . . .

“The kingdom which we are establishing is not of this world, but is the kingdom of the Great God. It is the fruit of righteousness, of peace, of salvation to every soul that will receive it, from Adam down to his latest posterity. Our good will is towards all men, and we desire their salvation in time and eternity; and we will do them good so far as God will give us power, and men will permit us the privilege; and we will harm no man; but if men will rise up against the power of the Almighty to overthrow his cause, let them know assuredly that they are running on the bosses of Jehovah’s buckler, and, as God lives, they will be overthrown. . . . The Kingdom of God consists in correct principles.

“We ask no pre-eminence; we want no pre-eminence; but where God has placed us, there we will stand; and that is, to be one with our brethren, and our brethren are those that keep the commandments of God, that do the will of our Father who is in heaven; and by them we will stand, and with them we will dwell in time and in eternity.

“Come, then, ye Saints of Latter-day, and all ye great and small, wise and foolish, rich and poor, noble and ignoble, exalted and persecuted, rulers and ruled of the earth, who love virtue and hate vice, and help us to do this work, which the Lord hath required at our hands; and inasmuch as the glory of the latter house shall excell that of the former, your reward shall be an hundred fold, and your rest shall be glorious.

“Our universal motto is, “*Peace with God, and good will to all men.*”²⁰

20. “Written at Winter Quarters, Omaha Nation, West Bank of Missouri River near Council Bluffs, North America, and signed Dec. 23d, in behalf of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, Brigham Young, President, Willard Richards, Clerk.” The Epistle is published in *Extenso Mill. Star*, Vol. X, pp. 81-88.

This general Epistle may be open to criticism on the ground to kings, governors, judges and the like for help in the work of a turgid style; and a certain strain of pomposity in its appeal which the Church has in hand; but for comprehensiveness of subject matter; for expression of high purposes; for its wise and practical suggestions to a people situated as the Latter-day Saints were; for its uncompromising stand for righteousness; for its spirit of fair dealing with those not of the faith of the Saints; for its general breadth of view and magnanimity; for its respect and proposed adherence to the general principles of civil government in all lands, and especially for its avowed confidence in, and loyalty to American institutions and constitutions—for all these things the Epistle is worthy of all admiration and all praise.

There were about 1,500 Saints located on the Pottawattamie lands at this time. "Their settlements extended some fifty or sixty miles along the east bank of the Missouri river, reaching back to the east side of said river some thirty or forty miles."²¹ The soil of this tract of land was fertile; and the face of the country though hilly was not mountainous, and it was far healthier than the level plains of Illinois. The tract had not yet come into market and such rights as the Saints held upon it were known as "squatters' rights;" but these gave them the right of occupancy and the privilege of improving and cultivating the lands pending their coming into market. Their "Squatter's Claims," gave them the first right of purchase at the government price (\$1.25 per acre) when thrown upon the market, and if others purchased the land the squatter's improvements must be paid for at a fair valuation.

It will be seen then that the occupancy of these lands had be-

21. Such the statement of Orson Pratt. In the same document quoted above he also remarks: "A great, extensive, and rich tract of country has also been, by the providence of God, put in the possession of the Saints in the Western borders of Iowa. This country is also at some distance from all other settlements, there being none on the west, north or east; and on the south it is some forty or fifty miles to the thinly scattered settlements of Missouri. This country is called the "Pottawattomie country;" it was inhabited by a tribe of Indians by that name, until last season, when they were removed by the United States government, leaving the Saints as the sole occupiers of the soil. This land is not yet in market. When it comes into market, the Saints, being the first settlers will, by law, have certain pre-emption rights, and the first chance of purchasing the land at about 5s.—\$1.25—per acre." *Mill. Star*, Vol. X, p. 242.

come a valuable asset to the Latter-day Saints; and that in consequence of their numbers, and the fact that they, for the most part, were American citizens, with all the rights and privileges of citizenship intact, including the elective franchise, they loomed large upon the political horizon of the state of Iowa. The Iowa Legislature of 1847 provided for the organization of counties out of the Pottawattamie lands, under the supervision of the Judge of the 4th judicial district of Iowa, whenever said judge "should decree that the public good requires such organization."²² As the Saints occupying these lands were anxious to acquire and to be able to dispose of pre-emption claims and improvements, they called meetings early in January and petitioned both for a post office at Kaneshville and also a county government. Andrew H. Perkins and Henry W. Miller were sent to Iowa City, then the seat of government for the state, with these petitions. They learned that Judge Carolton of the 4th judicial district had already appointed a Mr. Townsend to organize Pottawattamie county, as already provided by the previous legislature. The post office at Kaneshville was established in March, Evan M. Green, a member of the Church, being made postmaster. A county organization was affected about the same time.²³

The Mormon delegation was graciously received by state officials; they were introduced to the secretary of state who expressed a great desire that the saints should stay in Iowa and improve the country. "Iowa politicians" comments President Young on the return of these delegates, "were very anxious to have a state road laid off, bridges built and a post route established for the convenience of the inhabitants of the Council Bluffs country. The Whig and Democratic parties were nearly equally balanced in the state, and both appeared very solicitous for the welfare of our people; they wanted us to vote at the next

22. Hist. Brigham Young Ms., Bk. 4, p. 11.

23. The county was called Pottawattamie. The officers were: Isaac Clark, judge of probate; George Coulson, Andrew H. Perkins and David Yeadsley, county commissioners; Thomas Burdick, county clerk; John D. Parker, sheriff; James Sloan, district clerk; Evan M. Green, recorder and treasurer; Jacob G. Bigler, William Snow, Levi Bracken and Jonathan C. Wright, magistrates (Hist. Brigham Young Ms., Bk. 4, pp. 18-25. Also "History of the Church"-Cannon-Juvenile Instructor, Vol. XIX, p. 5). Cannon's History throughout this period is but a reproduction of President Young's Ms. History very slightly changed, Ms. being written in the first person Cannon changes it to the third.

August election.’’²⁴ That was a presidential as well as a state election.

Soon after the visit of the delegation from Kanesville to Iowa City, two delegates, Sidney Roberts and Winsor P. Lyon, were selected by the Whig Central committee of Iowa to go to Kanesville and hold a caucus with the people and present to them an address drawn up by the Central Committee making an appeal to them to unite politically with the Whig party of the state. Lyon, on account of sickness, could not appear in person at the caucus, but he sent a very earnest letter seconding the appeal made to the Saints in the Central Committee’s address. Sidney Roberts at the caucus presented both his own and Mr. Lyon’s credentials, and also the address. Needless to say it was full of fair promises. It reviewed at length the persecutions heaped upon the Saints in Missouri, the martyrdom of Joseph and Hyrum Smith in Illinois and the cruel expulsion of the Saints from that state. “The address also dwelt feeling,” says Brigham Young, upon the deception and treachery of the Democrats for asking favors so often from, and as often heaping neglect, abuse, and persecution upon the Saints, depriving them from time to time of civil and religious liberty and the inalienable rights of freemen. “And hearing,” to come to the language of the document itself, “that the greedy cormorants of Locofocoism [a name at times applied in disparagement of the Democrats by their opponents] were at their heels,” and had “commenced a systematical plan to inveigle them in the meshes of their crafty net,” the Whig Central Committee had delegated Messrs. Roberts and Lyon to visit them and lay before them the national polity of the Whigs and solicit their political co-operation; assuring them that their party was “pledged to them and the country to a firm and unyielding protection to Jew, Gentile and Christian of every name and denomination, with all other immunities rightfully belonging to every citizen of the land.”²⁵

Mr. Lyon went even beyond this in his letter, and suggested that in carrying out the great emigration scheme which would

24. Hist. Brigham Young *Ms.*, Bk. 4, p. 11.

25. Hist. of Brigham Young *Ms.*, Bk. 4, pp. 18-25. Also Hist. Ch., Cannon, *Juvenile Instructor*, Vol. XVIII, p. 361.

remove the Latter-day Saints and secure them in peaceful possession of some remote part of the country, "where you can worship according to your own creed, where you may grow in the arts and sciences," etc., etc., would be through the aid, of the general government, best secured, as Mr. Lyon conceived the matter, by that government purchasing a tract of country commensurate with their present and prospective wants.²⁶ "That General Taylor [the Whig candidate] will be the next president," he went on to say, "there is scarcely any remaining doubt—that by casting your influence in favor of the old hero, would be gratefully remembered by him, cannot be questioned, and by securing Whig Senators and representatives to Congress from this state through your influence, your claims for consideration would be placed in the most favorable light, and which could not fail to secure to you those advantages, privileges and immunities to which your enterprising spirit would so justly entitle you."²⁷

In reply to all this, a statement was drafted and adopted, which set forth at great length the persecutions and proscriptions endured by the Saints, and ended with a resolution declaring that if the "Whigs of Iowa would lift up their hands towards heaven and swear by the Eternal Gods that they would use all their powers to suppress mobocracy, insurrection, rebellion and violence, in whatever form or from whatever source such might arise against the Latter-day Saints and the citizens of Iowa, even to the sacrifice of all their property, and their lives if need be, and that a full share of representative and judicial authority should be extended to the Saints, then the Saints would pledge themselves to unite their votes with the Whigs

26. Following is his deliverance upon that head: "To avoid these difficulties (i. e. probable conflicts with the Indians) and for the better security of your valuable enterprise, the first step preliminary to a general movement westward, to any given point upon a large scale, should be to secure the protection of the general government; and the most efficient way of doing this would be for the United States to purchase a tract of country of sufficient extent to accommodate a population commensurate with your present and prospective wants, and which would enable you, with confidence to concentrate your people once more, and to reorganize them into the social compact, under a guarantee of protection from the savage scalping-knife. This will follow as a natural consequence, growing out of the purchase."

27. Hist. Ch., Cannon, *Juvenile Instructor*, Vol. XVIII, p. 373; also Hist. Brigham Young *Ms.*, Bk. 4, p. 18.25.

of Iowa at the elections of the current year and would correspond with the Whigs as solicited."²⁸

The agreement was carried into effect and the Saints very generally voted for the Whig ticket, state and national. Orson Hyde also established the *Frontier Guardian*,²⁹ which, though its first number was too belated to give any service in the political campaign of 1848;³⁰ and while it disclaimed in its *Prospectus* any intention to "enter the field of political strife," beyond reserving "the right and privilege of recommending such men to the suffrage of the people as the Editor may think will prove true and faithful guardians of the national peace and honor, and of the persons and property of its citizens"³¹—yet during the three years of its continuance under Elder Hyde's editorship, it was a steadfast adherent of Whig policies.

The course followed imbittered the Democratic party of Iowa against the Saints. Nationally the Whigs were successful, but in Iowa the Democrats carried the state by about 1,500 majority;³² and at the assembling of the legislature they introduced a bill for the disorganization of Pottawattamie county. It passed the lower house but failed of passage in the senate.³³ The justification offered for this attempt at the destruction of a county in order to deprive its people of political and civil rights was a charge of a "corruption" against the voters of that county, in that they were bribed by the Whigs to support that party's can-

28. Hist. of Brigham Young as in note 22; Cannon's Hist. of the Church, *Juvenile Instructor*, Vol. XIX, p. 5.

29. The *Frontier Guardian* was a four paged super-royal sheet, issued semi-monthly, edited for three years and one month by Orson Hyde. It was then sold to Jacob Dawson, a non-Mormon, and issued as a weekly under the combined title of "The *Frontier Guardian and Iowa Sentinel*," March 4th, 1842.

30. The first number was published Feb. 7th, 1849.

31. See *Prospectus*, first issue of *Guardian*.

32. See *Frontier Guardian*, issue of April 4th, 1849, Springer's Speech.

33. "The Legislature has adjourned," said the *Guardian* of April 4th, 1849, and up to the last hour the Democracy strove to pass the Pottawattamie Bill (the bill to disorganize the county was so called). But a motion to suspend a rule required three-fourths of the members present and the Senate stood ten Democrats to four Whigs, good and true—Springer, Cook, Wright and Sproot."

"Our readers may forget as soon as they can, the injustice which the Democrats sought to do us. Indeed the sooner the better; but never forget that four Whig members of the Senate stood by your interests to the very last hour—manfully defended them, and defeated your oppressors."

didates, state and national.³⁴ Also they were declared to be "fanatics and outlaws." Feeling ran very high during the discussion in the legislature; the senator from Davis and Appanoose counties, Mr. Selman, who was also the President of the Senate, declared his willingness "to put himself at the head of a mob and drive them [the Saints] from the state by the hands of violence."³⁵ In appointing the 27th day of April as a day of fasting and prayer, among the several persons to be prayed for was this same Dr. Selman, President of the Iowa Senate. "Ask the Lord," said the communication of Elders Hyde, Smith and Benson—constituting the presidency at Kanessville,—“Ask the Lord to make him ashamed of his hard speeches made against a people that never injured him, neither wish to.”³⁶

The controversy created dissention also among the Saints. Elder Almon W. Babbitt's resentment against the course pursued by Elders Hyde *et al*, was such that he was disfellowshipped by a conference of Seventies with which body of priesthood in the Church he was connected.³⁷ Elder Hyde referred his course to the Presidency at Salt Lake for vindication, but the only reply he received on that head was:

"In regard to politics and political papers we care little about them, and you are at liberty to do as you please concerning these matters while you tarry."³⁸

The fact was that Kanessville, notwithstanding the valuable claims held by the Saints in the Pottawattamie lands, the natural richness of the soil, and the importance of the place as a starting point for the emigration to the West, was looked upon by the authorities in Salt Lake valley merely as a temporary place of habitation for their people, and they evidently did not regard

34. See Springer's Speech against the disorganization of Pottawattamie County, *Guardian* of Apl. 4th, 1849; also letters of Orson Hyde of 19th and 21st of September, 1848, to the *Missouri Republican* (reproduced in the *Guardian* of May 2d, 1849); also letter of Almon W. Babbitt to the *Iowa Statesman*, of October 23, 1848, (reproduced in the *Guardian* of Feb. 21, 1849, with Introductory comments by Orson Hyde).

35. Speech of Mr. Springer, *Burlington Hawk Eye*, March, 1849, copied into the *Frontier Guardian* of April 4th, 1849. See also editorials same issue of *Guardian*.

36. The communication *in extenso* will be found in the *Guardian* Feb. 21, 1849. Editorial and Babbitt's letter of April 4, 1849.

37. *Frontier Guardian*, Feb. 21, 1849. Editorial and Babbitt's letter.

38. *Guardian*, May 30th, 1849. Hyde and Babbitt were finally reconciled before Church tribunals, and it was so announced in the *Guardian*, issue of Nov. 28, 1849.

these political affairs as very important. It had been demonstrated over and over again that peaceful relationship between the Saints and the people of the western states of the union, was out of the question, of which this political flurry in Iowa was only another but convincing evidence, and therefore the Saints in that place were urged from time to time to remove to the mountains. In September, 1851, a particularly insistent letter was addressed to them at Kanessville, announcing the appointment of Ezra T. Benson and Jedediah M. Grant to assist them to remove to Salt Lake Valley the following season—1852. “We desire you to give heed to their counsel in all things, and come to this place with them next season, *and fail not*. . . . What are you waiting for? Have you any good excuse for not coming? No! . . . “*Arise and come home*. . . . We wish you to evacuate Pottawattamie, and the states, and next fall be with us.”³⁹ On the strength of this letter to the Saints in Pottawattamie, and a General Epistle in the same spirit to all the Church on the gathering, issued a day later, the Saints in the British Mission were counselled not to emigrate, “except such as have money and faith sufficient to take them through to the valley (i. e. Salt Lake)the same season.”⁴⁰ That is, there was to be no more stopping over on the Pottawattamie lands.

The result of this policy was that Kanessville and the surrounding country was within the next year practically deserted by the Saints. The desirable lands and all the settlements fell into other hands; the *Frontier Guardian* was sold early in the following year—February 1852—to Mr. Jacob Dawson; the name of the principal settlement—Kanessville⁴¹—was soon changed to Council Bluffs, and everything that marked the vicinity as a resting place of the exiled and gathering Saints, was in a few years obliterated.

The affairs of the Church in the British Isles during these unsettled years of 1846-1848, had been very prosperous. Orson

39. *Frontier Guardian*, Nov. 14, 1851.

40. *Mill. Star*, Vol. XIV, p. 27.

41. Kanessville was originally known as “Millers Hollow” (Hist. B. Young Ms., Bk. 3, p. 3) “a small valley” down which flowed Indian Creek; and it was at the mouth of this “valley” or Hollow that Kanessville—now Council Bluffs—arose (See Liverpool Route, pp. 78, 79).

Spencer, a most worthy man and able minister of the Gospel had been in charge; and when Orson Pratt arrived in England to succeed him in the presidency, he found the affairs of the mission in a flourishing, healthful condition.⁴² At a general conference of Elder Pratt, twenty-eight conferences were represented, reporting a membership of 17,902, of which number 8,467 had been added between the date of May 31st, 1846, and the 14th of August, 1848.⁴³ But what was far better than any increase in numbers, the spirit of the Saints was never better, kindness and good will were apparent on every hand, the fruit of the spirit was manifest, which "is love, joy, peace, long suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance—against such there is no law."⁴⁴

Turning now to the activities of President Young, at Winter Quarters and Kanesville during the Winter of 1847-8, affecting the removal of the large companies of Saints to the Mountains in the summer of 1848, it must be said that his labors to make the necessary preparations were ceaseless; so too the labors of his associates the Apostles who were with him, and likewise many other prominent brethren and the people generally.

As a result of these labors there was rendezvoused at the Elk Horn ferry by the first of June, six hundred and twenty-three wagons, divided into two great encampments under the leadership of Brigham Young and Heber C. Kimball respec-

42. Of the labors and Presidency of Elder Spencer, Orson Pratt in his General Epistle to the Saints in the British Isles, announcing his own appointment to the Presidency of the Church in those lands, said: "The Saints in this land have been highly favored and extensively benefited by the indefatigable and praise-worthy labors of our much esteemed and dearly beloved brother, Elder Orson Spencer, whose wise and judicious course in his presidential administration over the Saints in this land will ever live in remembrance of all the faithful. His integrity and sterling virtue have erected for him an enduring monument that can never perish. The eloquent and powerful reasonings displayed in all his writings—the bold, energetic, and beautiful style diffused through every part, and the meek and humble spirit which seems to pervade almost every sentence, clearly indicated a sound mind, enlightened by the spirit of truth, and filled with wisdom by the inspiration of the Almighty. The inestimable truths which he has so ably developed in his writings will prove an invaluable treasure to thousands, and live in the memory of all future generations.

43. Detailed report is to be found in *Mill. Star*, Vol. X, pp. 252-3.

44. Gal., v. 22, 23.

tively.⁴⁵ A third encampment formed at the same place in July, under the leadership of Willard Richards, and Amasa M. Lyman, numbering about three hundred wagons, with about the same proportion of animals and people.⁴⁶

The same plan of organization and method of traveling was adopted as in the previous year, the wagons were divided into groups of hundred, fifties, and tens, with captains over each group to safeguard those placed under their jurisdiction. The journey was not materially different from that of the companies of the previous year and of the many companies that followed in succeeding years. All three divisions arrived in Salt Lake Valley in September and October: President Young's division, on the 20th of September; President Kimball's, on the 24th of the same month; and President Richards' began arriving on

45. President Brigham Young's Company.	Wagons.	Souls.	Horses.	Mules.	Oxen.	Cows.	Loose Cattle.	Sheep.	Pigs.	Chickens.	Cats.	Dogs.	Goats.	Geese.	Bee Hives.	Doves.	Squirrels.	Ducks.
Allen Taylor's, 100	190	597	30	16	615	316	63	134	66	282	19	31	3	8	0	6	0	0
Lorenzo Snow's, 100	99	321	20	3	308	188	38	139	25	158	10	26	0	0	0	2	0	0
Wm. G. Perkins', 100	57	155	14	0	191	99	34	97	28	94	3	12	0	0	2	0	0	0
Zera Pulsipher's, 100	51	156	10	0	161	96	49	41	22	71	5	13	0	2	0	0	0	0
Total.....	397	1229	74	19	1275	699	184	411	141	605	37	82	3	10	2	8	0	0
President Heber C. Kimball also had a company of 226 Wagons, with a similar proportion of animals, after- wards found to number	226	662	57	25	737	284	150	243	96	299	17	52	0	0	3	3	1	5
Total.....	623	1891	131	44	2012	983	334	654	237	904	54	134	3	10	5	11	1	5

President Willard Richards and Amasa Lyman will also lead another large company to the mountains. *Mill. Star*, Vol. X, p. 314.

46. The movements of these great camps of exiles were not attended by lamentations or any other manifestations of sorrow. Quite the contrary. Describing the start made by the first division of President Young's company on the 1st of June, Thomas Bullock, clerk of the Camp of Israel, writes: "On the 1st day of June, Lorenzo Snow's company [one hundred wagons] moved off the ground to the Liberty Pole on the Platte, in order to make room for other wagons that came pouring in from Winter Quarters. If any person inquire 'Is Mormonism down?' he ought to have been in the neighborhood of the Elk Horn this day, and he would have seen such a host of wagons that would have satisfied him in an instant, that it lives and flourishes like a tree by a fountain of waters; he would have seen merry faces, and heard the song of rejoicing, that the day of deliverance had surely come." Letter to Levi Richards, *Mill. Star*, Vol. X, p. 314.

the 11th of October.⁴⁷ The arrival of these companies in the Salt Lake Valley increased the population to about five thousand souls.

It may be of interest to mention the fact that conducting this large immigration of 1848 across the plains was the last time that President Young made that journey. He never returned to the eastern states. Upon leaving Winter Quarters on the 26th of May, he said—and there is a note of farewell and sadness in his words:

“On the 26th I started on my journey to the mountains, leaving my houses, mills and the temporary furniture I had acquired during our sojourn there. This was the fifth time I had left my home and property since I embraced the gospel of Jesus Christ.”⁴⁸

Henceforth the Intermountain West will be the scene of the great Leader's activities.

47. Letter of President Young to *Messrs.* Hyde, Smith and Benson, *Frontier Guardian*, of Feb. 7th, 1849.

48. Hist. B. Young *Ms.*, Bk. 4, p. 36.

Historic Views and Reviews

OLD ABE, THE WAR EAGLE

Old Abe was probably the most famous eagle that ever wore feathers. He was a genuine eagle, and a handsome specimen of his kind. His authentic history apparently begins with the day in 1861, when Chief Sky, a Chippewa Indian, made him prisoner on the Flambeau River in Wisconsin. Sky sold him to a white man for a bushel of corn. The man who paid the corn for him, sold him in turn for \$5 to a Mr. Mills. Mills made a present of him to a company just about to start out for the war, Company C of the Eighth Wisconsin. No time was lost by them in naming this winged inspiration after the man in the White House. Old Abe the bird became, and Old Abe he stayed till his death years after.

They carried him alongside the colors on a perch at the end of a staff. The army soon came to know them as the "Eagle Regiment." Beginning with Farmington, Miss., the eagle and his followers went through thirty-six battles. He was wounded before Corinth, and again at Vicksburg. It is said that at Corinth the Confederate marksmen made special efforts to kill Old Abe, at the direction of General Price. "I would rather have him than a whole brigade," Price is said to have remarked, such was the eagle's value in encouraging the troops.

Old Abe stayed with his command until it was mustered out in 1864. In September, Lewis, the Wisconsin war Governor, formally accepted him on behalf of the State. Old Abe was exhibited at the Chicago Sanitary Fair that winter, and his history, published in a pamphlet, brought \$16,000 for the sick soldiers.

It is pleasant to record that he lived long and happily afterward. He was much in demand at conventions and veterans' reunions. He died in March, 1881, as a result of breathing smoke

at the fire of the Madison capitol. Leonard W. Volk, the sculptor, used him as the model for several eagles on his war monuments.



TO MARK FIRST MASS

The Catholics of New York, on May 2, unveiled a bronze tablet at the Custom House in honor of the first mass ever celebrated on Manhattan Island. The tablet, which was placed at the right of the main entrance to the Custom House, was the gift of the Order of the Alhambra and the ceremonies were conducted by that organization.

This is the inscription:

Within Fort James, located on this site, the sacrifice of the mass was offered in 1683 in the Governor's residence by the Rev. Thomas Harvey, S. J., chaplain to Gov. Thomas Dongan. Erected by the Order of the Alhambra, 1912.

The uniformed members of the order and a number of others marched from the City Hall to the Custom House to take part in the ceremonies. At the head of the procession was the boys' band of the Catholic Protectory, and the way those forty youngsters played kept the marchers in brisk step all the way down Broadway. The band music drew the holiday crowd from Broadway and the side streets and by the time the procession reached Battery Park there were enough people in its wake to fill the area in front of the Custom House full to the park railings.

Edward Feeney of the Order of the Alhambra was in charge of the meeting.



WASHINGTON'S CAMP MARKED

Mrs. Hugh McLaughlin, widow of the Brooklyn Democratic leader, has ordered from a local concern a monument to mark the spot on the road from Hamburg to McAfee where the Continental army under George Washington camped when it passed through Sussex county.

Mrs. McLaughlin was born in Sussex county and is a member of the local organization of the Daughters of the Revolution. Her grandfather accompanied Gen. Washington on his trip through this section. She has written several articles on historical subjects which concern Washington's visit to this section.



WASHINGTON'S INTEREST IN AVIATION

Apparently, George Washington was not only the father of his country, but also something like the godfather of aviation in America. At any rate, he wrote a letter for one Monsieur Blanchard, who made the first balloon ascension in this country at Philadelphia in 1793. The letter reprinted in *St. Nicholas* reads:

“George Washington, President of the United States of America. To All to Whom these Presents shall come.

“The bearer hereof, Mr. Blanchard, a citizen of France, proposing to ascend in a balloon from the city of Philadelphia, at 10 o'clock A. M. this day, to pass in such direction and to descend in such place as circumstances may render most convenient—

“THESE ARE therefore to recommend to all citizens of the United States, and others, that in his passage, descent, return, or journeying elsewhere, they oppose no hindrance or molestation to the said Mr. Blanchard: And that on the contrary, they receive and aid him with that humanity and good will which may render honor to their country, and justice to an individual so distinguished by his efforts to establish and advance an art, in order to make it useful to mankind in general.

“Given under my hand and seal, at the city of Philadelphia, this ninth day of January, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-three, and of the independence of America the seventeenth.

Signed,

[Seal.]

GEORGE WASHINGTON.



WHAT AMERICA COST COLUMBUS

Ledgers recently discovered at Palos, Spain, contain interesting facts concerning the outlay made by Christopher Columbus on his expedition to the New World.

The armament of the little fleet cost 14,000 pesetas. The personal expenses of Columbus and his officers were about 2,000 pesetas, and six pesetas a month sufficed for the crew, so that 22,050 pesetas, or about \$4,400, was spent for the eight months that the voyage lasted. The sum total for the discovery of America, therefore, was 36,000 pesetas, or about \$7,200.

In spite of the small amount required, however, Queen Isabella was forced to pawn her jewels, it is related, to provide funds for the expedition.



U. S. S. SANTEE SOLD

The U. S. S. Santee, one of the oldest vessels in the navy, was sold recently to Joseph G. Hitner, of Philadelphia, for \$3,610.

The Santee was laid down in 1820 and for a generation was one of the famous sailing frigates in the naval service. She was extensively repaired just before the civil war, after which she was assigned for the use of the Naval Academy as a training ship.



SOLDIER'S DIARY BRINGS \$610

The remarkably high price of \$610 was paid recently by George D. Smith, for the unpublished manuscript journal of Brigadier Gen. Enoch Poor, a native of Andover, Mass., who, after distinguished services in the American Revolution, was killed in a duel with a French officer at Hackensack, N. J., Sept. 8, 1780. Mr. Smith, when bidding for this manuscript, was seated beside Mrs. Harry Payne Whitney, and it was the general belief that he bought it as her agent. A California collector, whose name was withheld, was the underbidder, stopping at \$600.

This journal was written while Poor was a private soldier in the French and Indian Wars. Notices of him in biographical dictionaries make no mention of his having seen military service in any capacity before the outbreak of the Revolution. The journal consists of ninety-four small pages, sewn together with

Poor's copy of Ames' Almanac for 1759, and inscribed on the first leaf "Enoch Poor, His Book, 1759. A Gornal from Newbury to Saint Jolin's." With the journal was also Poor's Fradrick aft Saint Johns, Sept. 5, 1759. The names of all the men in the Garson."

Inscribed on the back cover is "Enoch Poor, His Book, the year 1759, Fort Fradrick at St. Johns." From this list it appears that he was a private soldier in the company of Capt. Hanway Titcomb, Newbury.

The diary records many details of garrison life. Two of the entries in it read as follows:

June the 15 (1759) Aly (early) in the morning a Bouat 7 a cloack 8 or 9 men went a fishing to the wyar and the Indians and french shot upon them and keld one of the Goners and Sklopt (scalped) him and One of Captain Curches men was Wonded very Bad.

February ye 25 Day (1760) Our Man upon the walls this Day aboute One o Clocke in the Day they saw a Committee (comet) fall which the bigness of it seem to be as big as a washtoub, it fell in the souest.



USE WASHINGTON'S CUPS

Mrs. James Marsland Lawton, of New York city, founder and first president of the National Society of the Daughters of the Cincinnati, gave a dinner recently at Delmonico's for the board of managers of that society. The guests were seated at a horse-shoe table. They drank a toast from silver camp cups that were used by Gen. Washington in the War of the Revolution and which had been lent by W. Lanier Washington, one of the collateral descendants of the first President.

A feature of the dinner was the bringing into the room of an American bald eagle by the Count de La Fayette and Mr. Washington, who placed the bird in front of the diners.

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OCTOBER, 1912

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JOHN R. MEADER, *Editor.*

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THOMAS A. EDISON

AMERICANA

October, 1912

Our Unfought War With England

LETTERS ON THE TRENT AFFAIR—PART I

THIS series of letters on the Trent Affair was presented at a meeting of the Massachusetts Historical Society by Mr. Charles Francis Adams, a few months ago. As the letters are still unpublished, except in daily newspaper columns, it seems fitting that they should be preserved in more permanent form.

EVERETT TO ADAMS

BOSTON, 20 August, 1861.

MY DEAR SIR,—I had great pleasure in receiving your letter of the 26th July, and in your favorable opinion of my oration, which has also been kindly spoken of here.

You informed me some time ago that Lord John—no longer Lord John [he had been raised to the peerage, as Earl Russell, in July, 1861, the preceding month]—had read you a part of my letter to him of the 29th of May. I have thought you might like to see his answer, of which I accordingly send you a copy. I also venture to place under cover to you my reply to him, unsealed, should you be inclined to read it. You will be pleased before sending it, to seal it with some indifferent seal.

Our newspapers are filled with the absurdest suggestions, about the unfriendly interference of England and France. But I am confident, that before the next crops of cotton and tobacco are ready for shipment, the Southern Ports will be so effectually blockaded, as to put any such interference out of the question. . . .

EDWARD EVERETT.

[Enclosure.]

LORD JOHN RUSSELL TO EVERETT

PEMBROKE LODGE, July 12, 1861.

MY DEAR MR. EVERETT,—I have hitherto delayed answering your letter of the 28th of May, in hopes that a better feeling,
(917)

and I must say a juster feeling towards us might spring up in the United States. I am not sure that this is the case, but I am told there has been a lull. In the interval before a fresh storm arises, I will write a few lines as to our position.

I shall say little as to yours; I respect the unanimous feeling of the North, and still more the resolution not to permit the extension of Slavery which led to the election of President Lincoln. But with regard to our own course, I must say something more. There were according to your account 8 millions of freemen in the Slave States. Of these millions upwards of five have been for sometime in open revolt against the President and Congress of the United States. It is not our practice to treat five millions of freemen as pirates, and to hang their sailors if they stop our merchantmen. But unless we meant to treat them as pirates and to hang them we could not deny them belligerent rights. This is what you and we did in the case of the South American Colonies of Spain. Your own President and Courts of Law decided this question in the case of Venezuela.

Your press has studiously confused the case by calling the allowance of belligerent rights by the name of recognition. But you must well know the difference.

It seems to me however that you have expected us to discourage the South. How this was to be done, except by waging war against them I am at a loss to imagine.

I must confess likewise that I can see no good likely to arise from the present contest. If on the 4th of March you had allowed the Confederate States to go out from among you, you could have prevented the extension of Slavery and confined it to the slaveholding States. But if I understand your Constitution aright you cannot do more in case of successful war, if you have to adhere to its provisions and to keep faith with those States and parts of States where slavery still exists which have not quitted the Union.

I regret the Morrill Tariff and hope it will be repealed. But the exclusion of our manufactures from your markets was surely an odd way of conciliating our good will.

I thank you for your condolence on the death of my brother.

It is a grievous loss to me, after half a century of brotherly affection, I remain, Yours faithfully,

J. RUSSELL.

EVERETT TO ADAMS

Boston, 29 October, 1861.

MY DEAR MR. ADAMS,—I had much pleasure in receiving yours of the 5th of October by the last steamer. The fair prospect, to which you allude, as produced by the prosperous turn of things here, is a little clouded by the news, which this steamer will carry to you of another reverse to our arms near Leesburg. It seems to have been a sad blundering piece of business. There is a general willingness to lay the blame on poor Colonel Baker. *Les morts, aussi bien que les absents, ont toujours tort.*

The great naval expedition has sailed from Fortress Monroe. Its success, if it fully succeeds, will be all important,—and its failure proportionately disastrous.

Mr. de Stoeckel sat half an hour with me today. He talked in the sense of Prince Gortschakoff's letter; but rather gloomily of our cause. He distrusts the ability of McClellan to handle the large army under his command, and thinks General Scott, tho' his faculties are unimpaired, pretty nearly "used up";—I am sorry to use the cant phrase of the noble old chief. Stoeckel says that France and England have intimated to our Government, that the domestic interests of their subjects absolutely require, that the supply of cotton should not be much longer obstructed, and that if the present state of things continues, they shall be compelled, with great reluctance, to take measures for the relief of their subjects, who, according to Stoeckel, will otherwise starve or rebel; and of course the latter. He says he *knows* these intimations have been made.

I read to Stoeckel a part of your letter,—not of course that which you wrote in confidence. He said, *a propos* of the European Complications, that Prince Gortschakoff wrote him that they were numerous and grave; that Russia could not prevent their existence, but thus far had been able to prevent their leading to war; and that as this season had passed without a

rupture, and Winter was at hand, Peace was sure to be preserved, at least till next year. Baron Brunnow writes to Stoec-
kel, that John Bull affects to weep from sympathy, when brother
Jonathan cries with the toothache, but chuckles in his sleeve,
as poor Jonathan's teeth, with which he is accustomed to bite so
hard, are pulled out by his own doctors. Mr. Seward has re-
quested me to come to Washington to confer on some public
business (he does not say what) and I shall start on Wednes-
day. . . .

EDWARD EVERETT.

EVERETT TO ADAMS

BOSTON, 9 November, 1861.

MY DEAR MR. ADAMS—I have to thank you for your two very
valuable letters of the 5th and 25th of October. I write a little
in advance of the sailing of the steamer, as I shall be much en-
gaged next week.

What I said of Mr. Seward's too belligerent propensities was
founded a good deal on Mr. Sumner's statements. I made al-
lowance for the evidently unfriendly tone, in which they were
made, but I would not have supposed them so exaggerated, as I
now incline to think them. They were in part confirmed by a
Capt. Taylor, late of the British army, who brought me 2 or 3
years ago a letter from his uncle, the late Archbishop of York,
—who told me that Mr. Seward had said to Russell, the cor-
respondent of the "*Times*," that he was willing to go to war
with England and France to-morrow, and that on his (Taylor's)
repeating this to Lord Lyons, Lord Lyons replied, "I can be-
lieve it; he has said much the same to me," adding "he treats
me so, I can't go to the department." All this, however, cannot
be true, if any of it is. Mr. Seward told me his personal rela-
tions with Lord L. were perfectly friendly. I saw a letter of
the Duke of Argyll to Mr. Sumner, expressing lively fears that
Mr. Seward was driving the country into a war; this was some
three months ago; and Dean Milman, in a letter to me of the
16th October, speaks of Mr. Seward's having threatened an in-
vasion of Canada.

Mr. Seward has requested me, as he has Thurlow Weed, Arch-

bishop Hughes, J. P. Kennedy, Bishop McIlvaine, and R. C. Winthrop, to go to England and France, for two or three months unofficially and as volunteers, to endeavor, through social channels, to counteract the influence of the Secessionists, who are said to be swarming at London and Paris and producing an effect on public opinion. I see many objections to going,—the vagueness of the errand, the strangeness of the grouping (which however, is of less consequence, as there is no official character to be kept up and consequently no joint action necessary, nor probably expedient), the wintry voyage, some twenty-five or thirty engagements to speak—and now the attention, which it may be necessary to give to my son's affairs, which may indeed prove to me an insuperable barrier. I will add also, in entire sincerity, that I believe, from all I know and all I hear, not only that the official duties of the American minister are performed by you in a manner which leaves nothing to desire, but that whatever can be effected through social influences is accomplished with equal skill and success, I am not quite sure, that it would be wise, to send out half a dozen *volunteers* when the *regular* service is so efficient.

I wish you would, with entire unreserve, give me your opinion of the matter, by which, if I am able to come (which is quite doubtful), I should be much governed. I learn today from Washington, much to my satisfaction, that Mr. Seward consents to postpone for some time—perhaps indefinitely—further action in this matter.

You will not suppose for a moment that I imagine Mr. Seward to labor under the impression, that your hands need strengthening. But he seems to think something can be done by purely unofficial influences, in social intercourse by private travelers, in which capacity only the persons named are to go abroad.

The whole movement was to be confidential, but it is already in the papers, I know not by what means.

I have written too long a letter already, but having half a page left, I will add, that, while in Washington the other day, I had a long and interesting conversation with M. Mercier, the purport of which was that France suffered so much by the present state of things in this country, that she would be compelled in self-

defence to take measures of relief. I asked him what measures, and he answered, "Recognition of the Confederacy." I told him that of itself, though it would give great moral aid to the South, would not help France. He admitted this and said in substance they must break the blockade. I replied, "this would be war with the U. S." He did not deny this, but seemed to think, on the near and certain approach of such a result, we would give way. I told him he could not be in earnest in thinking his Government would go to war with a friendly Power merely to promote domestic interests. He said necessity knew no law. I believe substantially the same language is held by him officially. I think it is intended to frighten us into yielding, and told him so. But that he disclaimed. Stoeckel told me Louis Napoleon was thoroughly frightened, at the fear of a general *émeute*. You will put your own interpretation on all this. *Val-eat quantum*. As ever, sincerely yours, E. E.

P. S. The N. Y. *Herald* says, "Mr. Adams is the right man in the right place." If the *Herald* commends you, you will begin to read the first clause of Luke vi, 26, with some anxiety. ["Woe unto you, when all men speak well of you! for so did their fathers to the false prophets."]

WINTHROP TO KENNEDY

BOSTON, 18 November, 1861.

I wrote Seward some days ago that you had encouraged me to think there was less urgency for any of us to go abroad, and that I was indisposed to go for domestic reasons. But who needs to go, after your glorious Maryland Election, and the success of the Port Royal Expedition! And now comes the climax—Mason and Slidell caught and brought back! When I presented you and Mason to the multitude at Bunker Hill, how little he thought the name of Warren would have such associations for him—the Statue and the Fort! [On June 17, 1857, the Bunker Hill Monument Association dedicated the statue to Joseph Warren, and among the speakers on the occasion were John M. Mason and John P. Kennedy.] His tone was insolent enough on

that occasion, yet I will not triumph over him now. To think of Mason, Slidell, and Gwin, and still more of Morehead and Faulkner, and your friends Brown and Wallis, confined in the casements of an Island Fortress, away from home and friends, and subject to the punishment of Traitors, fills me with horror. Yet I know not what else the Government could do with some of them, tho' I am afraid Faulkner and Morehead have been dealt with too summarily. I sent down some Sherry a fortnight ago, and offered to go myself, but the officer said I could speak to none of them; I told him of your interest in your friends. I also helped to get great coats, to prevent the North-Carolina soldiers from freezing. Are we to have war with England? A war of words we certainly shall have. Seward's recent letters and proclamations have greatly irritated the English mind, and I hope he will be prudent in his management of this arrest case. It gives undoubted cause for complaint, and the complaint ought not to be met with defiance. Proper explanations, in a civil way, will save a world of trouble. . . .

ROBERT C. WINTHROP.

DANA TO ADAMS

BOSTON, Nov. 25, 1861.

MY DEAR MR. ADAMS.—Allow me to submit to your consideration a few words from the D[aily] Advertiser which I sent, on the Mason-Slidell question.

I hope you now feel better about the news. Wilkes has done a noble thing, and done it well. It has, with all its elements of poetic justice, struck a chord in the public heart that only a great victory could have struck.

Your speech at the Lord Mayor's dinner has given much satisfaction here as in England. [The speech is printed in the *Boston Daily Advertiser*, November 25, 1861. On the 9th the two Confederate Commissioners, William L. Yancey and A. Dudley Mann, had dined with the Fishmongers Company of London. Yancey's speech will be found in the same journal, November 26.] I congratulate you upon it.

Sumner's speech is a magnificent exposition (I mean his late

speech, since October 1) of the sin and horrors of slavery and its ill effect on all our politics, causing and sustaining this rebellion, etc., etc. But so far as a policy, measures,—a principle of action is concerned, it is vague. He seems to assume that if our twenty millions can be made to hate slaveholders and slavery badly enough, and to believe that they can hit 'em ard, all the rest will take care of itself. If the steam is got up to the highest, and the boat headed into them, all else is immaterial. I cannot agree to that. Under the war power we can do what is (1) necessary for the purposes of the war, (2) justified by humanity, good sense, and the consent of Christendom. I know no other limits. But Sumner makes the abolition of slavery by force the moral justification and end of the war. The war is a means. He preaches a holy crusade. But we cannot justify *war on the domestic institutions of the Southern States*, as an end and object. We must not propagate even Christianity by the sword. The war must be to sustain the Constitution, and prevent the establishment of an independent nation in our limits; or, if we admit the Union and Constitution to be at an end as matter of law and of fact, then we can justify it only on the ground of an imperial and paramount necessity to establish one govt. over the old limits, wholly, or so far as we choose, taking the responsibility for the negroes on ourselves. The difficulty with Sumner is this. He has had great difficulty in justifying a support of the Constitution with its slave clauses. He has great difficulty in justifying *war* on any terms. But to justify war, in order to sustain the Constitution that itself needs justification, is too much for him. He relieves his conscience by preaching this to be a holy crusade to abolish slavery.

Pardon my long discourse, and believe me with great respect,
Yours truly,

RICHARD H. DANA, JR.

WINTHROP TO ADAMS

BOSTON, 25 November, 1861.

MY DEAR SIR,—Your kind letter of October 10th was duly received. It was all the more welcome because I had not dreamed of putting you to the trouble of acknowledging my brief note of

last summer. And I have delayed thanking you as soon as I should otherwise have done, lest I should seem to be involving you in the trouble of private correspondence, at a moment when more than all your time must be required for public business. Let me beg you, therefore, never to feel under the slightest obligation to reply to any little note of mine, unless there be some service which I can render you here, or until the return of peace shall have released you from the heavy anxieties and responsibilities which are now upon you.

It has occurred to me that you may be glad to be reminded, in connection with the case of Henry Laurens, which is everywhere cited as a precedent for the seizure of Mason and Slidell, that the present Lord Albemarle has, at this moment, at his seat in Norfolk (Quidenham) a portrait of Washington, intended for the Stadtholder, which was taken by Capt. Keppel from the same ship in which Laurens was captured. It is *the* portrait in which Washington is represented with that *blue ribbon* across the breast which has given occasion to so many speculations. When I was in London two years ago, Lord Albemarle invited me to run down to Quidenham to see it, and I presume he does not doubt that it was lawful prize. I think he will be bound to surrender it to the Dutch, however, before going to war with us for seizing the Rebel Ambassadors. At any rate it is a pleasant little incident which may serve to illustrate the English precedents on this subject. The success of our naval expedition, and the evident "turning of the tide" in our favor at home, will do more than anything else in reconciling Great Britain to the course of Capt. Wilkes; and, if McClellan gives us a great victory on the Potomac in a few days, we shall feel safe from any foreign molestation. . . .

ROBT. C. WINTHROP.

PALFREY TO ADAMS

BOSTON, 5 Louisburg Square, November 25, 1861.

MY DEAR MR. ADAMS,—Let me begin with congratulating you on your speech at the Lord Mayor's dinner, which has just reached us. We read that it was received with great satisfaction in England. Here the opinion undoubtedly is that it [is] very

exceedingly opportune and felicitous. Though we know but little as yet of the particulars of your action, it is certain that the utmost confidence prevails that our affairs in England are in prudent and able hands.

Before you receive this, it is likely that you will have been engaged with the affair of the mail-packet *Trent*. The jubilation over that adventure has been somewhat checked by apprehension of the effect which it may produce in England. But the citations which have been collected from the publicist authorities have, on the whole, dispelled anxiety, and those who are least sanguine as to the good temper of England on the occasion generally think that it forces her into the dilemma of either abstaining from complaint, or of desisting for the future from pretensions on her own part which have often caused us discontent.

Perhaps the most noticeable contribution was the letter of Theophilus Parsons, professor of law in Harvard Law School, printed in the *Boston Daily Advertiser*, November 29, 1861. As a legal question he concluded that "I am just as certain that Wilkes had a legal right to take Mason and Slidell from the *Trent* as I am that our Government has a legal right to blockade the port of Charleston."

The town is wild with enthusiasm today about Wilkes's reception in Faneuil Hall. It has been storming, and I was not well enough for a strife with the weather. So I had to content myself with leaving a card at the Revere House,—he having just gone to the Navy-yard.

There is so much comedy in this tragedy of Mason and Slidell that one cannot but fancy Lord Palmerston enjoying it hugely in his solitude, however loudly, for appearance sake, he may feel called upon to bark. Whatever it may turn out to be in other aspects it is one of those telling incidents that for the moment must provoke the merriment of the world. . . .

J. G. PALFREY.

ADAMS TO EVERETT

FRYSTON HALL, 27 November, 1861.

You ask me my opinion of Mr. Seward's plan of operating on society here, and I will give it you frankly. It seems to me of

no value, and based upon a very superficial notion of the influences that go to form opinion here. People of rank study the American question almost exclusively with reference to the questions that are agitating the nation at home. They are all more or less oppressed with a fear of the growth of democracy mainly through the success of the American example. And in my opinion this fear is not without very good cause. For under all the appearances of material prosperity which abound in this country, I think I perceive the seeds of change which will not fail to fructify on the first occasion of a turn in the wheel of fortune. The rich are growing richer and are rapidly absorbing in few hands the whole landed property of the three kingdoms. The poor are deserting agriculture and flocking to the manufacturing towns, where they live from hand to mouth. But for the great outlet furnished by emigration to the colonies this change alone would have endangered the social economy ere this. The slower and more certain effect is behind—the growth of the consumers and the decline of the producers of bread. If Great Britain be now in terror for the want of the material with which to enable her working people to earn their bread, what will it be when circumstances render it difficult to get the bread itself? It is this fear that agitates society and renders it so much alive to the American difficulties. If the ghost of democracy can be laid the gentry think—

LONDON, Friday 29th.

The clouds have strangely gathered in the sky since this was written. I fully expect now that my recall or my passports will be in my hands by the middle of January. Please not to mention this as coming from me. Very truly yours,

C. F. ADAMS.

As the place of writing and date indicate, this letter was written at the home of Richard Monkton Milnes, in Yorkshire, where Mr. Adams was then a guest, and on the morning of the day upon which he, at a later hour, received news of the arrest of the Trent by Capt. Wilkes, and the seizure of Mason and Slidell. Laying down his pen at this point to accompany his host and a

party of guests in a visit to the ruins of Pontefract Castle, the closing paragraph of the letter was written in London, two days afterwards.

SCHUYLER TO ADAMS

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES, PARIS, November 29th, 1861.

DEAR SIR: I shall be in London next Wednesday on my way to the United States when I hope to see you. In the meantime, if any complications arise which would bear upon shipments of arms from Havre or Hamburg for the Government, will you please inform Mr. Dayton of it, as I shall leave that matter to his discretion.

We all here are full of interest for you in the difficult questions raised by recent events.

It seems to me that with Great Britain we can justly claim the right of taking upon the high seas individuals charged with high treason, when they have never abandoned the right to claim under similar circumstances any man who is a British subject.

Every confidence is felt in your management of the business.
Very truly yours,

GEORGE L. SCHUYLER.

WINTHROP TO KENNEDY

BOSTON, 29 November, 1861.

Mason and Slidell continue in limbo—a just retribution for the leading part they have taken in plunging the Country into strife. England would have done the same thing under the same circumstances, but I am afraid the bluster on our side will provoke it on hers. I wish I felt as well satisfied that Morehead and Faulkner were imprisoned for good cause as I do that Mason and Slidell are. [Charles James Faulkner (1806-1884) was appointed minister to France by Buchanan, and was arrested on his return to the United States in August, 1861, and detained as a prisoner of state until December, when he was exchanged for Alfred Ely, member of Congress from New York, taken by Confederates at Bull Run.] A letter which Faulkner wrote our

friend William Appleton made us feel that his case was a hard one, and there is a story that his daughter is dying at Philadelphia, and that Morehead's wife has gone crazy. Meantime, a miserable clamor has been raised by a few of our bitter spirits because some persons have sent down a few creature-comforts to alleviate the condition of old friends. One of our malignant presses calls us sympathizers in Rebellion, and threatens to send our names to the Secretary of State! I hope you will give Seward to understand that a malicious spirit of misrepresentation prevails in this quarter, which vents itself upon everybody who is not ready to embark in an Abolition Crusade. For myself, I have done so little for the prisoners that I almost feel a compunction at having seemed wanting in kindness. It is wretched policy not to treat them with humanity and consideration. I go for putting down the Rebellion with all my heart, and whatever is necessary for the safety of the Government *must be done*. But the fewer extreme cases are exhibited as we go along, the fewer regrets we shall have in the end. We have had rare doings in Boston this week. Sumner led off with a violent Emancipation harangue. Ward Beecher followed, and Wendell Phillips came after. To-night "Jim Lane" of Kansas takes his turn. [Sumner's address was on "The Rebellion," and was delivered on Monday night, November 25, under the direction of the Fraternity Association. Beecher spoke at the Tremont Temple on Tuesday, upon "Camp and Country." Phillips delivered a lecture at Music Hall, under the management of the Mercantile Library Association, taking for his subject "The War." In a revised form it is printed as "The War for the Union." Gen. Lane was on his way to take his seat in the Senate of the United States, and spoke at Tremont Temple.] Meantime, the Wilkes banquet betrayed some of our more moderate men into expressions which were by no means happy. I trust the President's Message will straighten things out, and sound a key which will bring back the press and the people to the true music of the Union. We are on the highroad to success, if the mischief-makers do not tear up the track.

ROBERT C. WINTHROP.

MOTLEY TO ADAMS

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES
OF AMERICA AT VIENNA,
30 November, 1861.

MY DEAR MR. ADAMS,—You must pardon me for trespassing a moment upon your time, but, indeed, it is absolutely *necessary* that I should know from the fountain head, exactly the state of the case. I therefore implore you to write me a note, however short, as soon as conveniently may be, telling me what you are going to do,—whether you are leaving at once, or whether, as probably is the case, you wait until the response comes from America to the English declaration of war; for I suppose it can be regarded in no other light.

If I am making mistakes, you must ascribe it to the fact that I am only in possession of a brief telegram which reached me last night, dated yesterday, 29th. This purports to be an “*official*” statement in the *Morning Post*, that the “crown lawyers have decided the arrest of Mason and Slidell to be an invasion of international law, and an insult to England; and that the cabinet have resolved to demand satisfaction to gether with the release of the prisoners, an apology to them, and compensation.”

I have not yet learned even the circumstances of the capture. I assume that the *Trent* is a merchant vessel, and that the arrest was upon the high seas. If these suppositions are correct, I take it that the idea of the action’s being contrary to international law, cannot be entertained by our government. The English jurisdiction over its *merchant* vessels is of course only municipal, not territorial, and extends only to its own subjects, not to ours. The high seas are not English territory, nor is a merchant vessel of England navigating them, a portion of English territory. The law of nations governs on the sea, and that law justifies a belligerent in dealing with his enemy where he can catch him, except on neutral ground.

I beg your pardon for troubling you with what is at your fingers’ end. We know too well how often English cruisers in time of war have boarded our merchantmen and taken out her sub-

jects, even when they were our naturalized citizens, and that she has never renounced that right.

She has now thrown off the mask, and espoused openly the cause of the slaveholders. I am at least grateful to her, that she has put the issue so neatly, that there can be but one voice in America on the subject. She goes to war with us as the champion of Mason and Slidell, the two leaders of the slaveholders' rebellion—and all the sophistry of her judges, or brutality of her speakers and publicists cannot hide that plain fact.

She will damage us horribly, and hopes she has found the opportunity utterly to crush a hated rival; but I think she will find more resistance than she expects. Her first blows will be tremendous. When I left, there wasn't a gun to defend Boston harbor, and I suppose orders will be sent to her fleets to pitch in at once—so that we are all about ruined. I really wish you would let me have a brief statement of the facts, as I am in a *most mortifying position*, if I don't know all that is to be known.

Am I right in my assumption as to the facts of the arrest?

Am I right in assuming that the demand of England will be met by the peremptory refusal of our government?

Will there be any delay in the hostilities or will they commence at once?

After all, you are in better position than any of us. You can go home. We must stay, and never receive a letter from home, perhaps for years, and not know what is the fate of our nearest friends and relatives. Moreover, in case of the most stringent blockade which doubtless will be put on our ports, it will be almost impossible for us to obtain funds from America, even to support life.

I shall never regret that I have been completely duped by the English. I believed their statesmen governed by a high sense of honor and justice, and almost alone among Americans, I have been defending them every day. I never could have suspected them of such perfidy and brutality.

This conduct, if the facts be as I suppose, is one of the most infamous crimes that history has ever recorded. England stands up before the world, the champion of the slaveholders, in order to crush a nation which was at peace with her. I hope, at any

rate, that our government will no longer hesitate to proclaim a general emancipation. It may be a brutum fulmen, but that is not so certain—and at any rate, it will serve still more to unmask the treachery and villainy of England.

Once more I pray you to let me have a line from you, that I may know exactly how the case stands. . . .

J. L. MOTLEY.



The Site of the Memorial to the Pilgrim Fathers, Southampton, England

The Pilgrim Memorial

WITH picturesque ceremony the sailing of the Pilgrim Fathers from Southampton on August 15, 1620, was commemorated at Southampton, England, on August 15.

It was originally intended to erect a memorial in which the bow of the "Mayflower" should be a prominent feature, but this had to be abandoned on the ground of expense. Instead, there were laid the buttresses of a simpler memorial, consisting of a pillar of stone some fifty feet high.

The proceedings opened with a luncheon, at which the Mayor of Southampton, Councilor H. Bowyer, R. N. R., was supported by many prominent Americans, and congratulatory messages were received from several descendants of the old Pilgrims. Vernon A. Field cabled, promising a panel to the memorial on behalf of the Aldens of America, whose ancestor, John Alden, was the only Southampton man in the Pilgrim company. The menu was appropriate to the occasion—"John Alden" and "Winslow" potatoes, "New England beans," and "Brewster salad" figured therein, while "Priscilla cream" and "Mayflower ice pudding" were in great demand.

The toast, "The Immortal Memory of the Pilgrim Fathers," was submitted by the Sheriff of Southampton, Councillor A. C. Hullett, and responded to by J. H. Scaverus and Arthur Lord, President of the Pilgrims Society of Boston, Mass.

A visit was afterward paid to the West Gate, through which the Pilgrims passed to the "Mayflower" in 1620, and the four cornerstones of the memorial were afterward laid. The memorial is founded on a buttress many hundreds of years, old, on which the Normans built the first wall of the city.

Most people, both in England and in America, have a rooted

opinion that the Pilgrim Fathers sailed from Plymouth. That, indeed, was their last port of call, but Southampton maintains, and rightly, that the voyage began there. Two vessels started on this momentous enterprise, but the "Speedwell" was found to be unseaworthy and was left behind at Plymouth.

The site of the memorial is on the face of the old city wall, just east of the West Gate and abutting on the Old West Quay. The West Quay remains much the same to-day as it was when the Pilgrims embarked from it on the Speedwell and the "Mayflower."

The events leading up to the Pilgrim's expedition are thus described by Dr. F. J. C. Hearnshaw, who is the originator of the scheme of the memorial:

"When the little community of English refugees at Leyden had decided to emigrate to America, and had made preliminary arrangements with the English Government, two of their number, Robert Cashman and John Carver, were sent to England to procure a ship and purchase stores. John Carver came to Southampton (apparently in June, 1620) and spent £7,000 on provisions for the voyage and the subsequent settlement. Meanwhile, Robert Cashman, in London, sought financial support for the departure, and hired the 'Mayflower' to transport the emigrants across the Atlantic. She reached Southampton at the end of July.

"In the meantime the Pilgrim company in Leyden sailed from Delfhaven on the 'Speedwell,' which joined the 'Mayflower' about Aug. 5. The 'Speedwell' was leaky; repairs had to be effected, and it was not until Aug. 15 that the vessels set sail. They had been eight days at sea when the Captain of the 'Speedwell' found his ship leaking again, and they put into Dartmouth to refit. They sailed thence on Sept. 2; but when they had gone about 100 leagues beyond Land's End, once again the Captain of the 'Speedwell' raised an alarm. His ship was so leaky, he said, that she must either bear up or sink at sea. In profound dejection the Pilgrims put back—to Plymouth, this time. Some few of them gave up the enterprise altogether; but the rest, 102 in number, abandoning the 'Speedwell' as hopeless, re-embarked on the 'Mayflower' on Sept. 16.

“A somewhat painful voyage of sixty-seven days brought them to the Promised Land. A month was spent in exploring the coast to find a spot suitable for a settlement. At last the predestined place was discovered, and on Dec. 22, 1620, John Alden, a Southampton artisan, first of all the company, set foot on Plymouth Rock. New England was established.”

“Pap” Singleton, the Moses of the Colored Exodus*

PROFESSOR WALTER L. FLEMING, Louisiana State University

DURING an investigation of that movement of negroes from the South to Kansas in 1879-80, known as the “Colored Exodus,” the writer of this sketch was impressed by the importance of the activity and influence of one man, an ignorant negro, who in himself seemed to embody the longings and the strivings of the bewildered negro race. His name was Benjamin Singleton, but on account of his advanced age and kindly disposition most people called him “Pap;” he himself later added and insisted upon the title, “The Moses of the Colored Exodus.” He was born a slave in 1809 at Nashville, in middle Tennessee, and was by occupation a carpenter and cabinet maker. Evidently he was of a restless disposition, and probably his master considered him “trifling,” for “Pap” asserted that although he was “sold a dozen times or more” to the Gulf States, yet he always ran away and came back to Tennessee. Finally he decided to strike for Canada and freedom, and after failing in three attempts he made his way over the “Underground Railway” to Ontario, opposite Detroit. Soon afterward he came back to Detroit where he worked, he says, until 1865 as a “scavenger,” and also kept a “secret boarding-house for fugitive slaves.”

Singleton was not of imposing appearance. From newspaper descriptions of him written during the 70’s we learn that he was a slender man, below medium height, a light mulatto with long, wavy iron-gray hair, gray mustache, and thin chin whiskers.

*Abridged from an article in *The American Journal of Sociology*, July, 1909.

"After freedom cried out," Pap was not content to remain in the North and soon went back to his old home in Tennessee. His experience in the North had opened his eyes to the economic weaknesses and dangers of his race, and soon he began to complain that the blacks were profiting little by freedom. They had personal liberty but no homes, and they were often hungry, he says, and were frequently cheated. He then began his "mission," as he called it, urging the blacks to save their earnings and buy homes and little plots of land as a first step toward achieving industrial independence. He declared in 1868 that his people were being exploited for the benefit of the carpetbaggers, whose promises were always broken:

After the war [he said] my race willingly slipped a noose over their necks and knuckled to a bigger boss than the old ex-one. . . . Bimeby the fifteenth amendment came along and the carpetbaggers, and our poor people thought they was goin' to have Canaan right off. But I knowed better. . . . I said to 'em "Hy'ar you is a-potter'n round in politics and tryin' to git in offices that aint fit, and you can't see that these white tramps from the North is simply usin' you for to line their pockets and when they git through they'll drop you and the rebels will come into power and then whar'll you be?"

In 1869, he says, he succeeded in inducing some negroes to get it into their minds that they ought to quit renting and farming on the credit system and endeavor to secure homes of their own. In order to direct their efforts he and others organized and incorporated at Nashville the Tennessee Real Estate and Homestead Association. The professed object of the organization was to assist Tennessee negroes to buy small tracts of farm land, or houses and lots in the towns to which so many negroes flocked after the war. Local societies were organized and incorporated under such names as the Edgefield Real Estate Association, in Davidson County, and these held frequent meetings in the negro churches and secret-society halls. Numbers of the whites favored the movement and gave assistance and encouragement to Singleton, while others opposed it.

The conviction grew upon Singleton that the negroes must be segregated from the whites. Whether they were friendly or un-

friendly, he felt that they should be separated for the good of the blacks. The only remedy, he decided, was for the blacks to quit the South and go to a new country where they would not have to compete with whites.

Singleton then turned his thoughts to Kansas as the most promising place for the settlement of home-seeking blacks. Beginning with 1869 a few negroes went to Kansas each year to open small farms on the fertile prairies. Singleton went himself to Kansas in 1873 as representative of the Tennessee Real Estate and Homestead Association, of which he was president. He was favorably impressed with the country and, returning to Nashville, he took three hundred blacks to the public lands in Cherokee County in the southeastern part of Kansas and there founded "Singleton Colony."

From this time to 1879 Singleton was actively engaged in developing negro sentiment in Tennessee and Kentucky in favor of emigration or "exodus" to Kansas. In 1876 the local organizations in Tennessee were active, and Singleton and Columbus Johnson, another shrewd Nashville negro, went to Kansas and looked up more good locations for settlements on the public lands. An arrangement was made by which Johnson was to stay in Topeka and from there direct the newly arriving blacks to the various colonies.

The "exodus" songs possess considerable interest and afford an insight into the feelings of the black people. Pamphlet copies of these, poorly printed by negro printers, were sold by Singleton at ten cents each. The money received helped to pay expenses. One of these songs was called "The Land that Gives Birth to Freedom." Some of the verses were as follows:

- 1 We have held meetings to ourselves to see if we can't plan some way to live.
(Repeat)

Chorus—Marching along, yes, we are marching along,
To Kansas City we are bound. (Repeat).

- 2 We have Mr. Singleton for our president. He will go on before us and lead us through. (Repeat).
- 4 For Tennessee is a hard slavery state, and we find no friends in that country.
(Repeat).
- 6 We want peaceful homes and quiet firesides; no one to disturb us or turn us out.
(Repeat)

At the meetings before departure and at the start an "exodus" song was sung. This was called "Extending Our Voices to Heaven." Some lines were:

1. We are on our rapid march to Kansas, the land that gives birth to freedom.
May God Almighty bless you all.

Chorus—Farewell, dear friends, farewell.

2. Many dear mothers are sleeping in the tomb of clay, have spent all their days
in slavery in old Tennessee.
4. It seems to me that the year of jubilee has come; surely this is the time that
is spoken of in history.

These songs indicate clearly the feelings of the negroes. Another song sung on the way and after arrival, was altogether hopeful:

In the midst of earth's dominion
Christ has promised us a kingdom
Not left to other nations
And we've surely gained the day.

Three colonies were founded by Singleton, Johnson, and De-Frantz, and to these most of the negroes who went to Kansas in 1876-78 were conducted. Here, by 1878 the negroes had paid for 1,000 acres of land, good cabins had been erected, cows and pigs were common, and shade trees and fruit trees were growing. The climate here was better suited to the negro than that of the other colonies. In all the colonies the negroes took up homesteads on government land or bought railroad and university lands on long credit at low prices.

Nicodemus, the largest colony, was in less prosperous condition in 1878. Prominent Topeka negroes were promoting this colony, and in 1877 it was being "boomed" as a negro paradise. It was, the promoters claimed, "the largest colored colony in the United States." A town company was incorporated and a fee of five dollars entitled one to membership in the company and to a town lot. Churches were to be built by the company, and no saloons were tolerated. But a migration of negroes reached Nicodemus in the fall of 1877 too late to make crops that year, and in consequence there was considerable suffering during the following winter. They had a song all their own called "Nicodemus." The first verse and the chorus were:

Nicodemus was a slave of African birth,
 And was bought for a bag full of gold.
 He was reckoned a part of the salt of the earth,
 But he died years ago, very old.

Chorus—Good time coming, good time coming,
 Long, long time on the way;
 Run and tell Elijah to hurry up Pomp
 To meet us under the cottonwood tree,
 In the Great Solomon Valley,
 At the first break of day.

The year 1878 marks the close of the second period of Singleton's activity as a "Moses of the negro race." By the end of the year he had brought to Kansas, so he claimed, 7,432 negroes.

In the early spring of 1879 began what the entire country soon knew as the "negro exodus" from the Egypt of the southern states to the Kansas Canaan. Not all of the negroes from Mississippi, Arkansas, and Louisiana went directly to Kansas. Many of them stopped in St. Louis and waited to hear about conditions in Kansas before going farther. Others stopped because their funds gave out.

Most of the immigrants were destitute, and the whites of Kansas were forced to organize the "Kansas Freedmen's Relief Association" in order to save some of the needy blacks from starvation. Pap was now brought forward by them as an authority on exodus conditions, and for several years he was considered the leading negro of Kansas. At first he was inclined to glory in the movement as a result of his efforts and to say little about causes. However, the "exodus" soon became an issue in Kansas and national politics, and Singleton found that the past treatment of the negroes in the South rather than his own ideas of their future in the Northwest was what northern people, especially the radicals, wanted to know about. So for the first time he raises the familiar "southern outrage" issue, and describes the South as a horrible place where murder, outrage, theft, etc., were common crimes by whites against the negroes. The Southern people were, he said, like "a muddy-faced bellowing bull," and "Democratic threats were as thunder in a colored man's ear," and in consequence the negroes were "exodusting." However, he never went into particulars, and always preferred to talk about "consolidating the race" in a new country. His activity sometimes embarrassed the relief association. He

published frequent appeals in Kansas and eastern newspapers asking that aid be sent to the Kansas Freedmen's Relief Association, not only for the relief of the refugees in Kansas, but also for the purpose of assisting more negroes from Egypt to Canaan. "The "exodus" was not well supported by public opinion in Kansas even among the blacks. The whites and resident blacks of Kansas helped the "exodusters" much, but they wanted no more of them; the laboring-class of whites threatened violence if more negroes should come.

This larger "exodus," like Singleton's original one, met opposition from the leading negroes like Fred Douglass, Pinchback, and Bruce, who objected to any scheme of moving masses of negroes into the North. Against these race leaders Singleton spoke with considerable feeling. "They had good luck," he said, "and now are listening to false prophets; they have boosted up and got their heads a whirlin', and now they think they must judge things from where they stand, when the fact is the possum is lower down the tree—down nigh to the roots;" they either "saw darkly" or were playing into the hands of the southern planters who feared a scarcity of labor. To those who objected that negroes without means should not come to Kansas he replied that "it is because they are poor that they want to get away. If they had plenty they wouldn't want to come. It's to better their condition that they are thinking of. That's what white men go to new countries for isn't it? Who was the homestead law made for if it was not for poor men?"

Pap was finally made to see that popular opinion in Kansas was not in favor of encouraging further migration of "paupers," and through the influence of the whites he was brought to the point where he used his influence to discourage the exodus movement. But unwillingly did he come to this. In May, 1879, he had denounced in advance a meeting of the National Negro Convention soon to be held at Nashville for the purpose of considering the causes of the exodus and the condition of the blacks. He feared that the negroes like Douglass and Pinchback would control the convention and try to keep the blacks in the South. He wanted the Kansas Negro Convention, which was to be held about the same time, to inform southern negroes about Kansas

and assist them to get there. Soon, however, in order to relieve and reassure Kansas, he planned to divert the immigration to the states farther west, but only a few went to Nebraska and Colorado. His next plan, suggested by the whites, was to turn the migration to the states north of the Ohio. He visited Illinois and Indiana to investigate conditions, but received little encouragement. He then began to play upon the fear of the whites in those states about a possible "exodus," declaring that the "exodus was working," but that if the North would force the South to treat the negroes well, let them vote, sell land to them, etc., they would stay in the South. The migration began to decrease in the summer of 1879 and Singleton busied himself in looking after the negroes in the colonies, and in the relief work. About 200 Tennessee negroes went to his colonies in 1879 besides those from the lower South. When the exodus began afresh in the spring of 1880, the Kansas newspapers very willingly published statements from Singleton advising prospective "exodusters" either to stay at home or to scatter out into other northern states, for, as all maintained, Kansas had her share, there was no employment for more, and no more aid could be given to them.

In 1880 we hear Singleton and others complaining that certain funds raised by the relief societies for the needy "exodusters" had been turned over to a negro school. This, they protested, was not right; the money should be divided among those for whom it was raised—the "exodusters"—and not given to a school. Singleton cared little for schools and disliked educated negroes. Singleton was called before the exodus committee of the U. S. Senate in 1880 and in his testimony explained at length his plans and methods. After describing the "real estate" companies, his Kansas colonies, and his method of advertising, he spoke of the causes of the movement which, in his opinion, were mainly social and economic.

When in the fall of 1880 Singleton went to Illinois and Indiana he had a double mission: to see if there was room for "exodusters," and to deliver Republican speeches in favor of Garfield. In November after the Republican victory, Singleton declared that to him was due the credit for making Indiana safe for Gar-

field. He explained it by saying that after he learned that the Democrats feared colonization of negroes by the Republicans, he had gone to their leaders and told them that "unless they allowed the state to go Republican he would import 250,000 negroes into the state."

For various reasons some of the negroes, especially the ex-politicians from Louisiana and Mississippi, were dissatisfied with the "lily white" policy of the white Republicans, and their restlessness invited an attempt by the "Greenbackers" to capture the organization of the "Links." Singleton himself began to talk as an "independent," and declared that the Kansas Democrats had treated the negroes as well as the Republicans had. The "Links" and the "Greenbackers" had meetings on the same day at Topeka, and had a joint barbecue, but no fusion was effected. The "exodusters" soon met opposition in labor matters. The migration caused a lowering of wages and the poorer whites became incensed against the blacks in the parts of the state where the "exodusters" were more numerous. One of the professed objects of the "United Links" was to avoid trouble by trying to regulate wages. The negroes were willing to work for less than white laborers, and on this account white employers and white laborers were divided in their opinion as to what the negroes should do.

Singleton looked about for still another "Promised Land." Remembering Canada as a haven for runaway slaves, he suggested an exodus to that place. It was objected that Canada was too cold. He then suggested Liberia, began to preach a new exodus, and in September, 1883, issued an address to the blacks of the South declaring that since they had refused to come to Kansas in sufficient numbers to accomplish good results, the best that they could now do was to go to Canada under the protection of the British government or go to Liberia where they could have a government of their own.

The last years of Pap's life were not spent in obscurity as might have been expected. He was ignorant, he had no property, no home, no family, and it was suspected that smart rascals made use of him in his old age to get money from the generous blacks. But he himself was always popular with both races. In

all the mass of material relating to Pap and his schemes there is no hint that he was not just what he professed to be; no doubt is manifested of his honesty and sincerity. Wherever he went the negroes welcomed him as the "father of the exodus." All his savings he spent on his schemes, and by 1881, in his seventy-third year, he was in want. So he proceeded to announce through the Topeka newspapers that he would accept donations if sent to a certain warehouse. The Topeka *Commonwealth* indorsed his character and motives; and the donations received kept him from want for a time.

A year later the blacks at Topeka planned a birthday party for the old man. The celebration was to be held in a park and five cents admission fee charged. Pap at once announced that all who desired to assist him entertain his friends on his birthday might send donations—"anything in the way of eatables," he said, "will be kindly received." He invited the higher government officials at Washington to attend his party, and some of them sent polite regrets which he had printed in the local newspapers. He made out a programme and put the Kansas notables—governor, mayors, preachers—down for speeches. They did not come, but the party was a success. One hundred guns were fired at sunrise and a hundred more at sunset; "John Brown's Body" was sung, everybody had a good time, and Pap made \$50 clear. The next year a barbecue on his birthday netted him \$274.25. In 1884 the negroes of St. Louis gave him a celebration, and so it was until he died at Topeka in 1892 at the age of eighty three. At all of his celebrations Singleton gloried in his title of "father (or Moses) of the exodus," and as the years passed his achievements were greatly magnified by himself and others. For instance, the St. Louis and Topeka newspapers in the late 80's declared that Singleton brought 82,000 negroes out of the South; this was about ten times the actual number.



PRIMROSE



COLMAN

Two Old-Time Minstrels

Minstrel Songs of Other Days

FAMOUS BALLADS, SONGS AND DITTIES SUNG BY THE MINSTREL
BOYS OF '68-'73

BY BILLY S. GARVIE

MINSTREL music for many years has had a strong hold upon the amusement loving public. Much of the popularity of the old-time minstrel shows was due to the fine singers. The shows of forty and fifty years ago, did not have the big numbers that we see upon the minstrel stage of to-day. What a sensation Haverley's "Forty Count Them" Minstrels created in the early '80's! The older generation of patrons of the minstrels can recall the small numbers in the old troupes. Each troupe had its famous singers and its overture, with its songs, ballads sentimental and comic, ditties, and the opening and closing choruses.

The list of old-time minstrel songs and the minstrel boys that sang them may recall to many the names of those who, with blackened faces, merry songs and jokes, entertained the theatre patrons of a generation ago. Many a boy has heard his father or grandfather sing some of these old-time melodies. To-day we seldom hear them although some of our vaudeville theatres are using some of these old songs. During Old-Timers Week at the writer's home town, Hartford, Conn., Billy Ward, of the veteran song and dance team of Fox and Ward sang Stephen Foster's famous old-time song "Uncle Ned" and scored a big hit; it was a treat to many to hear that famous song again.

Most of the "old-guard" of burnt cork artists have passed away; only a few are active and on the stage to-day. How much of the popularity and success of negro minstrelsy is due to the

song, the singer, dancer, banjo, bones or tambourine, it is hard to tell.

It was the song, not the singer which moved Thackeray to write years ago.

"I heard a humorous balladist not long since, a minstrel with wool on his head, an ultra ethiopian complexion, who performed a negro ballad that I confess moistened these spectacles in a most unexpected manner, a vagabond with a corked face and a banjo sings a little song, strikes a note, which sets the heart thrilling with happy pity." There is a big difference between the genuine negro minstrel songs and singers of the 60's and 70's, and the minstrel songs of to-day.

Ben Cotton and Sam Sharpley's Minstrels were famous in 1868, and many may recall their songs and ballads. Ben Cotton's favorites included "Larry McGee," "Hi Cum Go," "I A'int a Going to Tell." Sam Sharpley sang "Tea Table Tat-tlers," "Cruel Mary Holder." "Write me a Letter From Home," by John H. Murphy, "The Old Orchard Cot," by Jos. Cooke.

The minstrel boys of '68 sang "Oh Would I Were a Fly," "Ellanore," "Stars of Night," "Cut on the Levee," "I've no Mother Now I'm Weeping," "Maribelle," "The Old Church Yard," "I Wish I Was a Fish," "Meet Me, Josie at the Gate," "Can't See the Point," "Red Hot Darkey."

"Hunkey Dorum, I'm the Boy" sung by "Hank" T. Mudge, the clog dancer.

Many may recall Carneross and Dixey's Minstrels with John L. Carneross the sweetest tenor minstrelsy ever knew singing "How Can I Leave Thee" and "Carrie Lee." Sam Sanford sang his old-time hit "Billy Barlow;" (a big favorite) and Frank Moran, "Doley Jones," and F. Campbell, "Dear Mother I'll Come Back Again." Huntley and Emmett's troupe had Billy Huntley playing the bones on the end and singing "Oh Don't Put on Airs;" and "Don't You Hear the Bulgine," and C. Emmett, "Susy Brown;" J. Warner, "Life on the Ocean Wave," and "Old Aunt Sally," during the overture. Billy Arlington, sang "Funniest Thing is a Frog;" Cool Burgess,

"Pretty Little Sarah," and the great basso O. P. Sweet, "Childhood's Memories," in the overture with Arlington's minstrels.

La Rue's Minstrels overture included the following songs "Hi-Cum-Go," by Johnny Collins; "Red Hot Darkey," Fayette Welch; "Meet Me Josie at the Gate," by C. Wheaton. The original Georgia Minstrels had some famous singers. "Stars of Night" and "Darkie's Jubilee" songs by the company. Sam Waldron, sang "Ellanore"; Lou Johnson, "Down In Mobile"; Chas. B. Hicks, "Dreaming of Home"; Bob Height, his famous end song "Joseph Moses Green," sung in the overture.

Kelly and Leon's Minstrels had "The Only Leon" singing "On the Beach at Long Branch"; R. M. Carroll, in his original "My Father Sould Charcoal" (he had many imitators afterwards) and Geo. and Willie Guy, song and dance "Tom and Jerry." In the overture R. M. Carroll, sang "Paddy's Dream"; J. H. Surridge, "Driven From Home"; H. Leslie, "Hold Your Horses."

Morris Brothers Trip Around the World Minstrels with their famous quartette sang "The Gal I Left Behind Me," "Life on the Ocean Wave," and "Nix Good the Sourkrout Man." J. J. Kelly sang "Beautiful Dreamer," "Pat Malloy," and "Annie O'er the Banks O'Dee." When Billy Morris, sang his "Listen to the Mocking Bird," he made a big hit for many years, and even today it seems as if the people will never tire of it. J. A. Barney, "Down By the Riverside I Stray"; Lou Morris', "Student's Song"; Masters Sheridan and Mack, "Barn Door Jig" and "She's As Lovely as a Rose." Billy Morris gained fame as a whistler, singer and bone player on the end.

Mudge and Parlmees with "Hank" Mudge singing "Hunkey Dorum"; J. H. Wilson, "Maribelle"; Jake Wallace, "I Wish I Was a Fish"; and G. W. Purcelle, "The Old Church Yard"; in the overture.

Many may remember these minstrel songs of '68 "I've no Mother Now, I'm Weeping." O. P. Sweet, the great basso sang "Childhood's Memories," and "The Old Sexton." "Waiting for the Shadows," "We Parted by the Riverside," "Pretty Little Sarah," "Happy Boyhood," "You've Been a Friend to me." "Capt. Jinks of the Horse Marines," "Stars of Night,"

"Dreaming of Home," "Kiss Me Good Bye Darling," "Darling Minnie Lee," "By Words of the Day," "The Little One That Died," "Alice Clair," "Come Where My Love Lies Dreaming," "Hither We Come Darling," "Nelly's Candy Shop," "Sweet Flower, Emblem of Purity," "It Seems but yesterday," "Monkey's Wedding," (Billy Arlington's end song) "The Cot Where I was Born," "Paddy's Dream," "Darling Little Charlie," "The Irish Piper," "Sally Come Up," "Susy Brown," "Nobody's Child," "Nursery Rhymes," "Bourbon Bob" (Champagne Charlie's Brother) all were sung by the minstrel boys in 1868.

Several minstrel shows were on the road in 1869, and the songs, ballads and ditties sung by them will be recalled by many. They included LaRue's Minstrels with Happy Cal Wagner, end man singing "Grant's Inauguration Ball," Jerry Cohan, (it may be news to many that Jerry Cohan was a minstrel man for a few years) sang "Da, Da" his famous end song. The following program of La Rue's Minstrels is very rare and much sought after by collectors.

Hartford, Conn.

Robert's Opera House

June 2, 1869

La Rue's Minstrels.

Overture.....	La Rue's Minstrels
Opening chorus	La Rue's Quartette
The Little One That Died.....	F. Girard
Grant's Inauguration Ball.....	Cal Wagner
Lottie Lee	F. Campbell
Da Da	Jerry Cohan
A Finished Education.....	Girard, Wagner, Cohan and Co.

PART SECOND.

Fancy Dance	Frank Wells
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THE HAUNTED WIGMAKERS!

Old Fuzzle	Frank Girard
Pete Scrousehorn	Cal Wagner

Jerry FlipupJerry Cohan
 Jim HighflyerFrank Campbell
 Song and DanceJerry Cohan
 Mrs. Jinks of Madison Square.....Cal Wagner
 Italian Airs by Native Artist!
 In which the great "Ricardo" will appear, supported by Cal
 Wagner and F. Girard.
 The Dublin Dancing Master.....Jerry Cohan

NOBODY'S COAT

and

SOMEBODY'S DAUGHTER!

Septimus PecksniffCal Wagner
 Mr. DusenburgF. Girard
 Byron BuchananF. Campbell
 Anastasia Matilda Duzenburg.....Frank Wells

To conclude with a new and entirely original Walk Around
 performed by this company only, entitled:—

Shoo! Fly! Don't Bodder Me!

Morris Brothers Minstrels of 1869, one of the best on the road rendered the following songs in the overture, "Bohemian Girl," company; "Mary Jane," and "Cream Colored Horse," Billy Sweatnam; "Let All Obey," M. Ainsley Scott; "Listen to the Mocking Bird," Billy Morris; E. Holmes, "Adleline, lost Adleline"; Master Lou Morris, "Kathleen with the Golden Hair." During the show M. Ainsley Scott, sang Barcarole, "Here upon My Vessel's Deck" (from the Prison in Edinburg). Buckley's Serenaders and the best Brass Band in the World, were the billing of this famous troupe in 1869. In the overture G. Swaine Buckley, sang "Pretty Polly Primrose"; J. H. Murphy, "When the Corn is Waving Dear;" Jake Budd, "Sweet Rosa Jane"; J. Waterman, "The Day That You'll Forget Me"; G. S. Buckley, "If you Love Me, Do Say Yes"; O. P. Sweet, "The Old Sexton," and "Good Old Friends," "Double Action Darkey,"

"Beautiful Snow Drop," "Laughing Song," "Oh Take Me To Thy Heart Again."

J. H. Haverley's Minstrels had famous singers in the overture, Sig. J. Brandisi, singing "Softly, Love the Stars Are Beaming"; Charley Reynolds, "Ann Maria"; Sig. Gustave Bidaux, "I am Dreaming of You"; Charlie Pettingale, "That's the Way We Go," were drawing cards wherever the show presented its program. Skiff and Gaylor's troupe sang the following songs, "Crowned With the Tempest" and "La Neapolitan," by Signor Bidaux; "Blue Eyed Jennie," Johnny Reese; "Shu Fly," (new, first time and original) Low Gaylord; "When Sammy Comes Home," Harry Talbort. "The Step-Mother," a beautiful ballad was sung for the first time in 1869 by Sig. Bidaux, the famous baritone.

While all the minstrels used burnt cork, the Hibernian Minstrels appeared with white face, wore green coats, buff knee breeches, and white stockings. They sang the following old-time Irish melodies, "Let Erin Remember," company; "Paddy McFadden," Capt. Jas. O'Rourke; "Love's Young Dream," May Fitzgerald; "The Minstrel Boy," Wm. Dwyer; "Believe Me if all Those Endearing Young Charms," James MacEvoy; "Ginerl Pat," Acton Kelly. This company played to crowded houses everywhere and created a big sensation.

Some of the songs made famous in 1869, included "She's a Gal of Mine," "I am Dreaming," "That's the Way They Go," "Good Old Friends," "Rustic Beauty," "Cop-Pena-Bid-Dhu," "Don't Go Tommy," "I am Dreaming of You," "Beautiful Snow Drop," "Blue Eyed Nellie," "Jennie Who Lives in the Dell," "O'er the Hills Bessie," "The Ragmuffin," "Tinker and Tailor," "Hen's Convention," "Old Woman Who Lived in a Shoe," "When You and I Were Young," "Read Me a Letter From Home," "Youth and Folly," "The Little One That Died." Dave Reed, the famous end man sang "The Hardware Line," and "Sugar Cane Green."

J. W. McAndrews, (one of the greatest impersonators of the oldtime southern darkey) sang his famous watermelon song, with Dan Bryant's troupe, which rendered the following "De Tinkle of De Banjo," "Driven From Home," "Good Old

Friends," "Topics of the Day," "Da Da's Darling," "Black Eyed Bessie," "Ring the Bell Softly," "Fairy of the Wildwood," "Beautiful Bells," "Coming Thr' the Rye," "Ain't I Sweet," "The Darkey at the Play," "My Bonnie Queen," "If Maggie Were My Own," "Glad Tidings From Home," "Pompey's Marriage," "Where is My Nancy Gone," "From Our Homes the Loved are Fading."

In 1870 Duprez and Benedict's Minstrels were known all over this country and had many old-timers in their troupe. In the overture they had as endmen Hughey Dougherty, singing "It's Nice to be a Father" and Lew Benedict "Hot Corn." Both of these grand old minstrel men are still on the stage. "Sally Ann's Away," Chas. Gleason; "I am Lonely no More," D. Swabe Vernon; "Little Brown Jug," (a big hit) Charlie Reynolds; "The Dear Little Shamrock," Fred B. Naylor, and the famous Cocoa-nut Quarett, Benedict, Gleason, Parkhurst and Lew Collins, completed the company.

"Happy" Cal Wagner's Minstrels with Jack Haverley as manager put on a good show their singers including "Put Me in My Little Bed," W. J. McAllister; "Lottie Lee," Frank Campbell; "The Cat in the Corner" (a big favorite) "Happy" Cal Wagner; "Where has Little Baby Gone," F. B. Naylor; and Cal Wagner's original act "Mrs. Jenks of Broadway."

Morris Brothers Minstrels had the "Great Bernardo" singing "Driven From Home" and "Ain't I Sweet"; M. Ainsley Scott, "Pulling Hard Against the Stream"; E. Holmes, "Fairy of the Wildwood," and Willis P. Sweatnam, singing his famous end man song "Cream Colored Horse."

No account of negro minstrelsy would be complete without Bryant's Minstrels. With their troupe in 1870 were many of the most famous minstrel men of the day. A copy of their overture follows.

Robert's Opera House, Hartford, Conn.

Sept. 14, 1870.

Bryant's Minstrels—Part First

OvertureBryant's Minstrels
Operatic Chorus.....Norman, Russell, Grier and Brandisi

Sugar Cane Green.....	W. P. Grier
Meet Me Darling	H. Norman
The Hardware Line.....	Dave Reed
Merry Warbling Birds	J. Brandisi
Comic Ditty	Dan Bryant
Home by the Sea.....	J. G. Russell
Finale—"Jumbo Jim's College".....	Grier, Reed and Bryant

J. W. McAndrews, the "Water Melon Man," a member of this company, was one of the greatest impersonators of the Southern darkey upon the stage in fact he never had an equal. He used his famous act for the first time in the late 50's on the minstrel and variety stage for many years. Many may recall his famous "Watermelon" song with the refrain:

"I'll load up my gun with a sugar plum,
Shoot all the yaller gals one by one,
Barkalingoes, Watermelon Man,
Barkalingoes, Watermelon Man."

Among his songs were "Boy, Go 'Way From Dat Muel," and "Off to Baltimore." McAndrews died in the early 80's. Dan Bryant and Dave Reed rendered their famous song and dance "Shoo Fly," one of the greatest song and dance hits forty years ago, in a never-to-be forgotten manner.

The following minstrel songs were featured by the minstrel boys of 1870, "High, Low, Jack in the Game," "Lead Me Sometimes Where She's Sleeping," "Hikey, Pikey," "Beautiful Louise," "Nellie Dear, I am Going to Leave You," "Maggie May," "Put Me in My Little Bed," "Girl at the Matinee," "I am Lonely no More," "Farewell Jennie," "Merry Warbling Birds," "Home by the Sea," ("Buzz Musketo," Dave Reed's song) "Sunny Days," "I'm Waiting Darling, for Thee," ("Come Back Stephen" an old favorite of Billy Morris), "Telegraph Song," "The Man With the Wooden Leg," "Beautiful Girl of the South," "Sweet Flowers," "Annie O' the Banks O' the Dee."

One of the leading minstrel troupes of 1871 was Duprez and Benedict's. In their overture Frank Dumont, sang "I'm Wait-

ing, My Darling for You"; Geo. H. Edwards, "Pull Back"; Warren Richards, "Beautiful Girl of the South"; John L. Woolsey, "Mama, Where Has Baby Gone"; Lewis Benedict, end song. Grand Finale "From Ocean to Ocean."

Joe Fox and Billy Ward, "Moonlight at Cape May" and "Little Fannie Powers," both big song and dance hits. Charlie Heyward, "Belle of the Masquerade." At the present time Fox and Ward, are playing in vaudeville, and Frank Dumont is manager of a theatre in Philadelphia.

"Hart, Ryman and Barney's troupe, sang "Under the Snow," Henry Norman; "My Loved Nellie," Add Weaver; James Bird of Lake Erie," John Hart; Mama, Where is Baby Gone," D. S. Vernon; "Mother, I Hear the Angels," Harry Saynor; "Golden Showers," company; during the overture.

Other favorites of '71, "The Flowers are Blooming," "The Minstrel Kings," "The Limerick Races"; Cal Wagner's hits "Hi, Cum Go," and "The Cat in the Corner"; "Kiss Me, and I Will Go to Sleep," "Ballet Girl," "Anna Maria Jaybird," "Sam Johnson," "The Whippoorwill," "Sadie Ray," "Bould Jack Donohue" (new) "Dashing Through the Snow," "Little Daisey," "My Sunny Home," "My Love's Gone," "The Grave of Lottie Lee," "Bow-wow-wow," "Come Birdie Come."

The San Francisco Minstrels, a leading minstrel troupe for many years, was noted for its fine singers, in 1872. Dave S. Wambold, the sweetest singer in minstrelsy sang "My Little One's Waiting for Me"; Charley Backus, end man the comic ditty "Its Hard to Love." Billy Birch, the famous end man sang "Liza Jane"; C. Templeton, "Little Darling, Linger Near Me"; E. Markham, "When the Moon with Glory Brightens"; J. F. Oberist, "Tryolean Song"; Bobby Newcomb, "When the Bells are Ringing," a song and dance. Bryant's Minstrels, sang "Be Gay and Banish Sorrow," opening chorus. The "Great Bernado," "Killarney"; Dave Reed, end song "Cackle, Cackle"; W. F. Stanley, "Mollie Darling" J. A. Barney, sang his own song "Kiss Me to Sleep, Mother;" Dan Bryant, his comic end song "Machine Poetry"; Chas. D'Albert, "See, Sir, See"; during their overture in 1872.

"Happy" Cal Wagner's had the following songs in his 1872

troupe, "Come Back Birdie," Charlie Heywood; "Home By the Sea," J. W. Lambert; "Mollie Darling," J. H. Murphy; "Weeping Willow," E. M. Hall; "Oh, My Gal," and "Good Sweet Ham," sung with great success by Cal Wagner. Many may recall "Carry the News to Mary" made famous by this company.

Robert's Opera House—Hartford, Conn.

April 7, 1871

San Francisco Minstrels

Entertainment a La Salon

Part Premier

Overture, arranged by C. Lavallo.....Orchestra

Ballad, "Merry Land of Childhood".....C. Templeton

Tryolean SongJ. F. Oberist

Comic Song, "Hannah Maria".....Charley Backus

Ballad, "God Bless the Little Church Around the Corner,"

D. S. Wambold

Comic Refrain, "The Darkey's Dream,".....Billy Birch

Ballad, "The Grave of Lottie Lee,".....Wm. Dwyer

Finale, "Campagne Galop," She's a Gal of Mine," introducing

the Railroad Overture, with all effects—arranged by C.

Lavelle, San Francisco Minstrels.

Part Second.....Dr. Livingston's African Cabinet

The Two Morning Glories

John Queen—and—Billy West

Little Miss Skillet

Composed and Sung by Rollin Howard

Dr. Hemlock's Office

Dr. Hemlock—J. F. Oberist—William Greely—Billy Birch

Cramps Billy Emmett

Favorite BalladWilliam Dwyer

Happy Nigga Joseph

Billy West

Living pictures of great artists

Charley Backus

See—Ell—Oh—Gee Dance

Johnny Queen

The whole to conclude with the screaming burlesque,

THE GREAT COURT SCENE

Judge Barnyard	Billy Birch
Lawyer Cool	Billy West
Count Joe Blackers	Charley Backus
General Baum	W. Bernard
Clerk of Court.....	G. W. Ruckerfeler
Officer	J. F. Oberist
Prisoners	Wambold & Emmett
Witness	C. F. Shattuck

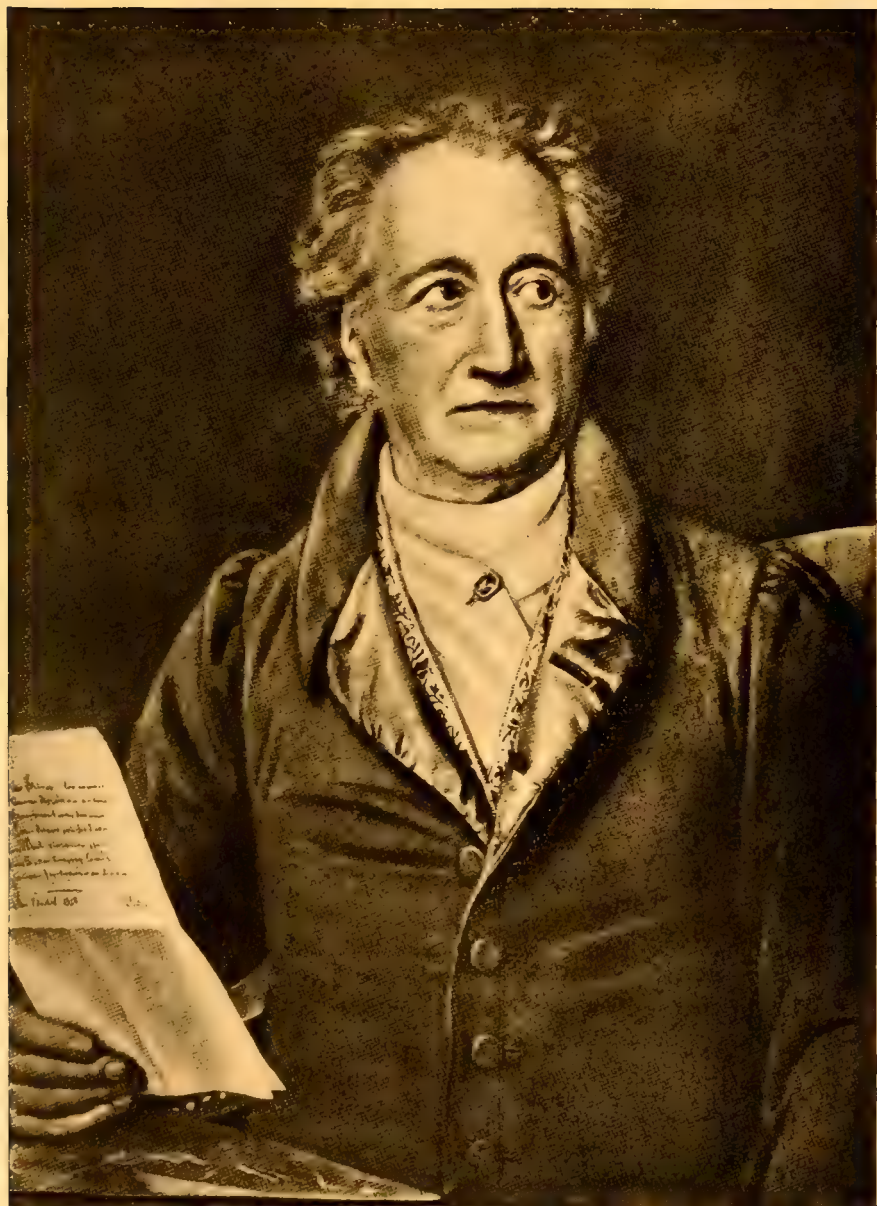
Goethe and the Panama Canal

BY G. K. SMITH

IN view of the fact that the Panama Canal is so soon to be opened to the commerce of the world, it is interesting to know that the great German poet, Goethe, who died in 1832, foresaw the building of the Isthmian Canal many years before such a project had even been suggested. Goethe prophetic utterance was based upon the fact that he realized the part that such a canal would play in promoting the interests of a great nation such as the United States was destined to become, not to mention its effect in the development of civilization.

Nearly every philosopher who has left the legacy of his genius to succeeding generations has found a certain comfort in the autumn of his life by turning prophet. Voltaire and Rousseau and many of the later Germans were notable examples. Among these last mentioned, Goethe assumed the role most entertainingly and most spontaneously, but with entire disregard for the preservation of his prophetic thoughts.

What we know of Goethe as prophet is chiefly owing to the restless and indefatigable Johann Peter Eckermann—a person fully as persistent, if not so verbose, as James Boswell—whose “*Gesprache mit Goethe*” has a place of honor in every German library, although untranslated and little known to English readers. Eckermann lived in Weimar through the last ten years of Goethe’s life; scarcely a day passed that he did not visit the poet, then a retired State minister, living quietly and absenting himself from court and theatre alike, so that Eckermann’s work is a careful daily gathering of the intellectual crumbs that fell from the feast of Goethe’s alert and active brain, arranged somewhat in the form of a diary. Thus he reports the conver-



GOETHE

sation which took place February 21, 1827. Goethe, on this day, says Eckerman, spoke with admiration of Alexander von Humboldt, whose work on Cuba and Colombia he had begun reading and whose opinion of the project of cutting through the isthmus seemed to have a special appeal for him.

"Humboldt" said Goethe, "has pointed out, with an accurate understanding of the subject, several other places, where, by the utilization of a number of streams flowing into the Gulf of Mexico, the object might be more readily attained. The solution of this problem, is left to the enterprising spirit of a future generation. Yet this much is certain, if a canal, capable of transporting vessels of every size and tonage from the Gulf of Mexico to the Pacific Ocean, were constructed it would produce incalculable advantage for civilized and uncivilized humanity. And I should be greatly surprised if the United States missed their opportunity to accomplish such an enterprise.

"It is to be anticipated that this young nation, with its pronounced westward movement, will, within thirty or forty years, have taken possession of the great stretches of land beyond the Rocky Mountains and populated them. Furthermore, it is probable that all along the Pacific Coast where Nature has provided safe and spacious harbors, there will in time rise up many commercially important coast cities to handle an important trade between the United States and China and the East Indies. But, under these circumstances, it would be not only desirable, but almost essential, that merchant vessels, as well as warships, maintain more rapid communication between the East and West coasts of North America than has hitherto been possible by way of the tedious, disagreeable, and expensive journey around Cape Horn.

"I repeat, therefore; it is absolutely essential for the United States to establish a passage from the Gulf of Mexico to the Pacific Ocean, and I am sure they will attain this end.

"I should like to live to see this, but I shall not. I should also like to see a connection established between the Danube and the Rhine. Yet this undertaking, too, is so gigantic that I doubt its accomplishment, especially when I consider our German financial limitations.

“Finally, I should like to see the English in possession of a Suez Canal. These three great things I should like to see accomplished. It would be well worth while on their account to bear with life for several half-centuries to come.”

Incidentally, it is interesting to know that Johns Hopkins University is to be the recipient of a bust of Goethe, the gift of Grand Duke Wilhelm Ernst of Saxe-Weimar, the Grand Duchy famed as the home of the poet. The original, from which this bust is to be a copy, was discovered accidentally several years ago and is now one of the great attractions in the Goethe National Museum in Weimar. The new bust will be formally presented to the university next year—about the same time that the canal which Goethe predicted more than eighty years ago, is opened to navigation.

In Search of the Right Road

A STUDY OF THE POLITICAL SITUATION

BY ARNO DORSH

THIS is a day of strange mix-ups. We all think we know what we want and we want much the same thing, but we are going after it by many different roads. There are those who say the roads all come out together on the other side of the mountain, that some go over and the others around, and some of us believe we have discovered a tunnel through it. But it is yet to be proved that, while the roads all start from the same point, they will all arrive at the same sign post in the land into which we are traveling.

The chief trouble is, I think, that we don't know the roads. There are undoubtedly large armies travelling until they are footsore, with hope shining in their faces, who have a vague goal in view but are not on the right road. I have recently discovered that my own directions were wrong. Either that, or the directions of some very eminent statesmen are not absolutely clear. I have always held myself a Democrat, spelled with both a large and a small "d," but I had occasion to talk with several of the leading insurgents, or Progressives, in Congress and I found that I agreed with them in everything. And I also learned from them that they were greatly in fear of being balked in obtaining their goals by the members of my own party. Am I then a Democrat or an Insurgent—a Progressive?

The answer to the question is that it does not make very much difference. In the policies of the day we are either progressives or reactionaries. It is the day of the progressives. We who are trying to find the goal on the other side of the mountain are

all progressives. We may go under a variety of names, but what we want is a fair chance between man and man. We all want that, and I think that is all we want. There may be some underdogs who hope for an upheaval so they can get on top, but they are in the minority. The great progressive movement is not selfish. That is what gives it strength.

Like all the others who are following these new roads, I believe I am on the right road and I seem to be in a considerable company and it is my purpose here to tell about it. If we are wrong, we have yet to learn it, although it must be admitted that there is another, rapidly growing company which is going a very different road and which is just as sure that it is on the main track. As both companies are absolutely certain they are right, the only benefit to be derived from talking about the matter is that there is undoubtedly a large following to one of these companies which is only sure it is right because it has been told so, and understands the way so little that, at this point, where the roads have not as yet diverged to any great extent, they are switching back from one to the other quite unconsciously.

These two roads really lead—one to Democracy and the other to Socialism. Of the two, the road to Democracy is the older one, the one we Americans most naturally follow. As a nation we have been striving towards democracy for almost a century and a half and we have been drawing steadily nearer to it. We are not there yet, but there are real statesmen abroad in the land who know what democracy looks like and they are leading the country steadily towards it. The best known of these are the men whom we know as the modern Insurgents. They are by blood and tradition, Americans of the older stock. Whatever they may come to call themselves in time, it is my belief that among them will be found a Moses to lead us out of the wilderness. If this statement seems too specific for a general argument, it is made here because of the men themselves. Every one of them is an intense individualist. Each believes in every man for himself within his rights. Where they differ from another class of statesmen is that they have a clearer view of what a man's rights really are. For instance, they do not believe a man is necessarily within his rights because he is within the

law. The law may allow him too great latitude. If so, they say, amend the law and establish a new limit to each man's rights. As civilization advances, the laws are certainly bound to lag behind. Their purpose is to bring the laws up-to-date. And that is their whole purpose. By device, by law, by the reestablishing of public conscience to meet changes they can see the steady progress toward democracy.

At the same time they are fully conscious of the shortcomings of human kind. They look for no utopia. They know there is no reaching an absolute goal, but it is possible to come much nearer to it than we are at present. The attitude of progressives reaching for democracy is based on the same reasoning as the homely analogy used to explain a famous mathematical principle. It is this: if a cat at the bottom of a well jumps half way out, then half the remaining distance and so on—theoretically it will never get out of the well. But, practically, it will come mighty near it, and, for all worldly purposes, it will get out of the well.

The human family in its way out of the well has in this country got to some of the shorter jumps. It has a good many jumps yet ahead of it, before it can begin to consider itself anywhere near out, but it is pretty well along. Now come the Socialists who are growing tired of these short jumps and say, "We don't believe in that mathematical, or human, principle. We believe we can get all the way out and clear away with one good jump." Naturally they have many listeners.

The big split among us is, then, between those who believe in the short jumps and those who are for one grand leap. I'll admit the men who are advocating the grand leap have something more spectacular with which to appeal to the imagination and many of the things they advocate and which they now claim as their own have been tried and successfully worked out, but the great central problem—the grand leap itself—has not yet been taken anywhere—is absolutely untried. Might it not land the cat again at the bottom of the well?

The aviator Rodgers, when he had made the truly remarkable flight across the American continent, grew impatient after he had come almost within sight of the Pacific, and was not content

to proceed with the same caution which had brought him so far. He attempted to cover the last few miles without sufficient consideration to detail. The result was a bad fall that almost prevented the completion of the most spectacular flight made with the aeroplane. We who have come so far towards our goal are likely to meet the same fate if we hurry unduly toward the end.

For we are well on in our course. The human race has come a long way. The system of dealing out justice between man and man as individuals has proved as successful as any human device for securing justice could be expected to be. And it is steadily taking new jumps.

There have been quite a number of Socialists—out-and-out Socialists—elected to office in recent years. Quite a number of new Socialist mayors were added to the list last November. What I should like to ask is whether the men who voted for them really understood Socialism. I have heard a good many Socialists speak, and I have noticed that they bear down chiefly on the ills to be corrected. If they outline the final purpose of Socialism, it is only an outline they give, and a sketchy one at that. I am firmly convinced that if they campaigned on the issue of Socialism alone, and did not play on the evils and miscarriages of justice under which we all travel, very few of them would be elected. I do not think that the American people want Socialism. Comparatively few, even among those who vote its ticket, know what Socialism really is.

The truth seems to be that Socialism is growing on account of the very obvious unrest. Socialism offers the most radical remedy, and gets a radical following. Democracy, which can claim the right to cure the same evils gets a more intelligent following. Socialism has also grown on account of the large recent European emigration from the very parts of Europe where socialistic thought has been the keenest.

Socialism is a natural outgrowth of conditions in Europe, and many of the conditions in Europe are beginning to find a counterpart in this country. Why did Schenectady elect a Socialist mayor? You need only see the live thousand men leave the works of General Electric Company to understand why. Let a Socialist campaigner say to those men, "You do not own your

tools. A private corporation owns them. Why not have the State own them, and then you will own them?" That argument strikes home. "Then," adds the campaigner, "that is the only way for you to have industrial democracy as well as political equality." This is a proposition that ought to be understood by the simplest mind. With such arguments brought forward by the Socialists every industrial community where there are large factories threatens to become a hot-bed for the cultivation of Socialism. And, in fact, most of them are so, at least to a certain degree.

Now, to a Democrat this situation is alarming. Because democracy has nothing that talks as well as Socialism. It is not possible to get the ear of men by advocating many small jumps when they have just had offered them one grand jump that promises to relieve them of their burden at once.

Nevertheless, it is only by short jumps that we can get out. It is not my purpose here to discuss Socialism and whether it would fail, or become corrupt, or revert into a state of anarchy, or, as the anarchist put it, "attain to the heights of anarchy." I merely wish to show those who are shifting unconsciously between the two ways, Democracy and Socialism, that, at the present time, we are near together—we are trying for the present to correct the same patent evils—but that the ends we are striving for are very different. It does not make any difference how complete a picture the Socialists can paint and it is not worth arguing whether you, a good deal of an individualist, would get along very well in a state of Socialism. All that is necessary to say, at this period in the course, is that democracy is something we know about. Our country was founded on a basis of democracy. The principle of it was understood at the beginning and we have been gradually working out that principle until to-day we understand pretty clearly what is necessary to obtain and hold democracy—true liberty—for everyone. We understand that there is no such thing as a utopia—that it is as distant as universal peace—but we know that we keep getting nearer both. The development of the movement towards peace has followed natural lines. The progress made has been along the only possible lines—the establishment of fact before arbitra-

tion courts. If we relied on the enthusiasts who stood about and cried for disarmament and the abolition of war at once, we would never get anywhere. Peace is not to be obtained at a bound. You cannot get out of the war-well that way either.

So, if we listen to the cry of the Socialists for immediate equality, we shall get no further out of the well than the peace movement when it had only the enthusiasts yelling for it. Neither peace nor democracy are to be had by painting lovely pictures of what might be. But both are going to be obtained eventually—as far as the limitations of human nature will permit. Both are pretty far out of their wells. It is our duty as citizens to see that all the short jumps are taken at the right time and to show the enthusiast that he will get what he really wants if he will only take the short jumps with us.

The First Electric Power Station

BY W. K. CHAPMAN

THIRTY years ago the 4th of last month—September 4, 1882, to be exact—Thomas A. Edison began the operation of the first central station for the supply of incandescent electric lighting for commercial purposes that the world had ever know.

It was 3 o'clock in the afternoon of that day, in an old brick building, a converted warehouse, in lower Pearl street, that steam was turned into a single dynamo and current was sent through underground cables into about 400 lamps that had been distributed through a territory about a mile square.

The newspaper accounts of this demonstration read curiously in this day. While it was generally admitted that the exhibition had been a success so far as proving that the incandescent bulbs gave light, there was a dubious feeling running through the reports as to whether the invention could be made commercially successful.

In *The New York Sun's* report Edison's appearance on that occasion was thus described: "He wore a white, high crowned derby hat and collarless shirt," and, in an interview which followed, Mr. Edison was quoted:

"I have accomplished all that I promised. We have a greater demand for light than we can supply at present, owing to the insufficiency of men to put down the wires."

Since that day thirty years ago New York City has had electric lighting with only two interruptions, the second and most serious one of which was in 1890, when the old Pearl street station was destroyed by fire.

On this occasion before the flames even had been routed new

dynamos were ordered. In less than four hours time service had been re-established in other quarters. One of the old "jumbo" dynamos, designed by Edison himself, was saved from the fire, and is now treasured as a relic of the old days.

Thirty years ago fifteen miles of underground cable sufficed to connect all the installations. Now 1,400 miles of "underground" sends current to 5,250,000 lamps, while the bills are ticked off by 159,000 meters.

The first electric motor was put on the lines in 1884. For six months previously it lay upon the shelf before any one could be found who was willing to experiment with this novel apparatus. Today, in New York city alone, 336,000 horsepower is used in motors.

Instead of the old reconstructed brick building at 257 Pearl street that housed the six "jumbos," as the old time generators were called, there are now two Bastille-like structures covering two city blocks.

What Autographs are Worth

AN INTERVIEW WITH WALTER R. BENJAMIN

MR. WALTER R. BENJAMIN, who knows as much about autographs and their value as any man in America, recently consented to be interviewed upon this subject.

"The autographs of women do not hold out well," said Mr. Benjamin. "Take the women writers of the last century."

"There are only a few of them that bring good prices. Jane Austen comes highest. She died pretty young, only about 40, and I guess she didn't write many letters. Anyway they're rare now. Have to pay about \$75 for one. That's more than you'd have to pay for lots of the men.

"Mrs. Browning comes pretty high too for a woman. She's more expensive than her husband. You can get a good Robert Browning letter for about \$10, but you'd have to pay \$15 or \$25 for one of his wife's. Of course she was an invalid and didn't write a great many letters. George Eliot and Charlotte Brontë keep up very well indeed at around \$30 a letter. You see they have not only the big reputation but they led interesting lives too. So you have the personality factor to boost the price.

"But you take most women writers. They don't hold out. There's Harriet Beecher Stowe. She used to go first rate, but she fell off terribly for a while. Hardly anybody wanted her. She's been picking up some lately though. Marie Corelli had a kind of a spurt for a time, but," he shook his head, "she's gone off again. Here's a good Christmas Rossetti letter. It's worth only \$3.50. Mme. de Staël holds on pretty well, but nobody cares much about George Sand or the rest of the French women writers.

“And queens! Why there are a hundred men collecting kings to one that wants queens. Elizabeth’s about the only one that comes high. Her signature on a document would bring about \$75. Mary Queen of Scots? Oh, she’s impossible! You just can’t get hold of her at all. If you could find her signature and annex the document you could mark your property up several hundred dollars.

“But most of the queens are very slow. Here’s Queen Anne, for instance. Almost no demand at all for her. I don’t know why. And here’s a Queen Caroline letter. She was a wife of one of the Georges, but \$6 or \$7 is all she’ll bring. Catherine the Great of Russia or Catherine de Medici, that’s different. They’re rare and in demand too. That makes them valuable. Victoria is reasonable, a signed document for \$3 and say \$25 for an autograph letter.

“Letters signed by Edward VII bring about \$20. That reminds me that quite a good while ago an English actor sold me a bunch of six or seven letters which Edward VII, then Prince of Wales, had written to Mrs. Langtry. I sold them for \$25, but later they were sold at an auction and brought as high as \$90 a letter. They were just pleasant epistles of no special interest except for the fact that they were written by the Prince to Mrs. Langtry.

“I haven’t happened to see any autograph letters or documents of the present King, but I should start a signed document at about \$10 and letters at \$15 if I got any of them. Kings don’t always come high. Frederick the Great, for instance, seems to have signed rafts of documents and letters. I have two or three with his characteristic signature of ‘Fritz’ written without taking the pen from the paper and looking more like a double bow knot than like ‘Fritz.’ They’re \$5 apiece. Charles II. of England is cheap too at \$15, considering the interest attaching to him. But Peter the Great of Russia comes higher. I’ve a signed document dated 1724 with the great seal of Russia that costs \$60. You can buy signed letters of the present Emperor William for \$10 apiece.

Collectors have all sorts of fancies. Some want royalties, some want actors and actresses, some want writers. More peo-

ple go in for writers than for any other one line. Women collectors almost always want literary persons. Some women collect bishops, but most of them want writers. Then there are the collectors of actors and actresses and musicians. Some years ago there were several really fine collections along that line. Augustin Daly's was probably the best, but that was dispersed at his death. There isn't the same demand now for that class, although there's a fairly steady market for the best of them.

"There's Mrs. Siddons. She brings \$30; and Kitty Clive, who is rare, fetched more than twice as much. But you can buy Bernhardt or Ellen Terry or Maude Adams for \$3 or \$4 apiece. Duse is the most expensive living actress. She costs \$6 or \$7; but ordinarily successful actors and actresses can be had for 75 cents each. Sometimes a man will pay a little more for a pair of associated letters; for instance one each from Gilbert and Sullivan. These make a neat little framing piece, side by side, and with photographs of the two men added. The letters would cost \$2 each.

"Musicians are in fair demand; but the most interest of course is in the signed score. Here are two Wagner letters; one a note written in response to an invitation in 1845. The other, a long letter about 'The Flying Dutchman,' was written in 1874 and is what is called a 'contents letter.' That is, it is not only autograph writing but it deals with an interesting subject. That naturally adds to the value. The first one is \$25, the other \$40. Here is a signed score, one sheet, by Verdi, dated 1839, that is rated at \$15. Beethoven would cost \$30 to \$50 according to what it was, Mozart about \$75 and Haydn and Bach considerably more.

"You see autographs are divided into four classes. First there is just the signature. It may have been cut from a letter which the recipient didn't want to sell, or didn't want the writer, if the latter were living, to know it had been sold. Or it may have been written on a card at the request of some autograph fiend.

"That's the first class. The second is 'the response to request,' the formal note in which the man says, 'I take pleasure in responding to your request for my autograph' and forthwith

signs his name. The third class is in two divisions, the signed document and the signed letter. The former consists of business or official papers to which a man's name is signed, as in the case of royalty or Government officials, Generals in the army, Cabinet officers, Senators and Representatives. The signed letter is one written by a secretary and merely signed by the person whose autograph is in demand.

"The fourth class is the only one that interests the more serious collectors. It is the holograph, or full autograph letter, everyword of which is written by the signer. If in addition it is a 'contents letter' we have the best class of autograph matter. If further it is a rarity that is the acme of value. There are men, however, who collect only signatures. There are some, too, who want only one page letters, because these can be mounted to show the whole epistle from beginning to end.

"The part that rarity plays in fixing the value of an autograph has a good showing in the case of United States Supreme Court Justices. Most people wonder who would want to collect these Justices, but it's a fad with a great many lawyers. They like to have a complete set in their office. You'd naturally think that men like Marshall and Taney would come higher than any of the rest, but you can buy Taney for \$2 and you have to pay only \$7.50 for John Marshall. But the man who is the despair of everybody is Alfred Moore.

"Not one person in a hundred thousand ever heard of Moore. Yet his signature brings \$80 and is scarce at that. He was a North Carolinian, who was a member of the Supreme Court for only a short time and who seems to have had a deep aversion toward writing his name. The rest of the forty or fifty Justices—that's all we've had in the history of the country—are easy to get except John Blair. You have to pay \$25 for him.

"Probably two of the most popular things with American collectors are sets of the Presidents and of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. There are only two Presidents whose signatures cost anything to speak of. Both Washington's and Lincoln's autographs bring \$10 a piece. That is for the mere signature of course, not for a letter. The rest cost from 50 cents to \$1 each, with the exception of Zackary Taylor, who had

a lame arm and spelled badly, two things which seem to make him disinclined to do much writing. His signatures therefore come at \$2.50 apiece. A complete set of the Presidents costs \$40 or thereabouts. Their letters vary in price according to the contents. Roosevelt epistles of special interest are about \$20, but he's written such an awful lot of them that there's no telling how they'll hold out in value.

"There are tides in autograph prices just as in everything else. The Mexican war, the War of 1812, the Spanish war might as well never have been fought so far as any present interest in the Generals who took part is concerned. And the civil war doesn't have anything like the interest to collectors it did have. There are only a few of its Generals whose autographs have any value. They were prominent men who were killed and whose signatures to military letters are therefore rare. Gens. J. B. McPerson Albert Sydney Johnston and Stonewall Jackson are the best of them. Of course Robert E. Lee and Grant bring better prices. Here's a Lee letter for \$25 about a fair for establishing a home for orphans of Confederate soldiers.

"There has been a slump in all autographs of that period, though the best ones will probably be higher in the future. Even Wilkes Booth has gone down from the \$100 which would have been paid twenty years ago for one of his letters to the \$50 it would bring to-day. I have one in my possession now from which the signature has been cut. It was written two or three months before the assassination of Lincoln. When that tragedy occurred it wasn't exactly healthy for a man to be suspected of intimacy with Booth, so the recipient of this letter evidently cut the signature off and destroyed it. There's an interesting thing in connection with Wilkes Booth autographs, and that is that some collectors won't have one of his signatures in their possession. They seem to have too deep a hatred of him.

"As for the two other assassins with which this country has been afflicted, you can buy Guiteau's signature for \$10, but you can't get that of Czolgosz at any price. Guiteau used to write his autograph and sell it for a dollar while he was in jail. Kept himself in pocket money that way. But Czolgosz was kept absolutely secluded. He was not allowed to write anything. He

really was too ignorant to do much of it anyway. After his execution every scrap of his belongings was destroyed. People tried all sorts of schemes to secure something over his signature but the only person to succeed, so far as I know, was the late John Boyd Thacher of Albany. He got something through one of the wardens I think. The Thacher collection had another valuable letter that might come in the same class. It was written by Charlotte Corday and brought \$500.

"There are collectors who are interested in all these lines, but the main demand in this country is for American historical signatures and for writers.' Any letter written by Thackeray brings \$25 and the price goes up to \$200, according to the contents. Dickens costs from \$10 to \$150, Burns from \$50 to \$250, Shelley from \$75 to \$100, Keats rather more, as is he rarer; Lamb from \$20 up. Lewis Carroll is in good demand at from \$12.50 to \$15. A good letter of Kipling will bring \$8, and Barrie at \$2 isn't high. Stevenson is the most expensive of the recent writers. I sold beautiful letters of his years ago at \$2 apiece. I wish I had them now. They would bring \$25 each at least. Oscar Wilde is picking up wonderfully. Letters that sold for 25 cents years ago are bringing \$20 now.

"The finest private collection in the country is probably that of Simon Gratz of Philadelphia. The Lenox Library and the Pennsylvania Historical Society have the best in any of our institutions. The finest private collection in New York city is that of Adrian H. Joline. Charles F. Gunther of Chicago has an extraordinary collection so far as range and numbers go. He has dozens of Lincolns and Washingtons and a remarkable civil war museum of relics in addition to the autograph end of it. But the Gratz collection, which is probably worth half a million dollars, is remarkable because it is so complete. He doesn't run to duplicates but to comprehensiveness and quality. I suppose there are hundreds of thousands of different items in that collection. The best collectors now, those who are doing the buying, are in the Western cities. The Eastern men have their biggest buying done. The South is taking a hand lately, but chiefly with the purpose of getting back the records that were taken out of the South during the carpent baggers' regime. The greatest collectors, though, are the English."



SEA GULL MONUMENT, TEMPLE SQUARE, SALT LAKE CITY.

History of the Mormon Church

BY BRIGHAM H. ROBERTS, Assistant Historian of the Church

CHAPTER LXXVI

LIFE IN SALT LAKE VALLEY—CRICKETS AND SEA GULLS—FIRST
HARVEST—ADVENT OF GOLD SEEKERS—UNEXPECTED RICHES

THE Spring months of 1848 were full of anxiety for the colony of Saints in Salt Lake Valley. By dint of untiring industry during the fall and winter of 1847-8, they had constructed, notwithstanding the scarcity of material for that purpose and the distance it had to be brought out of the mountains, 3,638 rods, or nearly twelve miles of fence. This made one inclosure of more than five thousand acres, and included in it the chief part of the then city plat.¹ Within this inclosure about 2,000 acres of fall wheat was sown; and as the winter had been mild, and open so that plows could be kept running through part of every month of the winter,

1. "To many it may be interesting to know what portion of the Valley was first fenced," writes Geo. Q. Cannon, and then gives the following description: "On the north, the line of fence commenced at a steep point in the bluffs just south of the Warm Springs—a little east and south of the present Bath House—and ran directly from there to the northwest corner of the Fort; it then started from the southeast corner of the Fort and bore east to some distance beyond Mill Creek, and then east to the bluffs at the foot of the mountains. . . . The land designed for agriculture extended from the north fork of City Creek—which at that time ran through the Temple Block and through what is now known as the 17th and 16th Wards—to one mile south of Mill Creek; on the east it was bounded by the bench and on the west by the east line of the Fort. In this space there were 5,133 acres taken for tilling." Hist. of the Ch.—Cannon—*Juvenile Instructor*, Vol. XIX, p. 89.

much more land was prepared for spring sowing and planting, variously estimated at between 3,000 and 4,000 acres.²

This was the crop planted for the harvest of 1848. But meantime provisions were running low in the colony, and there were those who were already destitute; and of course there was always the haunting fear that the crop planted might fail as so many of the mountaineers met *en route* had predicted.

In this emergency a public meeting was held and the proposition made that the whole camp be put on rations, that those who were already destitute might be supplied with food. This was agreed to and bishop Edward Hunter and Tarlton Lewis were appointed to act in behalf of the destitute, and see that they did not suffer.³ Beef was scarce as the cattle must be kept for work-teams and the cows for milk. The few "beef" that were killed were poor and their meat tough.⁴

Prevailing hunger drove many in search of the earliest vegetation that made its appearance. This was the hardy thistle, native to the valley, the tops of which were gathered and used for "greens," and pronounced excellent;⁵ the roots of the this-

2. Elder John Taylor in a letter to the Saints in Great Britain under date of Dec. 7th, 1847, reports 2,000 acres of wheat sown, "and great numbers of plows are incessantly going." Also speaks of the colony having put in 2,000 bushels of wheat, "all of which has been drawn a distance of from 1,300 to 1,500 miles"; also mentions the intention to put in about 3,000 acres of corn and other grain with the opening of spring. (*Mill. Star*, Vol. XIX, p. 324, Et. Seq.). Cannon says that at the beginning of March 872 acres were sown with winter wheat; . . . The balance of the land 4,260 acres was designed for spring and summer crops." Hist. of the Church, *Juvenile Instructor*, Vol. XIX, p. 89. See also Letters quoted by Richards, *Mill. Star*, XI, 8, 9.

3. Cannon, Hist. of the Ch. *Juvenile Instructor*, Vol. XIX 68.

4. In one instance "It was so tough," that in sawing the joints Elder Taylor suggested that it would be necessary "to grease the saw to make it work!" Horne's Migration Ms., p. 26. Quoted by Bancroft Hist. Utah, p. 275, note.

5. Cannon Hist. of the Church *Juvenile Instructor*, Vol. XIX, 68. "Bulk is as necessary as nutriment to food," he remarks. "To have the stomach full was an agreeable sensation, even if the contents were only thistle tops. People thrived better on a much smaller quantity of flour with plenty of greens than they did on flour alone."

The *Sego*, classified by Stansbury as *Calochortus luteus* (See his report to U. S. Government on the survey of the Great Salt Lake—1852—pp. 160, 208), by others as *Calochortus Nuttallii* (See Century Dictionary), is a bulbous root varying in size, from small onions to walnuts, very palatable and nutritious. It abounds on hill sides and in stony ground in great quantities. It bears a beautiful white, lily-like flower, with rich gold and purple markings at the base of the petals; and is now the flower-emblem of the state of Utah, chosen perhaps as much out of sympathetic recollection of the uses made of it for food in the early days of the salt Lake Colony, as for its rare beauty.

tle were also cooked and eaten. The sego root was used as an article of food, the colonists in this but following the custom of the native Indians. Some deaths occurred from eating poisonous roots, chiefly the wild parsnip that grew in the valley.

Meantime March and April passed, and May came on. The colonists noted with joy that their grain which sprouted early promised a strong and healthy growth. Its color was rich, it stood well, and barring frosts, late and early, the harvest would be a bounteous one. But before May passes an unlooked for pests makes its appearance. The Pioneers when entering the valley, it will be remembered, noted that in the foot hills there were great numbers of large, black crickets, which then excited but a passing remark. Now, however, in this month of May, they came swarming from the foot hills literally by millions, and descended upon the new-made fields of grain. They devoured all before them as they came to it. Their appetite never abated. They cutting and grinding day and night, leaving the fields bare and brown behind them. There seemed to be no end to their numbers. They could not fly, their only means of locomotion was by clumsily hopping a scant foot at a time—hence, once in the fields, the difficulty of getting them out; and they came in myriads, increasing daily. Holes were dug and for the radius of a rod the pests were surrounded by women and children, and driven into them and buried—bushels of them at a time; and this was repeated again and again; but what was the use? This method seemed not to affect the numbers of the pests. Then the men plowed ditches around the wheat fields, turned in the water and drove the black vermine into the running streams and thus carried them from the fields and destroyed them by hundreds of thousands—all to no purpose; as many as ever seemed to remain, and more were daily swarming from the hills. Fire was tried, but to no better purpose. Man's ingenuity was baffled. He might as well try to sweep back the rising tide of ocean with a broom as prevail against these swarming pests by the methods tried. Insignificant, these inch or inch and a half long insects separately, but in millions, terrible! The incident illustrates the formidableness of mere numbers. Since the days of Egypt's curse of locusts there was

probably nothing like it. The failure to destroy these pests spelled famine to these first settlers of Salt Lake Valley. It meant starvation to the companies of thousands of women and children then *enroute* across the plains. Small wonder if the hearts of the colonists failed them. They looked at each other in helpless astonishment. They were beaten. That is something awful for strong men to admit, especially when beaten by units so insignificant. Meantime the ceaseless gnawing of the ruthless and insatiable invader went on. The brown patches of the wheat fields grew larger. Soon all would be bare and brown, and hope of food and life would disappear with the recently green wheat fields.

Then the miraculous happened. I say it deliberately, the miraculous happened, as men commonly view the miraculous. There was heard the shrill, half scream, half plaintive cry of some Sea Gulls hovering over the Pioneer's wheat fields. Presently they light and begin devouring the crickets. Others come—thousands of them—from over the lake. The upper feathers of the Gulls' wing are tinted with a delicate gray, and some of the flight feathers, primaries, to be exact, are marked with black, but the prevailing color is white; and as they came upon the new wheat fields, stretched upward and then gracefully folded their wings and began devouring the devourers, to the cricket-vexed colonists they seemed like white-winged angels of deliverance. They were tireless in their destructive—nay, their *saving* work. It was noted that when they were glutted with crickets they would go to the streams, drink, vomit and return again to the slaughter. And so it continued, day after day, until the plague was stayed, and the crops of the Pioneers saved.⁶

Is it matter for wonder that the lake sea gull was held as sa-

6. The incident is well attested in all our annals. See "Answers to Questions" 1869, by Geo. A. Smith, Church Historian, 1854-1875, p. 17. Geo. Q. Cannon, an eye witness of the event, after describing the descent of the crickets upon the fields, writes: "At the time when the prospects began to appear most gloomy, and all human power seemed useless, the sea gulls came in flocks, visited the fields, pounced upon the crickets and devoured them. They killed and ate until they were filled, then vomited and ate again. On Sunday the fields were deserted by the people, who devoted the day to worship. This was a feast for the gulls—they devoured without let or hindrance. On Monday morning, on visiting the fields, the people found on the edges of the water ditches, the place where the crickets were always the most numerous, pile after pile of dead crickets which had been eaten by the gulls, and then vomited when they were full." *Hist. of the Ch. Juvenile Instructor*, Vol. XIX, p. 100.

ered by the early Utah settlers, and that later it was protected by legislative enactments.⁷

The reports of the harvest of 1848 vary somewhat, doubtless influenced by the view point of the narrator. To many of the colonists on the ground, who had felt the pinch of hunger, the vegetables and grains seemed abundant, and the fruitfulness of the soil phenomenal;⁸ while to those who regarded the harvest as to its real results only, and without having hungrily waited for it, are less enthusiastic.⁹ The harvest, however, was

7. See Laws of Utah for 1897, p. 97. The incident is to be commemorated by the erection of the Sea Gull Monument now in process of building on Temple Square, Salt Lake City. See *note* I end of Chapter.

8. On August the 9th, the Council in the valley wrote: "Our wheat harvest is over, the grain is splendid and clean, but being mostly in shock and stack, we cannot state the number of bushels; however, we are all agreed that the wheat crop has done wonderfully well, considering all the circumstances, and that we can raise more and better wheat to the acre in this valley, than in any place any of us ever saw; and the same with all other grains, vegetables, etc., that we have tried. . . . Green peas have been so plentiful for a long time that we are becoming tired of them; cucumbers, squashes, beets, carrots, parsnips, and greens are upon our tables, as harbingers of abundance in their respective departments," etc. (*Mill. Star*, Vol. X, p. 370). An excerpt from a letter of Parley P. Pratt's to his brother Orson says: "We are greatly blessed in gardens, in wheat, in corn, and in all things I have set my hands unto. I have raised some sixty bushels of good wheat without irrigation; a few bushels of rye and oats, and my corn in the field looks as well as any corn I ever saw in the States. The wheat crop has exceeded all expectation; oats do better than in the States—say sixty bushels to one of sowing on sod ground; every kind of vegetable suited to the northern latitude does well." (*Ibid*).

"Such are the general extracts" (i. e. from letters) says Thomas Bullock, "which are abundantly confirmed by men who have lived in the valley; amongst other things, they report, that Elder Levi Hancock sowed eleven pounds weight of California wheat on the 14th of April, and reaped twenty-two bushels the latter part of July; he sowed half a bushel of English common wheat, on an acre and a half, and reaped upwards of twenty bushels; one grain of seven eared wheat produced seventy-two ears. Barley that was sowed, ripened and was reaped, and carried off,—the land then irrigated, and produced from the roots a fresh crop, four times the quantity of the first crop. Oats that were sown produced a good crop, were cut down and cleared, the roots again sprung up and produced a beautiful crop. Peas first planted, a good crop ripened, gathered; then planted this spring, produced beets as thick as my leg which went to seed and yielded a great quantity. Cabbage seed planted this spring, produced seed again." (*Ibid*). In the same communication, Bullock reports 248 children born, by the 9th of August, 1848. (Letter of Thomas Bullock to Dr. Levi Richards in England, dated at the South Pass, Aug. 24th, 1848. *Mill. Star*, X, pp. 369-70).

9. A less enthusiastic report of this first harvest is to be found in an Epistle of the First Presidency's, written after their arrival in the valley, Oct. 1848. Their report of the harvest is as follows: "Most of their early crops were destroyed, in the month of May, by crickets and frost, which continued occasionally until June; while the latter harvest was injured by drought and frost, which commenced its injuries about the 10th of October, and by the out-breaking of herds of cattle. The brethren were not sufficiently numerous to fight the crickets, irrigate the crops, and fence the farm of their extensive planting, consequently they suffered heavy losses; though the experiment of last year is sufficient to prove that valuable crops may be raised in this valley by an attentive and judicious management." (*Mill. Star*, Vol. XI, 228).

accepted by all as a successful experiment, and demonstrated the feasibility of raising vegetables and grains, and perhaps fruit, of the temperate zones in the Salt Lake Valley.

A public "harvest feast" celebrated the ingathering of the first crop. It was held on the 10th of August, and there was food in abundance. "Large sheaves of wheat, rye, barley and other productions were hoisted on poles for public exhibition," writes Parley P. Pratt; "and there was prayer and thanksgiving, congratulations, songs, speeches, music, dancing, smiling faces and merry hearts. In short, it was a great day with the people of these valleys, and long to be remembered by those who had suffered and waited anxiously for the results of a first effort to redeem the interior deserts of America, and to make her hitherto unknown solitudes 'blossom as the rose' "¹⁰

Notwithstanding the fairly good harvest of 1848, the large increase in the population by the immigration of that year—amounting as we have already seen to about two thousand souls—kept the people upon short allowance of food and finally made necessary the repetition of putting the community on rations,¹¹ and those having plenty dividing with those who had little or nothing, and resorting again to the use of thistles and sego roots in the spring. The hardships of the colonists were also increased this year because of the severity of the winter.¹² Prices of grain were reported to be, corn two dollars per bushel; wheat from four to five dollars a bushel, "and little to be had at that."¹³

The second harvest was better than the first, the acreage

10. Autobiography Parley P. Pratt, p. 406, also Life of John Taylor, p. 199. Cannon mentions also "the firing of cannon, music and dancing and loud shouts of Hosannah to God and the Lamb, in which all present joined." Hist. Ch. *Juvenile Instructor*, Vol. XIX, p. 100.

11. There is, however, at this time (March 9, 1849) a scarcity of breadstuffs, and there will be a scarcity till harvest which we hope for early in July." (Letter of "The Twelve in the Valley to Orson Pratt, under date of March 9th, 1849. *Mill. Star*, Vol. XI, p. 244, et seq.). A census was taken in February and the amount of breadstuff computed which disclosed that there would be "upwards of three-fourths of a pound per head per day from then till harvest, besides fifteen hundred bushels of seed wheat, and several hundred bushels of corn." (*Ibid*).

12. "This winter has been a cold and snowy one, nearly equal to the climate of New York. The snow covered the ground to some depth, for nearly three months, and finally disappeared, from parts of the valley, the latter end of February; since that time cold winds have prevailed, and light snows are frequent, which disappear immediately; the ploughs are beginning to move." (*Ibid*, p. 245).

13. Letter of the Twelve to Orson Pratt, *Ibid*, p. 245.



The First Landing of the Pilgrims in 1620

greatly increased,¹⁴ and the injury from drought and frost much less, although there was a heavy fall of snow on the 23rd of May, followed the next day "by a severe frost."¹⁵ But notwithstanding the better harvest and the increased acreage brought under cultivation, the supply of breadstuff and other food supplies fell below the needs of the community because of the influx of population. The immigrating Saints in the year 1849, came in five companies, of about five hundred wagons, and 1,400 people; led by Elders Orson Spencer, Allen Taylor, Silas Richards, George A. Smith, and Ezra T. Benson.¹⁶ But besides these companies of Saints, the "California gold seekers" began to arrive about the middle of July, "Since which time," writes the Presidency of the Church to Orson Hyde at Kanesville, "our peaceful valley has appeared like the half way house of the pilgrims to Mecca, and still they come and go, and probably will continue to do so till fall."¹⁷ And so indeed they did, and by thousands; but it is impossible to state the number with any assurance of accuracy.¹⁸ The numbers, however, were large

14. "Great preparations are being made for farming the coming season, and more than ten thousand acres will be enclosed and cultivated this summer." Letter of the Twelve to Orson Pratt. *Ibid*, p. 245.

15. General Epistle of the First Presidency "To the Saints Scattered Throughout the Earth." Oct. 12, 1849, *Mill. Star*, Vol. XII, p. 118 *et seq.* The grain crops in the valley have been good this season; wheat, barley, oats, rye, and peas, more particularly. The late corn and buckwheat, and some lesser grains and vegetables, have been materially injured by the recent frosts; and some early corn at Brownsville, [i. e. Ogden] forty miles north, a month since; and the buckwheat was severely damaged by hail at the Utah settlement, sixty miles South about three weeks since; but we have great occasion for thanksgiving to Him who giveth the increase, that He has blest our labours, so that with prudence we shall have a comfortable supply for ourselves, and our brethren on the way, who may be in need, until another harvest."

16. Hist. Brigham Young Ms. Journal entry 19th October, 1849. "Captain Dan Jones with a goodly number of Welsh Saints were included in Geo. A. Smith's company. This company did not leave the Missouri until the 14th of July. (See *Frontier Guardian* July 25th, 1849); the result was they experienced inconvenience and suffering from cold in the mountains. On the 2nd of October when on the Sweet Water, west of the Rocky Ridge they were overtaken by a furious wind and snow storms which "continued through thirty-six hours. The snow drifted in every direction, in many places being three or four feet deep, and freezing on every thing it touched." A number of cattle perished from the cold, fifty-two in all, and some strayed away. Many pigs, chickens and even dogs perished in the storm. The cattle of these companies during the journey manifested a disposition to stampede on slightest provocation, and in one such instance a sister Hawk in Allen Taylor's Company was trampled to death. (History of Brigham Young Ms., Bk. 4, entry for 19th October, 1849. (See note 2 for description of a stampede by Geo. A. Smith).

17. Letter of the Presidency to Orson Hyde, dated July 20th, 1849, *Mill. Star*, Vol. XI, p. 337-8.

18. Wilford Woodruff, writing from Cambridgeport, Mass., not from the scene of the event he refers to in Salt Lake Valley, but basing his assertions from

enough to be a source of anxiety to the leaders among the colonists. "Several hundred of the emigrants," writes President Young, on the 8th of October, "arrived too late in the season to continue their journey on the north route, and many of them contemplated wintering with us. So large an accession of mouths, in addition to those of our own emigration threatened almost a famine for bread."¹⁹

To relieve this situation, Jefferson Hunt, who had been Captain of Company "A" of the Mormon Battalion, proposed to guide California emigrants over the southern route that season, and thus avoid the danger of a rigorous winter journey over the Sierras. A company of about one hundred wagons accordingly formed and started southward with Captain Hunt as guide;²⁰ and with them went Elder Addison Pratt, returning to his mission in the Society Islands of the Pacific Ocean, accompanied by Elders James Brown and Hiram H. Blackwell. Elder Charles C. Rich also traveled in this company in order to join Elder Amasa M. Lyman in the Presidency of "Western California,"²¹

communications to New York and other eastern papers from west bound emigrants, writes: "Whether the Gentiles are coming to the light of Zion or not, from 15,000 to 20,000 have passed through their city this season after gold." He also states that about three thousand of the gold seekers stopped in the valley, "many of whom have been baptized." These roughly stated figures are doubtless too high for the number passing through Salt Lake City. Bancroft estimates the number of overland emigrants to California in the year 1849 as 42,000; of which 9,000 came from Mexico; 8,000 through New Mexico; *via* of Santa Fe, and 25,000 traveling *via* of South Pass, of whom, a large majority went *via* of Fort Hall, without passing through Salt Lake City. While undoubtedly the overland emigration of gold seekers across the American continent is one of the most remarkable events in the History of the United States, and of migratory movements in the world, yet there were very extravagant claims made respecting its numbers, as may be learned by any one who will consult the *data* collected in Bancroft's "History of California," Vol. VI, ch. IX.

19. Hist. of Brigham Young Ms., Bk. 4, p. 140.

20. Near Beaver Creek, about 200 miles south of Salt Lake, the California Emigrants of Hunts Company abandoned his leadership and went off with a "Captain Smith," in charge of a pack train bound for California who had maps and charts of "Walkers Cut off," and persuaded the California Emigrants to go that way. Hunt insisted that the route advocated by Smith was not a safe one; but all to no purpose; and by the time the company reached the "rim of the basin" the most of them withdrew from Hunt's leadership and followed Smith, leaving the former leader with a small company of but seven wagons. He, however, continued his journey and arrived near the coast on the 22nd of December: Most of those who took the "cut off," after wandering for a time in the mountains with very insufficient grass or water, turned back and followed the southern route. "Captain Smith and some others continued to struggle westward, and a few of them, after much suffering and disaster, arrived on foot in California." Hist. B. Y. Ms. Bk. 4, p. 167. Entry Dec. 22, 1849.

21. General Epistle of the Presidency of the Church Oct. 12, 1849. *Mill. Star*, XII, p. 119. Also Hist. of B. Y. Ms. Bk. 4, p. —, entry for Oct. 8th, '49.

to which place Elder Lyman had been sent to preside in the month of April of that year.

Notwithstanding this opportunity afforded the California emigrants to reach their destination, some concluded "to stay in the valley for the winter anyway," remarks President Young, "and a few of them embraced the gospel."²² Of those who thus accepted the faith of the Latter-day Saints both in this year, 1849, and the several years immediately following, the most of them doubtless, were really converted, and were honest people; but not a few of those who professed the faith did so merely to secure more surely and more abundantly—as they supposed—the hospitality of the Saints; which hospitality they sometimes abused and betrayed in the most shameful manner; from which circumstance arose the contemptuous term "*Winter Saints*," which "we understand to mean," wrote the editor of the *Deseret News*, "those who have been baptized just to have the privilege of serving the devil more perfectly, while they winter with the Saints, or thieve their way to the mines."²³

The transgressions of some of these "winter saints" brought on the "first jury trial" under the judiciary established by the provisional state government the colonists had founded. A special secession of the "Great Salt Lake county court" was called on the 3rd of January, 1851, before which some of these transient church members were tried and convicted of stealing, and sentenced to hard labor for various terms; but after serving part of their sentence they were pardoned by the executive, Brigham Young, and departed for California, "the place of their original destination."

"This was the first jury trial there had been in the state of Deseret [of which more in a subsequent chapter] since its organization," remarks Brigham Young, "and the first occasion for the empaneling of a grand jury. It is supposed that about three hundred emigrants who quartered in the valley the past winter, have left for the gold mines this spring. Many emi-

22. Brigham Young Hist. Ms. Ibid. Also General Epistle of Presidency Mill. Star, XII, 118.

23. This on the 18th of January, 1851, on the occasion of a conference of seventies excommunicating eleven men and women *enblock*, "for conduct unbecoming the character of saints"; and to whom the President of the conference had applied the, by then, aprobious title, "Winter Saints." One of the most reprehensible abuses

grants on arriving at this place heard the gospel, believed, and were baptized, and thus far proved their sincerity by their works; while some professed to believe and were baptized, but their works have made manifest their hypocrisy, and their sins remain on their own heads. Had it not been for such kind of characters, no jury would have been needed in Deseret to this day.''²⁴

The passing of this California emigration through Salt Lake Valley had both its beneficial and disastrous effects upon the Latter-day Saints colonies. In the first place, it brought to the settlements of the Saints very many earnest and sincere people who accepted the faith of the new dispensation of the gospel, and some equally respectable who did not accept that faith, but remained, nevertheless, to make their homes in Salt Lake City. Both these classes became permanent and desirable elements in the then forming civil society. But there were also bad and lawless elements in that migrating host, some of whom became the "winter saints" of preceding paragraphs, and some who did not, but yet remained in the Salt Lake Valley to vitiate society, corrupt community life, and give a dash of lawlessness to the times, from which circumstance the reputation of the Latter-day Saints suffered not a little, for that they were held responsible for all that happened of a lawless or disreputable nature in their community.

The Saints also gained and lost through the reports that were sent to the east by those in the migrating hosts who chose to

of hospitality referred to above was that of winter bound gold seekers marrying young women only to desert them in the spring; and so often did this happen that it was the cause of much bitterness in those early years, and of suspicion long years afterwards towards transients and emigrants passing through the territory.

24. General Epistle of the Presidency, of Apl. 7th, 1851. *Mill. Star*, Vol. XIII, p. 212. In the same epistle the Presidency of the Church sought to lessen the burdens of the Salt Lake Colony by recommending that the California emigrants go *via* of Fort Hall. Salt Lake City had recently obtained its charter and proposed to make provision against the inconveniences occasioned by trespasses of the California emigrants. The Epistle said: "Hitherto, California emigrants have been accustomed to leave their sick on our hands, at a heavy expense, and depart without notice; to turn their teams loose in our streets, and near our city, which has caused much destruction of crops and grass, so that if we wanted a load of hay, we have had to go from ten to twenty miles to procure it, and drive our cattle a still greater distance to herd the succeeding winter; but since the organization of a municipality, quarantine has been introduced, and no animals are permitted to roam within the corporation, which extends to some six or eight miles square; and when the surrounding lands are fenced, the accommodations in our immediate vicinity, for those who travel by multitudes, will be small indeed; and we believe it will be more convenient for the great mass of travellers to the mines to go by Fort Hall, or



Gawiz Life in Iran. Relief. 875.

furnish the press with their descriptions and impressions of the Mormon settlements and their people. In some cases they were inordinately praised, and their achievements exaggerated; and by others as severely censured, misjudged and condemned; until in the annals of those times the fanatical saints of today, and the bitterly prejudiced anti-Mormons, can each find material in support of his unstinted praise or bitter denunciation.²⁵

Even on the side on which the passing migration is supposed to have been, and was, the most beneficial—its contribution to the material prosperity of the Saints—it had its draw-backs since it created restlessness among the people, delayed the plans of colonizing adjacent valleys, and made it more difficult for the church authorities to hold the people to the achievement of those purposes to which the Church was consecrated, *viz*, (1) the proclamation of the gospel to every nation, tongue and people under the whole heavens; (2) perfecting the lives of those who accepted her message, to this end gathering together her converts.

In the mad rush of the world for the goldfields, one of the main streams of which was passing through their settlements, it is one of the marvels of those times, and will be in all time to come, that the Latter-day Saints could be held to those ideals of their faith which led them in large measure to give no heed to the madness for riches which possessed those thousands of emigrants who passed through their settlements, and derided their contentment with the humble lot of pioneering settlements in a semi-desert region, when the rich gold fields of California were so near to them, and of such easy access. Besides their brethren, people of their own faith had been prominent factors in both the discovery and early development of the gold mines—why not participate in the harvest to which all the world was hastening?

Brigham Young and his associate leaders in the Church of the Latter-day Saints rose to sublime heights in those days. Under date of September 28th, 1849, the following is recorded in his journal History: "Fourteen or fifteen of the brethren ar-

some route north of this, saving to themselves the expense and hindrance of quarantine, and other inconveniences arising from a temporary location near a populous city, where cattle are not permitted to run at large."

25. See note 3, end of chapter.

rived from the gold country, some of whom were very comfortably supplied with the precious metal, and others, who had been sick, came back as destitute as they went on the ship *Brooklyn* in 1846. That there is plenty of gold in western California is beyond doubt, but the valley of the Sacramento is an unhealthy place, and the Saints can be better employed in raising grain and building houses in this vicinity, than in digging gold in Sacramento, unless they are counseled so to do."

"The true use of gold," he adds, "is for paving streets, covering houses and making culinary dishes; and when the Saints shall have preached the gospel, raised grain, and built up cities enough; the Lord will open up the way for a supply of gold to the perfect satisfaction of his people; until then, let them not be over anxious, for the treasures of the earth are in the Lord's store house, and he will open the doors thereof when and where he pleases."²⁶

And to this view Brigham Young and his associate leaders in the Church adhered throughout the gold-fever period, and held their people to the higher duties of their lives as Latter-day Saints. Under date of March 9th, 1849, "The Twelve in Salt Lake Valley to the Saints in the British Isles," said: "There are some rebellious and disorderly spirits here, who are generally now for the gold mines instead of Warsaw, Quincy, and St. Louis; but those who are on the Lord's side will stay at home and raise grain, etc., until sent abroad on heaven's errand," (i. e. to preach the gospel).²⁷

In 1850 referring to the maintenance of an emigration fund to assist the poor in the world to gather to the Church, in the mountains, President Young said:

"I am going to bring before the people the necessity of keeping up the fund for the emigration of the poor. I declare openly and boldly, there is no necessity for any man of this community to go to the gold mines, to replenish the fund; we have more property and wealth than we are capable of taking care of. If a man is not capable of improving one talent, what is the use of his getting more? He is like the foolish child, that could hold but one apple in both his hands, and in reaching for more, he

26. Hist. of B. Y. Ms. Bk. 4, p. 144, add.

27. *Mill Star*, Vol. XI, p. 246.

lost what he had. If men only knew how to control what they have and were satisfied, they would do much better.

"I will commence at the north and go to the south settlements, and pick out 25 of our inhabitants as they average; and another man may take 50 of the gold diggers, off hand, and they cannot buy out the 25 who have tarried at home. Before I had been one year in this place, the wealthiest man who came from the mines, Father Rhodes, with 17,000 dollars, could not buy the possessions I had made in one year! It will not begin to do it; and I will take 25 men in the United States, who have staid at home and paid attention to their own business, and they will weigh down fifty others from the same place, who went to the gold regions; and again, look at the widows that have been made, and see the bones that lie bleaching and scattered over the prairies!"²⁸

So the President continued through the troubled years of the gold fever to encourage and admonish his people to stay at home and be attentive to their work of building up "the kingdom of God," wherein dwelleth righteousness.

As already remarked the most beneficial effect this migration to California's gold fields had upon the affairs of the Mormon colonists was its contribution to the material prosperity of the saints. In a public meeting at Salt Lake City, in 1848, in the midst of a great scarcity of food and clothing, and indeed of all the necessities of life, Elder Heber C. Kimball startled the congregation by declaring that within a short time "states goods" would be sold in the streets of Salt Lake City cheaper than in New York, and that the people could be abundantly supplied with food and clothing." "I don't believe a word of it," said Elder Charles C. Rich, who was present on the occasion; "and he but voiced the sentiment of nine-tenths of those who heard the astounding declaration," remarks Elder Kimball's biographer.²⁹ Even Elder Kimball himself doubted of the fulfillment of his own prediction, and as he took his seat remarked to the brethren about him that he was "afraid he had missed it this time." "But they were not his own words" writes his biographer, "and he who had inspired them knew how to fulfill."³⁰

28. Minutes of the General Conference. *Mill. Star*, Vol. XIII, pp. 17, 18.

29. His Grandson, Orson F. Whitney, now one of the Twelve Apostles.

30. Life of Heber C. Kimball-Whitney—Ch. LVII, also Tullidge's Life of Brigham Young, pp. 203-8.

The prediction was fulfilled in a most remarkable manner. Many of the overland gold seekers of '49 conceived the idea that there would be a big demand for merchandize in the gold fields of California, and therefore loaded their wagons to capacity limit with various kinds of merchandize to be sold, as they hoped, at enormous profits. In some cases the teams were so heavily loaded with merchandize that the men walked and even women and children could not find room in the wagons.³¹ A merchandize such as was supposed would be in demand in the number of St. Louis merchants fitted out whole trains laden with mining camps. The overland journey, however, was attended with more difficulties than was anticipated, and the progress much slower. A few weeks on the journey and property began to be sacrificed to haste. What was the profit in a load of merchandize in comparison of the profits in rich gold diggings if one were only there? And so there were frequent loadings and reloadings, usually attended by a sacrifice of some portion of the owner's effects. When a heavy laden wagon would break down it was often left in the road where it stood; teams weakening, a wagon would now and then be abandon and the teams doubled on other wagons to make more haste, until the overland trail was literally strewn with merchandize and broken down and abandoned wagons, for hundreds of miles.³² In addition to these circumstances by the time some of these wagon trains reached Salt Lake City word was received of ships loaded with merchandize arriving in the Bay of San Francisco; also that coast-wise vessels were plying between the Isthmus of Panama and San

31. "Heavy conveyances were provided with three yoke of oxen, besides relays of animals for difficult passages; a needful precaution; for California as well as the intermediate country, being regarded as a wilderness, the prudent ones had brought ample supplies, some indeed, in excess, to last for two years. Others carried all sorts of merchandise, in the illusive hope of sales at large profits. Consequently such of the men as had not riding animals were compelled to walk, and during the first part of the journey even the women and children could not always find room in the wagons." Bancroft's California, Vol. VI, p. 145.

32. See *Frontier Guardian* of Sept. 15, 1849. In a letter to Orson Pratt Wilford Woodruff says: "The last accounts from the gold diggers was that there were 500 wagons between South Pass and Fort Hall entirely helpless; all their teams having been drowned in crossing streams, or died for want of grass. Hundreds were then dying daily, and the road near blocked up at some passes with broken down wagons and teams, and the men had become mad because they could not get by or go ahead; they were fighting and killing each other. An express had been sent from Fort Hall for assistance to gather the destitute into the valley of the Great Salt Lake, as they must die if they had not help." The letter is dated at Cambridgeport, Mass., October 13th, 1849, *Mill. Star*, Vol. XI, p. 344. See also Bancroft's Hist. Cal., Vol. VI, ch. IX.



Relief sculpture of a scene with figures and birds.

Francisco, carrying goods that were shipped by pack trains across the isthmus by companies organized in New York, Charleston, and New Orleans,³³ which dispelled the dreams of the overland merchants of fabulous prices. Moreover, in Salt Lake city gold dust from the California mines was current in trade and on exhibition,³⁴ and this in connection with the other circumstances mentioned, so increased the enthusiasm of the gold seekers, and their impatience to reach California, that they were ready to dispose of all they had for fresh stock with which to make the journey. "Pack mules and horses," says one account, "that were worth twenty-five or thirty dollars in ordinary times, would readily bring two hundred dollars in the most valuable property at the lowest prices. Goods and other property were daily offered at auction in all parts of the city. For a light, Yankee wagon, sometimes three or four great heavy ones would be offered in exchange, and a yoke of oxen thrown in at that. Common domestic sheeting sold from five to ten cents per yard by the bolt. The best of spades and shovels for fifty cents each. Vests that cost in St. Louis one dollar and fifty cents each, were sold at Salt Lake for 'three bits,' or 37 1-2 cents. Full chests of joiners' tools that would cost \$150 in the east, were sold in that place for \$25. Indeed, almost every article, except sugar and coffee, is selling on an average, fifty per cent below wholesale prices in the eastern cities."³⁵

Still another account says:

"The emigrants the past summer brought many things with

33. There was a great rush of vessels from eastern and southern ports in the United States, *via* of Cape Horn, also across Panama, Nicaragua, and Mexico by pack trains to resume the water journey on the Pacific side by waiting vessels to make the coast-wise journey. In November the movement began by the departure of several vessels. In December it had swelled to a rush. Between the 14th of December, 1848, and the 14th of January, 1849, sixty-one sailing vessels left New York. Sixty more in February, besides the vessels that left other ports. Two of the November, 1848, vessels arrived at San Francisco in April, 1849; in June eleven arrived; in July forty; in August forty-three; in September, sixty-six; "After which the number fell off, giving a total of 233 from American ports; 316 vessels arrived from other ports, or 549 in all" for the year 1849." Bancroft's Hist. Cal., Vol. VI, pp. 121-2 and notes.

34. "When they saw a few bags and kegs of gold dust that had been gathered and brought in by our boys [i. e., Mormon Battalion men] it made them completely enthusiastic." Orson Hyde in *Frontier Guardian*, Sept. 15, 1849.

35. *Frontier Guardian*, Sept. 15, 1849, also *Mill. Star*, Vol. XI, p. 340, *et seq.* Bancroft in his History of California makes mention of this incident: "Many, indeed, tired and discouraged, with animals thinned in number and exhausted, halted at Great Salt Lake, accepting the invitation of the Mormons to stay through the

them which they found to be superfluous upon their arrival at the valley, and were glad to give them in exchange for horses, oxen, etc., besides there were many small merchants who brought from two to ten thousand dollars worth of goods with them who found it indispensably necessary to sell out in the valley, owing to the loss of teams, and pack from thence to the mines. The *Messrs.* Pomeroy of Missouri, with about fifty thousand dollars worth were of the number who found it impractical to proceed."³⁶

This unlooked for arrival and sacrifice of goods in such abundance was certainly a fulfillment of Elder Kimball's prediction, and of material benefit to the Latter-Day Saints colonists. It relieved them of many hardships, contributed to their progress, and hastened the development of the country in the eastern valleys of the Great Basin beyond all expectation.

NOTE 1. THE SEA GULL MONUMENT ON TEMPLE SQUARE SALT LAKE CITY: "The Sea Gull Monument" now in course of erection on Temple square is the work of Mahonri Young, a grandson of the great pioneer, Brigham Young. Mr. Young has studied abroad, is Associate member of the National Academy of Design in New York; also a member of the Architectural League of New York. The Sea Gull Monument is to be the most ambitious work Mr. Young, up to the present, has undertaken.

On a deep foundation will be raised a high square base, forming a drinking fountain, approached by native granite steps; and from this base will rise a graceful Corinthian column fifteen feet high, surmounted by a granite sphere, and this topped by a group of gulls in the act of lighting upon it—a most grace-

winter and recuperate. The Saints undoubtedly reaped a harvest in cheap labor, and by the ready exchange of provisions to starving emigrants for wagons, tools, clothing, and other effects, greatly to the delight of the leaders, who, at the first sight of gold from California, had prophesied plenty, and the sale of States goods at prices as low as in the east." (*Hist. Cal.*, Vol. VI, pp. 151-2.) In a foot note he names Kimball as having made the prediction.

36. Letter of John Taylor to the *Frontier Guardian* of Jan. 9, 1850. Elder Taylor calls attention to the fact that the goods destined for California, but disposed of in Salt Lake City, as described above, were largely men's ware, so far as clothing was concerned, and that the disposal of these goods did not prevent "Messrs. Livingston and Kinkade of St. Louis; Col. John Reese of New York and other merchants who were carrying goods laid in especially for the "Valley," from disposing of the goods and at "large profits." "So much so," he adds in addressing the editor, of the *Guardian*, "that if you had been at Deseret (i. e. The Honey Bee State, Utah) you would have thought the ladies were bees and their stores the hives—though unlike in one respect, for the bee goes in full and comes out empty, but in this case it was reversed."

ful thing in itself, and Mr. Young has caught the action of it to the life. The capitol of the column is made up of sheaves of wheat, in place of the *acanthus* stem and leaves seen in the antique Corinthian columns, and at each of the corners a gull in flight, the out-stretched wings of which join the wings of his fellow, and, canoping the wheat sheaves, suggest the idea of protection.

On three sides of the high base in relief sculpture the rest of the Sea Gull story is told:

The first tablet tells of the arrival and early movements of the Pioneers. In the left foreground of the rugged Wasatch mountains, there is the man afield with ox-team plowing the stubborn soil, followed by the sower. Dimly seen in the background is the half finished log home, and to the left of this the incoming mounted guard or local explorer. In the left foreground is the wagon-home, women preparing the humble meal, a lad "toting" his armful of fuel, while an Indian sits in idle but graceful pose looking upon all this strange activity that is to redeem his land from savagery and give it a commonwealth to civilization.

The second tablet tells the story of the threatened devastation from the crickets' invasion. A point of mountain and a glimpse of the placid, distant lake are seen. The farmer's fight with the invading pest is ended—he has exhausted all his ingenuity in the fight, and his strength. He is beaten—you can see that in the hopeless sinking of his figure to earth, his bowed head and listless, down-hanging hands from which the spade has fallen. Despair claims him—and laughs. With the woman of this tablet it is different. She is holding a child by the hand—through it she feels throbbing the call of the future—the manhood-life yet to be. Strange that to woman—man's helpmeet—is given such superior strength in hours of severest trial! Where man's strength and courage and fighting ends, woman's hope and faith and trust seem to spring into newness of life. From her nature she seems able to do this inconsistent yet true thing—to hope against hope, and ask till she receives. So now this woman of the second tablet—she too is toil-worn, and there is something truly pathetic in her body weariness, but her head is raised. Raised to what until now has seemed the pitiless skies; but now they are filled with the on-coming flocks of sea gulls. Does she watch their coming with merely idle curiosity or vague wonderment? Or does her soul in the strange gull-cry hear God's answer to her call for help? God's answer to her they were, these gulls, in any event, as the gulls soon proved.

The third tablet commemorates the Pioneers' first har-

vest,—worthily too! In the background rises Ensign Peak. In the middle background the log-house home stands finished; in the foreground grain harvest is in progress; both men and women take joyous part. To the right a mother half kneeling holds to her breast a babe, who “on the heart and from the heart” receives his nourishment, and about her knees two other children play in happy, childish oblivion of toil or care. O, happy scene of life and joy, “where Plenty leaps to laughing life with his redundant horn!”

The fourth tablet is reserved for the title of the monument.

NOTE 2. A STAMPEDE ON THE PLAINS: These days of the late “forties” and early “fifties” represent rare times, and every scrap of personal experience in those already strange scenes and incidents is valuable, especially when personally related by those participating in them. Because of this I give here the description of a stampede on the plains, by George A. Smith who witnessed a number of them, and whose pen picture of the thing is perhaps as vivid as one may hope to find: “No one that has not witnessed a stampede of cattle on these plains, has any idea of the terrors, and dangers, and losses sometimes that accompany them. Contemplate a camp of 50 or 100 wagons all corraled, with about 1000 head of cattle, oxen, steers, cows, etc., with some 3 to 500 souls, consisting of men, women, and children, all wrapt in midnight slumber, with every prospect of peace and quietness when they retired to rest in their wagons under their frail canvas covering, with the guards pacing their several rounds, crying the hour of night, etc.; when all of a sudden, a roar equal to distant thunder, which causes the ground to shake, is heard; the bellowing and roaring of furious, maddened, and frightened cattle, with the cracking of yokes, breaking of guards or anything else that is not invulnerable to them. Hear the guard cry out, “a stampede! a stampede! Every man in camp turn out.” Horses are mounted, and through the storm and darkness of the night, with the rifle in hand, the roar and sound of the cattle are followed; sometimes rivers are crossed and hundreds of cattle are lost; but if success attend, in an hour or two, sometimes longer, they are brought back, but not quieted, to where the women and children, frightened at being roused from slumber by such terrific noise, had been left with armed guards to protect them from the Indians, who roam over these plains in countless numbers, merely in quest of plunder and perhaps had been the cause of frightening the cattle and causing the stampede; such, in brief, is a stampede; but it must be witnessed to be realized.”

NOTE 3. TREATMENT OF CALIFORNIA EMIGRANTS BY MORMONS: A SLANDER REFUTED: The following document drawn up by the leaders of the first companies of the "gold seekers" to pass through Salt Lake City—arriving there on the 16th of June—will illustrate in part the statement of the text respecting misrepresentations that some times obtained against the Saints. It is taken from the History of Brigham Young Ms., under his journal entry of June 24, and which he introduces as follows:

"I introduce the following testimony concerning the treatment of emigrants to California by the people in the valley:—

"G. S. L. City, June 25, 1849.

"This is to certify that we, the undersigned, members of the Delaware Mining Company, from Ohio, when passing by the South side of the Platt river, met Jacques Rouvel Brunnette, a resident of Fort Laramie, about 180 miles east of his said fort, who informed us that the Mormons had instigated the Indians to be unfriendly to all emigrants on the south side of said river, and that they were bad men. But we found the Indians friendly, and we firmly believed his statement to be false; and as he said he should report it to government, we sign this in favor of the Mormons in Salt Lake Valley, from whom we have received universal kind treatment.

"Andrew McIlvain	P. Knight Gualt
"L. B. Harris	A. C. Moses
"Daniel Plotmer	E. D. Coldren
"A. G. Hinton	E. R. Moses
"James A. Barnes	James Hinkle
"Simpson Laid	James Edelman
"Joshua D. Breyfogle	Evan Evans
"Josephus McClead	Jed L. Allen
"John C. Murphey	John F. Stimmel
"Simeon Badly	Daniel A. High
"Israel Brefogel	Irwin Boynton
"R. Cadwalader	Robert Cunningham."
"Samuel High.	

The Weather Superstitions of the Poets

BY W. REDMOND KEEGAN

THE poets, like the sailors, are weatherwise. The sailor watches the rising and setting of the sun and from it tells what the weather will be to-morrow. The poet writes a poetic forecast that is eclipsed by nothing unless it be by the rheumatic prophet who with the convenient, but not pleasant barometer within, predicts the approach of rain by the twinges of pain.

In the old ballad of "Sir Patrick Spence," we find a poet who was weatherwise, as we see by the following stanzas:—

"Late, late yestere'en, I saw the new moon
With the old moon in her arm;
And I fear, I fear, my master deer,
That we will come to harm."

The old sailors' anticipation of the storm is well founded and the storm is followed by shipwreck, in which Sir Patrick Spence and his crew are lost:—

"Have owre, have owre, to Aberdour,
It is fifty fathoms deeps,
And there lies good Sir Patrick Spence
With the Scot's lords at his feet."

A similar scene and almost parallel passages occur in Longfellow's "Wreck of the Hesperus," but in the latter poem it is a halo round the moon that excites the old sailor's alarm:—

“Then up and spake an old Sailor,
Who had sailed the Spanish main,
I pray thee put into yonder port,
For I fear a hurricane.

“Last night the moon had a golden ring,
And to-night no moon we see!
The skipper he blew a whiff from his pipe
And a scornful laugh laughed he.”

A halo round the moon is one of the surest prognostics of rainy or unsettled weather. It is, as a rule, always stormy and rainy when that condition prevails.

Scientific men have tried, but in vain, to convince people that the weather is not influenced by the time marked by the change of the moon. The contrary opinion, however, is so deeply rooted in the popular mind that an encyclopedia of science hurled at the heads of wiseacres would not dislodge it.

Our forefathers believed in the old saw:

“A Saturday’s moon if it comes once in seven years comes too soon.”

We, of to-day, like our forefathers, believe in the old saying:

“A dry summer never makes a deer pack.”

The belief is general in England, Ireland and Scotland, that if the oak tree comes into leaf before the ash that a dry summer is bound to follow, this was last verified in Ireland in the summer of 1908:

“If buds the ash before the oak
You’ll surely have a summer’s soak,
But if the oak before the ash is
You’ll only have a few light splashes.”

Here, as in the British Isles, it is an ominous sign to hear thunder in the winter. Such a phenomenon occurred last Jan-

uary when we heard the great thunderstorms breaking over New York. Many believed that a warm summer was about to burst upon us and were greatly disappointed that it did not come.

“A winter’s thunder,
A summer’s wonder.”

The legend of St. Swithin and how he sailed about after his death in a stone coffin has faded into a haze; but we cannot forget so readily the strong influence he has subsequently exercised over the weather.

“If St. Swithin weep, that year the proverb says,
The weather will be foul for forty days.”

Very similar in scope is the following, and it partly confirms whatever modicum of truth may exist in the proverb about St. Swithin’s day:—

“If the first of July it be rainy weather,
’Twill rain more or less for four weeks together.”

But the poets do not stop at weather prophesy in poetic fashion. They also tell us that climatic conditions have a lot to do with the future happiness of a bride and bridegroom. They have taught us to believe that sunshine on a wedding morning is a certain omen of a happy life, but the second line of the following stanza is more difficult to verify:

“Happy is the bride that the sun shines on
And the corpse that the rain rains on.”

Coming to the influence of weather over agricultural affairs, the belief is general that a winter with plenty of frost and snow exercises a fertilizing influence on the land, and is more likely to be followed by a warm summer than if the winter were of a milder character. This belief may have currency in the following short saying:

“A snow year, a rich year.”

The distrust of a mild winter promoting unseasonable vegetation is deeply stamped on the agricultural mind in all parts of the world.

“If grass looks green in Janiveer
’Twill look the worser all the year.”

In the British Isles the inhabitants believe that.

“A green Christmas,
Makes a fat churchyard.”

They also have an old saying in reference to consumptives:

“March will search, April will try
But May will tell whether you live or die.”

The influence of dry, frosty winds though unfavorable to vegetation, is of great value in drying the soil from the superabundant moisture. Indeed, much of the subsequent fertility of the soil is ensured by the drying process except when, as Hodge assures us:

“A bushel of March dust is worth a King’s ransom.”

Heavy rains, falling about seed-time, exert an injurious influence over future crops in two ways. They beat the soil together, thereby excluding the air, which must circulate below it if the seed is to germinate. They also carry the heat, or warmth, out of the soil through the process of evaporation, for a considerable amount of heat must leave the soil in raising every pound of water into the air. Accordingly every farmer will thoroughly endorse the old rhyming proverb:—

“A May flood
Never did good.”

Glowing sunshine and intense heat in July and August have the effect of ripening grain before the ear is well filled, in consequence of which the sample turns out deficient in plumpness and weight. Thus the farmer-poet says:

“A shower in July, when the corn begins to fill
Is worth a yoke of oxen and all belongs there still.”

The various shapes that the clouds assume have been labelled by science. The rain-giving clouds generally belong to the nimbus or cumulus order, but no matter how threatening the clouds appear, if the atmosphere is not in a condition to promote condensation, they are carried away by the winds. Hundreds of tons of water in vapoury suspension will thus pass over our heads in a single day and not a drop will fall when the atmosphere is light and elastic. At other times we are drenched by a fast-increasing cloud that rose on the horizon not larger than a clothes basket. But the clouds are generally accompanied by a number of appearances which tell us whether to expect rain or fine weather. For this we have the old authority:

“An evening’s red and a morning gray
Are the signs of a pleasant day.”

Morning clouds streaked or barred with red, no matter how high they float are always accepted as indicating rain and storm. Byron’s lines, in this connection, are worth remembering:

“Crimson as the clouds of morn
Which, streaked with dusty red, portend
The day shall have a stormy end.”

In changeable weather, a gray morning is a surer sign of a fair day than a bright one:

“Sun at seven
Rain at eleven.”

We can well understand the poet when in his prophetic state he writes:

•
“The soot falls down, the tables crack,
Old Belly’s joints are on the rack.”

But we cannot understand the sailor or poet when we read the well-known rhyme:

“A rainbow in the morning
Is the shepherd’s warning:
A rainbow at night
Is the sailor’s delight.”

Historic Views and Reviews

GENERAL KEARNY'S BODY IN NEW GRAVE

After fifty years in the historic graveyard of Trinity Church, New York, the body of General Philip Kearny, of civil war fame, has been removed from the family vault in Trinity churchyard, and after exercises in City Hall, was transferred with a military escort to the National Cemetery in Arlington, D. C. The removal of the body was the outcome of the efforts of the First Volunteer Brigade of New Jersey, "Kearny's Own," which resulted in the Legislature of that State appropriating \$5,000 and the appointment of a commission to carry out the provisions of the act. Guards of honor were provided by the United States Army, the National Guards of New Jersey and New York and the Philip Kearny Post, G. A. R.



HISTORIC BELL RESTORED

The bell of the Mission San Bernardino, the only relic in existence of one of the first great outposts of Franciscan civilization in California, is to be removed from its present resting place in the Glenwood Inn, Riverside, to the New Mission Theatre in San Gabriel.

The bell is to be used to sound the half and quarter hours and will be mounted in front of the theatre. This is the centenary of the bell's active service and the hundred and twelfth years of its existence. It was first set up in San Gabriel, to which it is to return, and was later sent to San Bernardino, when a band of venturesome and fearless priests, in the Spring of 1812, founded a mission there.

OWNS HISTORIC WEAPON

The death of Mrs. Mary Gibson, of Charlestown, mother of George H. D. Gibson, a well-known lawyer and former member of the Indiana House of Representatives, brought to light the fact that the latter owns the revolver with which General Jefferson C. Davis shot and killed General Nelson at the Galt House in Louisville, in the early days of the Civil War.

The revolver was the property of Thomas Ware Gibson, who was a personal friend of General Davis, and who loaned him the weapon.

The elder Gibson fought in the Mexican War as captain of Company I, Third Indiana Volunteers, and Mrs. Gibson's father, Amos Goodwin, was a captain during the Tippecanoe War.



BIDS FOR VALLEY FORGE MEMORIAL

Bids for the monument to be erected on the Revolutionary Camp ground at Valley Forge, Pa., in memory of the New Jersey troops quartered there under General Washington, were opened at the State House recently by the Valley Forge Revolutionary Encampment commission. Five bids were submitted and all of them were within the \$5,000 appropriated by the last legislature for the erection of the monument. The contract was not awarded, however, as the commissioners wish to give the bids further consideration. The awarding of the contract was layed over for a meeting to be held within the next two weeks at the call of the President.

The commission decided to lay the corner stone of the monument on Friday, October 4, the anniversary of the battle of Germantown, in which the New Jersey Continentals took a leading part. Also, it was decided that the monument should be unveiled and dedicated with fitting ceremonies on June 18, 1913, the 135th anniversary of the evacuation of the Valley Forge camp by the New Jersey soldiers. It is expected that the President of the United States, the governors of New Jersey and Pennsylvania and other notables will take part in the dedication exercises.

Designs for the monument were submitted with the bids. One design which found considerable favor with the commission showed a granite base on which stood a continental soldier in a characteristic attitude.

The members of the commission are: John H. Fort, of Camden, president; James L. Pennypacker, of Haddonfield, secretary; A. J. Demarest, of Hoboken, treasurer; General J. Madison Drake, of Elizabeth, of "Drake's Zouaves" fame, and David P. Milford, of Bridgeton.



THE NEW JERSEY TROOPS

The New Jersey continental troops for whom the monument will be a memorial was Maxwell's brigade, which is referred to in several historical works as the "Jersey Line." The brigade distinguished itself at the battle of Germantown October 4, 1777, and went into winter headquarters at Valley Forge with the rest of Washington's army of December 17, 1777. Speaking of this event, Fiske, in his work "The American Revolution," says: "As the poor soldiers marched to their winter quarters their route could be traced on the snow by the blood that oozed from bare, frost-bitten feet." The terrible privations endured by the soldiers at Valley Forge, and which the monument to be erected will bear testimony as far as the New Jersey troops are concerned, is shown by the communication sent to congress by General Washington in which he stated that he had in camp 2,898 men "unfit for duty because they are barefoot, and otherwise naked." This condition continued throughout all the winter which was bitterly cold.

Many of the New Jersey continentals will be a special memorial for these. On the evacuation of Philadelphia by the British, June 18, 1778, Maxwell's brigade was detached from the main army and was sent to harass and impede General Clinton's forces through the Jerseys, on the way towards New York.

Following all they had endured at Valley Forge, the Jersey soldiers crossed the Delaware in advance of Washington's main army and after annoying the British troops all they could participated in the battle of Monmouth, June 28, 1778.

STAGE DRIVERS DISAPPEARING

One of the most picturesque features of pioneer days in America was the old stage driver and his Concord stage. The stage itself has long since passed with the coming of the railway locomotive, but a few of the old drivers, who so skilfully handled the four and six horse teams, may still be found in the secluded places.

Not far from the mouth of the famous Royal Gorge, and within a few steps of the roaring waters of the Arkansas River, lives Lewis M. Hill, whose career as a stage driver is perhaps unequalled in America.

For forty years Hill drove stage continually, and although having many narrow escapes from death by Indians, robbers and storms, he was never the victim of a serious accident and never failed to deliver his passengers and the Government mail in safety.

Although eighty-one years of age, Hill is yet hale and hearty, and his wife, to whom he has been married for fifty-nine years, still lives with him in their little cottage surrounded by trees and vines.

Hill has driven stage in not fewer than nine States of the Union and an aggregate of about 500,000 miles, or a distance equal to twenty times around the earth at its largest circumference.

Sixty-one years ago last February Hill made his first stage trip, driving over the old national road from Terre Haute, Ind., to St. Louis, Mo.

In the second year of his employment, or fifty-nine years ago, at one of the little stations on his route, Greenup, Ill., he married Amy Elmira Shepler. She has been his constant companion ever since. During all the years of his life as stage driver she had charge of a station where the passengers were lodged and boarded while he drove the stage.

Later the railroads put traffic on the national road out of business, and Hill moved to Iowa. There for four years he drove a route out of Ottumwa, and then went to Omaha. For three years he drove from Omaha to Fort Kearney.

In 1862 Hill was put on the great Overland route, which, starting from Atchison, Kan., followed the north branch of the Platte River to the mountains, crossed the South pass and went on by way of Salt Lake City to Sacramento, Cal.

The stations on the Overland were fifty miles apart. Each driver drove fifty miles one day and back the next.

At that time Hill had a station beginning at the present site of Julesburg, Col. At that time Denver was just starting and Hill says that many a time he has camped with the freighters under the cottonwood trees in a corral or stockade built about where the union station now stands.

Hill's last experience at stage driving was in 1894, from Boulder to Ward.

In 1893 he drove a Concord stage and six horses at the World's Fair at Chicago.



NEW HISTORY MUSEUM FOR NEW YORK

With the view of establishing a museum of local history in the Isham mansion, in Isham Park, recently given to the city of New York by Mrs. Julia Isham Taylor and her aunt, Miss Flora E. Isham, Charles B. Stover, Commissioner of Parks, has offered rooms to historical and patriotic societies that may wish to send collections there. Two such organizations, the American Scenic and Historical Preservation Society, of which Dr. George F. Kunz, of No. 601 West 110th street, is president, and the City History Club, at the head of which are Mrs. Robert Abbe, of No. 13 West Fiftieth street, and Mrs. Emil L. Boas, of No. 128 West Seventy-fourth street, have already accepted.

The eight acres of land covered by the park, between Broadway and Inwood Hill, is associated with many historical events. That it was a favorite haunt of the local Indian tribe, the Weck-quaskeeks, is shown by many relics, evidences of their existence there.

In the War of the Revolution, the Hessian troops erected two redoubts on the crest of Isham Hill, and the entire Hessian division of the British army moved over the park area in the assault

on Fort Washington on November 16, 1776. In the wall of the park entrance is the twelfth milestone on the old Kingsbridge road, placed there for preservation by the late William B. Isham, who occupied the house. The stone originally stood three-fourths of a mile south of its present site. It was moved northward to the side of the road, opposite its present location, about 1819, when the site of the present City Hall was made the point from which distances were measured.

Reginald P. Bolton, of No. 368 West 158th street, a trustee of the Scenic and Historical Preservation Society, has a large number of the relics, found on the northern end of Manhattan Island, which will form a nucleus for the proposed collection. The Daughters of the American Revolution will also contribute articles of the Colonial and Revolutionary periods.

Besides the rooms devoted to the collections of societies, Mr. Stover intends to have in the building rest and refreshment rooms for the public, and an assembly room, suitable for the meetings of the civic organizations of the neighborhood.



HISTORIC PAINTINGS IN THE CAPITOL

Among the most interesting features of the Capitol at Washington are the numerous paintings of departed statesmen and events of importance in our National history. In the wide gallery back of the House of Representatives are portraits of the various Speakers of the House. The likeness of each Speaker is hung in this hall of fame upon his retirement from office.

With a peculiarly reminiscent and yet pleasant smile Uncle Joe Cannon glanced up at the portraits of some of his predecessors a few days ago and remarked: "I wonder if it was right to wait so long to hang some of them."

The portrait of every Speaker can be found there, with but one exception. The missing face is that of Nathaniel Macon of North Carolina who was Speaker from 1801 to 1807. Macon was a modest, unassuming man of simple manners, attired always in the coarse homespun of the day, although an exceptionally able official. A lover of horses and cattle, he entered the pedigree of

his own blooded stock in his family Bible. Macon never posed for his picture. Although every effort has been made to discover a portrait of him the search has been without avail.

A service of barely five minutes in the Speaker's chair won for one man a space on the wall of this gallery. Schuyler Colfax, Speaker of the House, was elected Vice President and took the oath of office on the 4th of March, 1869. On the morning of that day Colfax resigned the Speakership, and Theodore M. Pomeroy of New York, was elected Speaker for the remaining few minutes of the session.

The picture of Thomas B. Reed was painted during the last year of his term of office. When it was shown to him he looked at it closely. He noticed the protruding lips, the florid complexion, the heavy flabby cheeks and massive neck.

His eyelids partly closed and his countenance grew cold. Slowly and with his inimitable drawl he commented:

"I hope that my dearest enemy is satisfied now."

Then with an expression of irony on his countenance he turned and left the room.

Of the many portraits from life in the Capitol the most valuable is one of the Gilbert Stuart pictures of Washington. There are two portraits of Washington by Stuart. One of these is familiarly known about the Capitol as "False-Tooth Washington." Back of this lies an interesting anecdote of the first President. Washington is said to have had the first set of false teeth manufactured in America. They were made in Baltimore, and so pleased was the Father of his Country with the improvement they made in his facial contour that he straightway ordered his portrait painted. This is one of those seen in the Capitol. It might be remarked that these teeth were not a perfect fit, since it is declared that they rattled so badly while he was reading his inaugural speech when first elected President that he could scarcely be understood.

One of these Stuart portraits of Washington cost the Government \$5,000. This is the most expensive portrait in the Capitol. However, other pictures in the building have been infinitely more expensive. For instance, the great "Battle of Lake Erie" at the turn of the Senate staircase, showing Com-

modore Perry leaving his flagship at the height of the battle, cost \$30,000.

These pictures in the Capitol are frequently cleaned, restored, and reframed. For this purpose the pictures are removed from their frames. Great pads of blotting paper are spread out on the surface prepared for the operation. These blotting pads are then thoroughly soaked with oil. The picture is laid with its back on the pads while weights are placed on its face. The oil is slowly absorbed by the picture and the colors gradually brighten up.



THE LAST OF THE APACHES

It is known to many people in the Southwest that there still exists a small remnant of Geronimo's band of the Chiricahua Apaches in the Sierra Madre, along the Sonora-Chihuahua border.

Of late years, owing to the fact that time and occasional killings have reduced their number to a mere handful, and owing to the fact that they have not been seen by many Americans and have behaved fairly well, they have kept quite out of print, except in occasional articles rather reminiscent than in the form of news.

The small pueblo of Nacari Chico is the Mexican settlement nearest to their most frequent range, and this town is nearly 100 miles from the south end of the Nacozari Railroad. The people of the little village, some 700 souls, live by farming and stock raising, and do not wander much in the high ranges beyond the herds grazing the foothills.

Once in a while, though, the theft of a few head of stock calls their attention to the existence of the small remnant of their old-time enemies, whose atrocities were such that even the word Apache brings a shiver, and they exist in the recesses of that wild range, in the minds of these people idealized into ogres and monsters of the shadow.

About two years ago a Nacozari man was out in one of the canyons in the headwaters of the Hueberachi, near the mine

El Rubi, and he and an old gray-haired Apache gave each other a very decided heart movement by meeting around a big rock in the narrow gorge, almost bumping heads. They at once prepared for war, but decided to call it a draw and began a long confab.

Part of the time these Apaches have been supplied through American outlaws who for many years made headquarters here and used the Indians as their scouts. As bloody as their trail has been, one cannot escape a tinge of sadness in the thought of this old gray-haired remnant of a vanishing race, the Chiricahua Apaches, those of Cochise, Ju, Mangas Colorado, Victorio and Geronimo, all names to conjure the thrilliest kind of thrills.



HOTEL NINETY YEARS OLD

The Eastern Hotel, at Whitehall and South streets, the oldest continuously going concern of the kind in New York State, celebrated its ninetieth anniversary May 9. Proprietor John Bittner had invited fifty of the old hostlery's best and longest friends to a luncheon, and it was promised by Host Bittner that it would be worthy of the traditions of the place.

The old registers show names like Robert Fulton, Daniel Webster, Jenny Lind, Commodore Vanderbilt, P. T. Barnum, Gen. Winfield Scott Hancock, who made it his home when he recruited his famous regiment of zouaves in that part of the city.

When it was first built as a warehouse by Capt. John Cole, master of an old clipper, he used fourteen-inch mahogany beams brought to this side as ballast. Later it changed into a hotel and had mahogany floors—not the paper thickness veneering of these later days, but heavy flawless two-inch slabs of the costly wood. When it was thrown open for its first guests, in 1822, it was the show hotel of the nation.

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By Cornelia Mitchell Parsons

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ALEXANDER HAMILTON

AMERICANA

November, 1912

Alexander Hamilton and the Grange

(*A Worthy Memorial*)

BY JOSIAH C. PUMPELLY, A. M., LL.B.,

Historian of the Empire State Society, Sons of the American Revolution

A FOREWORD BY THE RECTOR OF ST. LUKE'S CHURCH, NEW YORK CITY

TO write a Foreword to so excellent a treatment of such an interesting theme as "Hamilton and the Grange," seems like a work of supererogation; and yet, some brief word may not be inappropriate from the present occupant of this historic House, whose spacious walls, quaint old mantels and fireplaces, ancient doors with their massive locks and keys, all serve as tangible reminders of its builder and first occupant. The arrangement of the rooms, even the very walls themselves call up vivid memories of the noble soul who towards the evening of life left the "Madding crowd's ignoble strife" for the quiet seclusion and simple comforts of this stately domicile, only to be called therefrom to a tragic and untimely end.

The House—or Grange as he called it—is, like every true bit of work, an expression of its builder's personality, dignified yet simple, comfortable without ostentation and, above all, "honest" through and through, its hidden and unseen parts, such as beams and rafters, receiving quite as much attention as any

other, which perhaps accounts for its splendid state of preservation at the present day. Every detail of design and construction received his personal attention and thus, in very truth, the building represents the man. There is no sham or pretense or display about it. It stands simply for what it is—a spacious, dignified, comfortable and real home.

For these reasons it seems to me his best visible monument, most expressive of his personality, and therefore worthy of preservation by his successors who have reaped so bountifully from the seed which he has sown. The room in which I write is said to have been the place where this great patriot, with his entire family gathered about him, on the night before the duel, spent the time in converse with them and prayer to Almighty God. Doubtless his prayer included petitions for the welfare of this great Republic, for which he had labored so long and well. This alone should make the Grange a *patriotic sanctuary*, which a grateful people should preserve inviolate so long as the ravages of time permit.

October 14, 1912.

GEORGE ASHTON OLDHAM.

DR. HAMILTON'S COMMENDATION

Hamilton's grandson from whose admirable biography of his grandfather I have obtained much information, having perused my manuscript, writes me this:

"I appreciate, and am sure others of my family will, your disinterested and patriotic efforts to preserve the 'Grange,' and I thank you."

ALLEN McLANE HAMILTON.

Alexander Hamilton was born at Nevis on the island of St. Kitts in the British Antilles, January 11, 1757.

His father was James Hamilton, the fourth son of Alexander Hamilton, Laird of the Grange, Ayrshire, Scotland, and Rachel Fawcett. She was a brilliant and clever woman, who had been forced into a marriage with a rich Danish Jew, one John Michael Levine (or Lawein), who treated her so cruelly that

she left him and returned to her mother's roof. Several years afterward she fell in love with James Hamilton, an attractive Scotchman. Although effort was made, it was impossible, owing to the disorderly condition of legal affairs in the province, for Mrs. Levine to get her freedom from the person who had so ruined her life, yet she and Mr. Hamilton lived together until she died, in 1768, at the age of 32. Levine was a man of great influence and this was used to prevent any just legal action being taken. Anyway, divorce laws were not in vogue then and elopements, which were in those times an innocent manner of mating, were very common among the higher classes.

Swift, referring to this mating said: "The art of making nets is very different from the art of making cages."

However, this couple loved each other truly, and there was for them no loss of caste. The son, Alexander, was born a year after his mother, Rachel, left her mother's house and joined James Hamilton, and thereafter Levine did divorce her; cause "abandonment," but she was not permitted to marry again. In relation to this matter and its influence upon Hamilton's life, Allan McLane Hamilton, in the biography of his grandfather says:

"Certainly the best proof that no prejudice existed in after life in regard to Hamilton because of his birth are the facts not only that General Washington invited him to become a member of his military family, but that General Schuyler heartily approved of the marriage with his daughter."

Emerson says, "Hercules did not wait for a contest, he conquered where he stood or walked or sat or whatever thing he did." So it seems to have been with Alexander Hamilton. The main divisions of his life commencing with 1768, at the age of eleven years, were: four years a storekeeper's clerk at St. Croix in the Leeward Islands, three years a student at Kings College (Columbia), in New York, for six years he was a soldier in the war for Independence and secretary of our great leader, Washington. Thereafter at the age of twenty-five he was admitted to the bar and for twenty-two years, excepting the five when he was secretary of the treasury in Washington's cabinet, he practiced law. He was "In temper fiery and passionate, but delicate

in frame and puny of stature," says Oliver in his "Essay on American Union," "of affectionate disposition, hopeful and buoyant and ever winning friends wherever he goes and keeping them without an effort purely by the charm and sincerity of his spirit." As an alumnus of Columbia, I am proud that she opened her doors to Hamilton on his own terms as to length of course, after Princeton had refused to permit such an innovation, even though in a private examination by the president he had been found fully able to cut the regular four years' course in half. 'Twas all for the best that Hamilton should have graduated as he did and Columbia has his statue and her Hamilton Hall as continual reminders of her great alumnus.

In 1802 after the defeat of the party with which Hamilton affiliated, he wrote to a friend as follows, "A garden is a good place for a defeated politician, so I have bought a farm nine miles from town,"—that was fifteen acres he bought of Jacob Scheiffin, August 2, 1800, located at 142d street and Convent avenue, just north of where now stands the College of the City of New York. Here he built in 1801 a fine roomy house and called it "The Grange," after the estate of Hamilton's uncle in Scotland and here he went to reside in 1802 and here he passed two of the happiest years of his life. At this time he had a large family. Besides his wife (the beloved Betsey), there were the two daughters, Angelica and Eliza, Fannie Autle, the adopted orphan of a comrade-in-arms, Alexander, Jr., eighteen, and James, sixteen years old, were the elder children—John, the boy who remembered and wrote afterwards about the planting of the famous thirteen gum trees, was a lad of ten. In his later years the writer heard from his lips many interesting incidents of his father. William, aged seven, and Philip, the second, were the babies of that happy household. The latter was born in "The Grange," just in time to take the name of the honored grandfather, General Philip Schuyler, who would otherwise have been left without a namesake in his illustrious son-in-law's family, Philip, the first born son of Hamilton, having been killed in a duel in his twentieth year. The timber of which the spacious rooms of the Grange was fashioned was grown on the Albany estate of Mrs. Hamilton's father.

At this time Hamilton was in the prime of life, vigorous and prosperous, his thirty years training in camp, forum, senate and cabinet had greatly enhanced his great natural talents. Devoted to his family and living thoroughly beloved and admired by a large circle of friends—for he was witty in conversation—he here entertained delightfully many famous men, including Napoleon's brother, Jerome Bonaparte and Marquis Talleyrand. In person he was rather below the average height, well proportioned in form, and his manners dignified and conciliating, features regular, brow massive and the whole countenance beaming with the generous sentiments of a kindly heart.

"There was something almost feminine," writes his grandson, "in Hamilton's gentleness and concern for the comfort and happiness of other people. It is a matter of tradition that he endeared the soldiers of his own company to him by sharing their hardships and providing them with necessities out of his almost empty pocket. With his own children he was even tender, entering into their sports and forgetting all his serious cares for the moment."

Life at the Grange was undoubtedly a merry one, for clever and attractive people were often gathered there. Governor Morris often came from Morris and Rufus King drove over from Long Island to discuss politics or gossip.

Hamilton was intensely devoted to the perpetuation of the new union of States. He conceived a design of establishing at his own home an emblem of the original thirteen States. He planted on the grounds of The Grange a circle of thirteen trees that would be symbolic of the thirteen stars on the blue field of the country's flag. These trees were set out a few years before his tragic death.

A part of the trunk of the last one of those trees that survived is now in the office of Park Commissioner Stover at the Arsenal in Central Park.

There appears to be no record as to the species of tree that Hamilton set out, but Commissioner Stover called in his experts and learned that the thirteen trees were the liquid amber, or what is commonly known as the sweet gum. Hamilton's know-

ledge of botany was not as profound as his learning in law and finance, or he would have selected a more enduring wood to represent the United States.

The sweet gum early decays in the open air and only lives 100 years or so. Converted into picture frames or other household articles it is often dyed black in imitation of ebony and is then very enduring. It exudes a fragrant resin that is used in France as a glove perfume.

The sexton of St. Luke's Episcopal Church at 141st street and Convent avenue said a few days ago that he had in his possession the larger portion of the trunk of one of the original Hamilton trees. He rescued it from a bonfire the boys of Washington Heights had made at the last Presidential election. This was probably the next to the last of the original trees to fall.

This tree toppled over in the lot at Convent avenue and 143d street, where a flat house has just been erected. All of the ground on which the Grange and its cluster of trees once stood is now occupied by apartment houses.

The Commissioner of the Park Department was impressed by Hamilton's idea of symbolizing the foundation of this great Republic by the living monument of trees, and he decided to perpetuate the motive as far as possible. The trees had to give way in the original site to the northward march of the city and it was not possible to replant them there; but the department has a small triangular plot only a few blocks away, at 138th street, Broadway and Hamilton place, and here thirteen trees have been planted to replace the Hamilton emblem. Sycamores were selected as being more hardy and enduring than the sweet gum. The layout of the park did not allow the trees to be planted in a circle as was done at the Grange, so they were set along the edges of the greensward.

And now we come to Hamilton's last years and all too early death.

Aaron Burr hated Hamilton because the latter, feeling Burr was an intriguer and a menace to the government, had defeated the latter's every scheme and he planned Hamilton's death in a duel and was successful.



"The Grange " as It Was



"The Grange " as It Is

THE HAMILTON HOME

The two were born within a year of one another, both had won distinction in the Revolution in leadership and courage, both were called to the bar at the same time and both were dandies, handsome and gallant. "Burr had wit and humor, Hamilton gaiety and eloquence," writes Oliver, "and up to the last they met politely in court and dined at one another's houses, each being intelligent enough to take a pleasure in the conversation and good manners of the other." But while both were good political fighters, one was a disinterested statesman, while the other was a selfish schemer and his interests were predatory.

After the challenge of Burr was accepted by Hamilton on July 4, 1804, one week before the duel, Hamilton presided at an annual banquet of the society of the Cincinnati, of which he was president and Burr a member. The latter was reserved and held no intercourse with the former, but on the contrary Hamilton was cheerful and when urged to sing the only song he ever sang or knew—The famous ballad of the "Drum"—he complied though reluctantly and sang in his best manner greatly to the delight of the old soldiers by whom he was surrounded.

The words are as follows:

" 'Twas in the merry month of May
When bees from flower to flower did hum,
Soldiers through the town marched gay,
The village flew to the sound of the drum.

The clergyman sat in his study within,
Devising new ways to battle with sin;
A knock was heard at the parsonage door,
And the sergeant's sword clanged on the floor.

We're going to war, and when we die,
We'll want a man of God near by,
So bring your Bible and follow the drum."

This incident shows clearly the remarkable courage and self-control that were the characteristics of this exceptional man.

He wrote his wife two farewell letters. The one dated July 4, reads as follows:

"This letter my very dear Eliza will not be delivered to you unless I shall first have terminated my earthly career, to begin as I humbly hope from redeeming grace and divine mercy a happy immortality. If it had been possible for me to have avoided the interview, my love for you and my precious children would have alone been a decisive motive. But it was not possible without sacrifices which would have rendered me unworthy of your esteem. I need not tell you of the pangs I feel from the idea of quitting you and exposing you to the anguish which I know you would feel, nor could I dwell on the topic lest it should unman me.

"The consolations of religion my beloved can alone support you, and these you have a right to enjoy. Fly to the bosom of your God and be comforted. With my last idea I shall cherish the sweet hope of meeting you in a better world.

"Adieu best of wives, best of women,
"Embrace all my darling children for me.

"Ever yours,

A. H."

In days gone by at the Union League Club, John C. Hamilton, the fourth son of Alexander, spoke often of his father. He was twelve years old at the time of the duel, and his words about his loved father's last hours are most pathetic.

"The day before the duel," says the son, "I was sitting in a room when at a slight noise I turned and saw my father in the doorway standing silently looking at me with a most sweet and beautiful expression of countenance, full of tenderness and without any of the business preoccupation he sometimes had. 'John,' said he, 'won't you come and sleep with me to-night,' and his voice was frank as if it had been my brother's instead of my father's. That night I went to his bed and in the morning very early he awakened me and taking my hands in his palms, all four hands extended, he told me to repeat the Lord's Prayer. Seventy years have since passed over my head, and I have forgotten many things, but not that tender expression when he stood looking at me at the door, nor the prayer we made together the morning just before the duel."

Hamilton thoroughly disapproved of duelling and in a statement he drew up he spoke of his desire to avoid the meeting

upon "religious and moral" grounds, the possible loss to his family and sense of obligation to his creditors and yet "my relative situation," he writes, "as well in public as private, enforcing all the considerations which constitute what men of the world denominate honor, imposes on me (as I thought) a peculiar necessity not to decline the call."

"When Hamilton discharged his pistol in the air," says Victor Hugo Duras, in an article on Hamilton, "on that fateful morning, he ended the system of duelling in this nation for the public indignation rose so high that duelling became prohibited by law. Who knows but that he may have known that such would be the result."

Parton, the historian, says: "On July 11, the fateful duel was fought under the heights of Weehawken and Hamilton fell mortally wounded at the first fire. He did not himself fire at the word, but his pistol went off as he was falling. He died on the following day. As an evidence of one peculiarity in Burr's character of seeming heartlessness we note that James Parton in his life of Burr says that after his killing Hamilton in a duel he went to his home at Richmond Hill on corner of Charlton and Varick streets and quietly settled himself to reading in his library. A relative arrived from Connecticut after an all night journey, about seven a. m. At eight breakfast was served and later the guest went out for a stroll and not until he saw a commotion in the streets and was told the news by an acquaintance, did he know of the terrible tragedy that had occurred."

Hamilton, after being taken in a boat across the Hudson in a dying condition, was carried up to the house of his friend, William Bayard, at 80 Jane street, near the corner of Greenwich, where he was joined by his wife and family. The youngest, a baby of two years, afterwards the father of the writer referred to above, was kissed by his father, who recognized them all. So extraordinary in his great pain was his composure of mind, that he alone could calm the frantic grief of their mother, saying in a firm though pathetic voice, "Remember, my Eliza, you are a Christian."

The funeral took place Saturday, July 14th, 1804, from Trinity Church, of which church he was a vestryman.

Hamilton was on the editorial staff of the "Evening Post," and Coleman, who was also a member of the staff—wrote of the funeral that "the doorways and windows were filled with weeping women" and the ordinance forbidding the tolling of church bells, passed by reason of the frequency of the visits of "Yellow Jack," was repealed for that occasion. The Cincinnati, St. Andrew's Society and the members of the Bar attended the funeral. The gowned Columbia College lads met on their shady campus and marched across Robinson street—it is Park place now—to the house of John B. Church—Hamilton's brother-in-law—where lay the body of their great Alumnus. The Sixth regiment and the artillery formed in the park of the new City Hall, whose foundation Mayor Clinton had little more than laid. The general's gray horse with his boots in the stirrups, the charger being led by two black servants clad and turbaned in white, stood by the hearse at the door of Mr. Church's house. Then the coffin, on which were laid his sword and epaulets, was borne from within, followed by the four sons. Then St. Paul's around the corner sent forth its mournful toll. The Brick Church bell answered from up Chatham row, the Middle Dutch from down Nassau street, and still further down in the swarming, but silent Broadway, Trinity's solemn note added its tribute of mournful sound. Slowly the Sixth regiment with reversed arms marched into Beekman street, past the mourning draped doors of the old Park Theatre. The procession followed slowly across the park, past the Bridewell and the prison, from the steps of which he had once pleaded with the howling Doctor's Mob for the lives of the Shivering Sawbones inside. There was little along that line of march from the Park through Beekman to Pearl and down its devious lengths, between the warehouses of the merchant princes of the time, to Whitehall, to Broadway, and thence to Trinity's gate—little that did not remind one and all that the greatest spirit of the age was passing from the midst of the turbulent time.

Governor Morris delivered an eulogy. The soldiers rested their musket muzzles to the earth and their cheeks upon the

musket butts. Bishop Moore read the last offices, then the four sons looked their last upon their illustrious father.

Burr was indicted for murder, but he escaped from the city. At the end of his term as vice-president he was tried in Richmond in 1807 for so-called traitorous schemes, a verdict of "not proven" left Burr his liberty, but little else. Then came years of wandering and penury in Europe, and on his return to New York his cup of bitterness was filled to overflowing by the loss at sea of his beloved daughter Theodosia, when on her way to meet him.

After the death of her husband, the widow with her seven children made a brave fight to keep up the place so sanctified by tender memories, but her necessities forced her to dispose of the Grange and settle in New York, where she brought up her children as best she could, the two elder boys receiving help from friends in their study to be lawyers. Their large property which comprised several city blocks, passed into the hands of strangers, and in the year 1887 the site on which the homestead stood came into the possession of Mr. Amos Cotting, a generous and philanthropic citizen. In this same year the corporation of St. Luke's Protestant Episcopal church which was then in Hudson street, opposite Grove, bought ten lots on the corner of Convent avenue and 141st street, a part of the original Alexander Hamilton farm, with the view of erecting thereon a new church edifice.

From an interesting manuscript kindly given me by Mrs. H. Croswell Tuttle, I here quote as follows: "At this time Hamilton's old house located on the west side of Convent avenue across from the church lots and facing 143rd street, stood vacant, neglected and forgotten and Reverend Isaac H. Tuttle, D. D., the rector of St. Luke's, noticing this was inspired with the thought that that building was what he needed for a temporary chapel in which to form the nucleus of a congregation for the new church when it was finished. When Mr. Cotting became acquainted with his desire and its object, he magnanimously made the house a deed of gift to him. It was then moved across the street from its original site and placed upon the church land and soon afterwards its reception and dining room were converted into the semblance of a chapel in a simple way without marring the orig-

inal contour of the rooms. Mr. Cotting attended the first church service which was held in it and then unhappily caught a cold from which he died.

Whilst the house was used for a chapel many prominent bishops of the Episcopal church addressed the congregation gathered within the walls. The Rt. Rev. C. Whitehead, D. D., Bishop of Pittsburgh, also Bishops Talbot, Brewer, Walker, Gilbert and Coleman, the Bishop of Delaware. At the laying of the cornerstone of the new St. Luke's, November 10, 1891, the house was crowded with a large assembly of prominent clergy and laity of the Episcopal church, among them the Rt. Rev. Henry Codman Potter, Bishop of New York. He was the chief speaker of the day and it might be proper here to quote a part of his address, bearing on the subject of Hamilton as the first secretary of the treasury of our government. "I wonder if your imaginations were touched as mine was when your Rector, Dr. Tuttle, recalled that the new birth of St. Luke's church has taken place within these walls where lived the third most famous of all the early national heroes—Washington and Jefferson being those to whom we must yield priority—the splendid financier who took the finances of the Republic and snatched them out of the very 'slough of despond,'—so gifted, so accomplished, so charming, so many-sided! How he lives in the hearts of Americans to-day! How his spirit may inspire us! When we want to fly into some foolish financial policy, may we be recalled by his great financial mind."

After the completion of the building of the new St. Luke's church, "The Grange," ceased to be used as a chapel and was turned into a school, but for the last three years it has served as the church rectory and parish house. Its interior construction remains the same as when the Hamilton family occupied it and will remain unchanged so that future generations may see the apartments that Lafayette and Hamilton had just as they were so far as walls, woodwork and shape are concerned, when their august occupants used them. The large parlor and dining room on the first floor have octagonal windows at both ends, and in the former room there still remains intact the old colonial fireplace with brass fixtures. The large mirrors that

formerly lined the walls of the dining room and reflected the movements of the boats on the Harlem river to the family when seated at the table were removed unfortunately before St. Luke's took possession of the building. Efforts are now being made by the Society of the Sons of the American Revolution and the Washington Heights Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution and the American Scenic and Historical Preservation Society, to have the city purchase the Grange and preserve it as an historic museum.

Rev. George Ashton Oldham, the rector of St. Luke's, on March 30, 1911, wrote me on this subject as follows: "I am writing to inform you that although many of our people, for sentimental reasons, are anxious to retain possession of the Hamilton Grange, I have no doubt that the Church Corporation would be willing to part with the building to the City or State for a fair compensation. By which I mean such an amount as would enable us to erect a suitable building in its place. Although personally, I should be loth to part with the old house, I can see very clearly that from the standpoint of the public at large, it would be much better for it to be controlled and managed by the State or some Patriotic Society. Indeed the apathy and indifference of such persons towards this one of the very few remaining historical landmarks has been rather a matter of surprise to me, especially in view of the high estimation in which Alexander Hamilton is held."

The law under which this property can be transferred to the city reads as follows:

CHAPTER 220.

AN ACT to authorize the city of New York to acquire the Alexander Hamilton mansion, known as Hamilton Grange, and move it to a site in that portion of Saint Nicholas park, formerly constituting a part of the Alexander Hamilton farm.

Became a law, May 6, 1908, with the approval of the Governor.
Passed, three-fifths being present.

Accepted by the City.

THE PEOPLE OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK, REPRESENTED IN SENATE AND ASSEMBLY, DO ENACT AS FOLLOWS:

Section 1. The corporation known as "The Rector, Churchwardens and Vestrymen of Saint Luke's Protestant Episcopal Church" is hereby authorized to transfer and convey to the city of New York, either with or without consideration, the Alexander Hamilton mansion, known as Hamilton Grange, now owned by such church and located on the church property adjoining the church at the northeast corner of One Hundred and Forty-first street and Convent avenue in the city of New York. The city of New York is hereby authorized to acquire such property, either by purchase or as a gift and the board of estimate and apportionment is hereby authorized in its discretion to appropriate sufficient funds for the purchase of such grange and the removal of the same to a site in that portion of Saint Nicholas Park, which was formerly part of the Alexander Hamilton farm. Such site shall be selected by the board of estimate and apportionment and such authority as may be necessary for the utilizing of such park lands for such purpose is hereby granted. If such grange be given without consideration to the city of New York and accepted by it, the city of New York shall bear the expense of restoring the premises from which it is removed in such manner as may be agreed upon by the board of estimate and apportionment and such church corporation.

Sec. 2. Upon the removal of such grange to Saint Nicholas park, the same shall be under the jurisdiction of the commissioner of parks, who is authorized in his discretion to transfer the custody thereof to the Sons of the American Revolution or any similar society of the war of the revolution, for such a period of years and on such terms and conditions as he may deem advisable for the establishment therein of a public museum for the collection, preservation and exhibition of historical relics.

Sec. 3. The comptroller shall upon the requisition of the board of estimate and apportionment issue revenue bonds in such amount as may be needed to pay the expenses of purchasing and removing such grange and relocating the same as provided by this act.

Sec. 4. This act shall take effect immediately.

And when on April 20, 1909, the writer brought the matter to the attention of the Empire State Society, Sons of the American Revolution, and moved the following resolution, which was passed by a unanimous vote:



Residence of Col. Marinus Willett



Burns' Coffee House

Places and People of Old New York

WHEREAS, This Society holds in profound respect and honor the memory of Alexander, Hamilton as a contemporary with Washington and Jefferson in the organization of the system of government of this Republic, and that he more than any other thought out our Federal Constitution and put new life into our whole financial system; and

WHEREAS, By Chapter 220 of the Laws of 1908, St. Luke's Protestant Episcopal Church in this city, the present owner of the "Alexander Hamilton Mansion" known as "Hamilton Grange" at 141st Street and Convent Avenue is authorized to transfer and convey to the City of New York, either with or without consideration the said mansion, and the city is authorized to acquire such property, and the Board of Estimate and Apportionment is authorized in its discretion to appropriate sufficient funds for said purchase and the removal of said building, under the jurisdiction of the Commissioner of Parks, to a site in that portion of St. Nicholas Park which was a part of the Alexander Hamilton farm, and upon such removal said commissioner is authorized in his discretion to transfer the custody of said mansion to the society of the "Sons of the American Revolution, or any similar society of the war of the revolution," on such terms and conditions "as to its custody," as he may deem advisable for the establishment therein of a public museum for the collection, preservation and exhibition of historical relics; therefore, ,

RESOLVED, That we, the Empire State Society, Sons of the American Revolution, so heartily approve of the object of the movement, as herein stated, for the preservation of the home of this famous and gifted son of New York; and further

RESOLVED, That the present Committee be empowered to confer with the proper municipal authorities and with the officers of the above named Church, and to report such plan of action in the premises as they may deem advisable and feasible.

And the action taken by the D. A. R. Society is fully represented in the following Preamble and Resolution:

WHEREAS, The flight of time and the pressure of population are depriving the City of the memorials of its citizens who were foremost in achieving American Independence and in erecting our republican institutions; and

WHEREAS, The residence of ALEXANDER HAMILTON, orator, statesman and patriot, aide-de-camp to General Washington, Major-General in the American Army, First Secretary of the Treasury, the establisher of the public credit and one of

the chief authors and interpreters of the Constitution, is the last of the buildings in this City associated with the great founders of the nation, which is still left exposed to the vicissitudes of private ownership; and

WHEREAS, This residence situated on Convent avenue, near 141st street, is adjacent to that portion of the Alexander Hamilton farm recently added to St. Nicholas Park; and

WHEREAS, This residence was erected with lumber from the Albany estate of General Philip Schuyler; is an interesting example of colonial architecture; and is associated as a place of sojourn with such names as Schuyler, Morris, Pinckney and Kent; and

WHEREAS, The objects of the Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution as expressed in Article II, Section I, of the Constitution, are:

(1) To perpetuate the memory of the spirit of the men and women who achieved American Independence by the acquisition and protection of historical spots and the erection of monuments; by the encouragement of historical research in relation to the Revolution and the publication of its results; by the preservation of documents and relics, and of the records of the individual services of Revolutionary soldiers and patriots, and by the promotion of celebrations of all patriotic anniversaries.

Therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the Washington Heights Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, in furtherance of the purposes of our Constitution and representing the wishes of the patriotic citizens and societies who have already memorialized the Park Commissioner, do hereby most respectfully petition the Municipal Authorities of New York City to make an appropriation sufficient to acquire and remove the said building from its present location to a site in such portion of St. Nicholas Park as was formerly part of the Alexander Hamilton Farm; and be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of these resolutions be sent to the proper Municipal Authorities, the members of the Board of Estimate and Apportionment, and also to other Patriotic and Historic Societies and the public Press, for their endorsement.

Adopted at a meeting of the Washington Heights Chapter, National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution held at 238 West 139th street, New York City, on Monday, February 5th, 1912.

Regent,
Mrs. Samuel J. Kramer.
Secretary,
Mrs. Charles Eninger.

New York should preserve this building because Alexander Hamilton was her most illustrious citizen. Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, the distinguished president of Columbia University, from which when it was but a small college, Hamilton graduated, crystalizes in a few eloquent words, a summing up of Hamilton's position in American history: "Five great nation builders stand out above all others by reason of the supreme service they rendered. The five are Washington, Hamilton, Marshall, Webster and Lincoln, of these five Hamilton was in some respects the most remarkable. He built not for the day but for the nation's history."

Talleyrand said of Hamilton: "I availed myself of the opportunity thus offered to meet the chief personages connected with the American Revolution, especially General Alexander Hamilton, whose mind, character and ability place him on a par with the most distinguished statesmen of Europe."

Guzot, the historian, says: "There is not in the Constitution of the United States an element of order or of force or of duration which he (Hamilton) has not powerfully contributed to introduce and caused to predominate."

Daniel Webster said:

"He smote the rock of the National resources and abundant streams of revenue gushed forth."

Story, the historian, always spoke of Hamilton as: "The model of eloquence and the most fascinating of orators."

(These three inscriptions appear upon the Alexander Hamilton Memorial in front of the Hamilton Club, Brooklyn, N. Y.).

Bismarck, the famous German Chancellor, consulted Hamilton's arguments on federation when the German Empire was being formed.

Webster declared that, "The fabled birth of Minerva from the brain of Jove was hardly more sudden or more perfect than the financial system of the United States as it burst forth from the conception of Alexander Hamilton."

Besides this may we not truly say this great American belonged in an exceptional sense to New York because it was his home from youth to his all untimely death, and was the scene of most of his important life work and here rest his mortal remains.

And New York as a great financial center owes the greatest of obligations to this famous statesman, because he was the organizer of the financial and commercial system of the nation, and because he gave the best years of his life to his country and took for all his great labors less than a living wage. He never even enjoyed the recompense due for his military services, for he had resigned any such claims in order to be left free to advocate the cause of the Army in Congress, nor did he receive the usual allowance of lands such as were made to officers of rank similar to his own. Also his salary as secretary of the Treasury was totally inadequate to the position, and during his term of office he was obliged to contract many liabilities which fortunately by his lucrative law practice in this city he was able to clear up entirely sometime before his death.

In advocacy of our City's caring for the preservation of the Grange, Victor Hugo Duras, in his article in the *Americana* on Hamilton, says: "While the Nation has so carefully preserved Mount Vernon, the home of the 'Father of His Country,' and Virginia will soon see it to be fitting to preserve 'Monticello,' the home of the 'Author of the Declaration of Independence,' up to this time the home of Alexander Hamilton, although now beautifully maintained, has not as yet been taken over by either the Nation, the State or even the City which was so honored by the residence of the great "Federalist." "

PROCLAMATION, **TO THE CITIZENS OF** **PADUCAH!**

I have come among you, not as an enemy, but as your friend and fellow-citizen, not to injure or annoy you, but to respect the rights, and to defend and enforce the rights of all loyal citizens. An enemy, in rebellion against our common Government, has taken possession of, and planted its guns upon the soil of Kentucky and fired upon our flag. Hickman and Columbus are in his hands. He is moving upon your city. I am here to defend you against this enemy and to assert and maintain the authority and sovereignty of your Government and mine. I have nothing to do with opinions. I shall deal only with armed rebellion and its aiders and abetors.

You can pursue your usual avocations without fear or hindrance. The strong arm of the Government is here to protect its friends, and to punish only its enemies. Whenever it is manifest that you are able to defend yourselves, to maintain the authority of your Government and protect the rights of all its loyal citizens, I shall withdraw the forces under my command from your city.

U. S. GRANT,

Brig. Gen. U. S. A., Commanding

Paducah. Sept 6th. 1861.

Gen. Grant's Proclamation to the Citizens of Paducah

The Unpublished Letters of Grant

BY WILLIAM K. SIMMONS

AN exceptionally interesting book, especially to students of American History, was published by G. P. Putnam's Sons in October. It is a collection of the letters which Ulysses S. Grant wrote to his father and youngest sister at various times between 1857 and 1878. Why these letters should have been permitted to remain unpublished for so many years we are not told. Indeed, few may ask this question for we are too glad to be able to read them at all and to be able to view the interesting and important side lights upon current events which they present.

In the preface of the volume, Mr. George Haven Putnam says:

“There has of late been a tendency, as a result of the teachings of certain historical authorities to minimize the influence of the leadership of the so-called great men and to question the importance of their work as a factor in shaping the history of the time. Great events are referred to as brought about by such general influences as the ‘spirit of the times’ (*Goethe’s Zeitgeist*), the ‘movement of humanity,’ or ‘forces of society.’ If we accepted the theories of the writers of this school, we should be forced to the conclusion that generations of men move across the world’s stage impelled by forces entirely outside of themselves; and that as far as the opportunity of individual action is concerned, that is for action initiated and completed under his own will-power, man might almost as well be a squirrel working in a revolving cage. The squirrel imagines that he moves the cylinder, but the outsider knows that the movement is predetermined and that there is no change of position and no net result from the exertion.

“A large number of people hold, notwithstanding, to the old-time feeling expressed, and doubtless exaggerated and over-emphasized in such books as Carlyle’s *Hero Worship*. They are unwilling, and in fact they find it practically impossible to get away from the belief that the thought of the time is directed by the great thinkers and that the action of the community is influenced and largely shaped by the power, whether this be utilized for good or for evil of the great men of action.

“In any case, men will continue to be interested in the personalities of the leaders whose names are connected with the great event of history. The citizens of each nation look back with legitimate pride upon the patriotic work of those who have helped to found the State, or to maintain its existence.

“Among the national leaders whose names will always hold an honorable place in American History is Ulysses S. Grant, the simple-hearted man and capable soldier, to whose patriotism, courage, persistence and skill was so largely due the successful termination of the war between the States, the contest which assured the foundations of the Republic. We are interested not only in learning what this man did, but in coming to know, as far as may be practicable, what manner of man he was. It is all-important in a study of development of character to have placed within reach the utterances of the man himself. There is no utterance that can give as faithful a picture of a man’s method of thought and principle of action, as the personal letter, written with no thought of later publication to those who are near to him. . . . These letters dating back to the time of his youth give a clear and trustworthy impression of the nature of the man and of the development of character and of force that made possible his all-valuable leadership.”

The volume is edited by General Grant’s nephew, Jesse Grant Cramer, who introduces the letters with a brief introductory note which may well be reproduced here:

“In 1843, at the age of twenty-one, Ulysses S. Grant was graduated from West Point with the rank of brevet second-lieutenant. He was appointed to the 4th Infantry, stationed at Jefferson Barracks, near St. Louis. In May, 1844, he was ordered to the frontier of Louisiana with the army of observation, while

the annexation of Texas was pending. The Bill for the annexation of Texas was passed March 1, 1845; the war with Mexico began in April, 1846. Grant was promoted to a first-lieutenancy September, 1847. The Mexican war closed in 1848. Both this war and the Civil War he characterized in his *Memoirs* as 'unholy.'

"Soon after his return from Mexico he was married to Julia Dent. The next six years were spent in military duty in Sacketts Harbor, New York, Detroit, Michigan, and on the Pacific Coast. He was promoted to the captaincy of a company in 1853; but because of the inadequacy of a captain's pay, he resigned from the army July, 1854, and rejoined his wife and children at St. Louis. In speaking of this period Grant says, 'I was now to commence at the age of thirty-two a new struggle for our support.' "

The first chapter in this new struggle was farming, and it is with this that the first letter in the book has to do. It was written to his youngest sister, Mary, then sixteen years old, afterwards Mrs. Cramer. The "Jenny" to whom he refers was the second sister, afterwards Mrs. Corbin. This letter reads:

ST. LOUIS, MO., Aug. 22, 1857.

DEAR SISTER: I am glad to hear that mother and Jennie intend to make us a visit. I would advise them to come by the river if they prefer it. Write me beforehand the time you will start, and from Louisville again, what boat you will be on. * * *

I have nothing in particular to write about. My hard work is now over for the season with a fair prospect of being remunerated in everything but the wheat. My wheat, which should have produced from four to five hundred bushels with a good Winter, has yielded only seventy-five. My oats were good, and the corn, if not injured by frost this Fall, will be the best I ever raised. My potato crop bids fair to yield fifteen hundred bushels or more. Sweet potatoes, melons and cabbages, are the only other articles I am raising for market. In fact, the oats and corn I shall not sell.

I see I have written a part of this letter as if I intended to direct to one, and part as if to the other of you; but you will understand it, so it makes no difference.

Write to me soon and often. Julia wears black. I had forgotten to answer that part of your letter.

Your affectionate Brother,

ULYSS.

In the fall of 1858, Grant sold at auction his stock in crops and gave up farming, that he might go into business with his father, Jesse Grant, who had founded a leather store in Galena with the exception that his three sons would succeed him in business. It is this opening to which he refers with characteristic independence in the following letter:

ST. LOUIS, Oct. 1, 1858.

DEAR FATHER: I arrived home Tuesday evening, and, it being my "chill" day, of course felt very badly. Julia has been much worse during my absence. Fred has improved steadily and can now hear nearly as well as before his sickness. Mr. Dent and myself will make a sale this fall and get clear of all stock on the place, and then rent the cleared out land and sell about 400 acres of the north end of the place. As I explained to you, this will include my place. I shall plan to go to Covington towards spring, and would prefer your offer to any one of mere salary that could be offered. I do not want any place for permanent stipulated pay, but want the prospect of one day doing business for myself. There is a pleasure in knowing that one's income depends somewhat upon his own exertions and business capacity, that cannot be felt when so much and no more is coming in, regardless of the success of the business engaged in or the manner in which it is done.

Mr. Dent thinks I had better take the boy he has given Julia along with me, and let him learn the farrier's business. He is a very smart, active boy, capable of making anything; but this matter I will leave entirely to you. I can leave him here and get about \$3 per month for him now, and more as he gets older. Give my love to all at home.

Yours truly,

ULYSSES.

To J. R. GRANT, ESQ.,
Covington, Ky.

In the following letter the point must be understood that Orvil is the youngest brother and that the appointment referred to was one for the place of County Engineer. In his memoirs Grant thus speaks of the "Freesoilers:"

"The Whig Party had ceased to exist. The Know Nothing Party had taken its place but was on the wane; the Republican Party was in a chaotic state and had not yet received a name. It had no existence in the Slave States, except at points on the

borders of the Free States. In St. Louis City and County, what afterward became the Republican Party, was known as the Free Soil Democracy."

Professorship of Mathematics referred to: When Grant left the Military Academy he had no intention of remaining in the army. He then expected to teach mathematics, and had already applied for such a position at West Point. The Mexican War, however, soon drew him into active military life.

The real estate venture, of which he speaks, was unsuccessful. It was a business even then much overcrowded. Necessity, not instability, dictated the various experiments.

ST. LOUIS, Aug. 20, 1859.

DEAR FATHER: On last Wednesday I received your letter and the Monday before one from Mr. Burke, from both of which I much regretted to learn of Simpson's continued ill health. I at once wrote to Orvil, whose arrival at Galena I learned from Burke's letter, to urge Simpson to come by steamer to St. Louis and spend some time with me, and if it should prove necessary for any one to accompany him, I would take him home. Cannot Jennie and Orvil's wife come this way when they start for Galena? We would like very much to see them.

I am not oversanguine of getting the appointment mentioned in my last letter. The Board of Commissioners, who make the appointment, are divided—three Free Soilers to two opposed—and although friends who are recommending me are the very first citizens of this place, and members of all parties, I fear they will make strictly party nominations for all the offices under their control. As to the professorship you speak of, that was filled some time ago. And were it not, I would stand no earthly chance. The Washington University, where the vacancy was to be filled, is one of the best endowed institutions in the United States, and all the professorships are sought after by persons whose early advantages were the same as mine, but who have been engaged in teaching all their mature years.

Quimby, who was the best mathematician in my class, and who was for several years an assistant at West Point, and for nine years a Professor in an institution in New York, was an unsuccessful applicant. The appointment was given to the most distinguished man in his department in the country, and an author. His name is Shorano. Since putting in my application for the appointment of County Engineer, I have learned that the place is not likely to be filled before February next. What I

shall do depends entirely upon what I can get to do. Our present business is entirely overdone in the city, at least a dozen new houses having started about the same time as I commenced. I do not want to fly from one thing to another, nor would I, but I am compelled to make a living from the start for which I am willing to give all my time and all my energy.

ULYSSES.

Here is a letter to his brother Simpson. This letter is a naive expression of a fundamental trait in Grant's character, belief in the essential honesty of every man.

ST. LOUIS, Oct. 24, 1859.

DEAR BROTHER: I have been postponing writing to you hoping to make a return for your horse, but as yet I have received nothing for him. About two weeks ago a man spoke to me for him and said that he would try him the next day, and if he suited, give me \$100 for him. I have not seen the man since; but one week ago last Saturday he went to the stable and got the horse, saddle and bridle, since which I have seen neither man nor horse. From this I presume he must like him. The man, I understand, lives in Florissant, about 12 miles from this city.

My family are all well and living in our own house. It is much more pleasant than where we lived when you were here, and contains practically about as much room. I am still unemployed, but expect to have a place in the Custom House from the first of the month. My name has been forwarded for the appointment of Superintendent, which, if I do not get it, will not probably be filled at all. In that case there is a vacant desk which I may get that pays \$1,200 a year. The other will be worth from \$1,500 to \$1,800 and will occupy but little time.

Remember me to all at home,

Yours,

U. S. GRANT,

In March, 1861, Lincoln was inaugurated President. Fort Sumpter was fired on, and Lincoln issued his first call for troops, 75,000 volunteers. The quota for Illinois had been fixed as six regiments. Galena immediately raised a company. Grant declined the Captaincy, but promised his aid in every other way. The following letter shows Grant's political attitude at the time:

GALENA, April 21, 1861.

DEAR FATHER: We are now in the midst of trying times when every one must be for or against his country, and show his colors, too, by his every act. Having been educated for such an emergency, at the expense of the Government, I feel that it has upon me the superior claims, such claims as no ordinary motives of self-interest can surmount. I do not wish to act hastily or unadvisedly in the matter, and as there are more than enough to respond to the first call of the President, I have not yet offered myself. I have promised, and am giving all the assistance I can in organizing the company whose services have been accepted from this place. I have promised further, to go with them to the State capital, and if I can be of service to the Governor in organizing his State troops to do so. What I ask now is your approval of the course I am taking, or advice in the matter. A letter written this week will reach me in Springfield. I have not time to write to you but a hasty line, for, though Sunday as it is, we are all busy here. In a few minutes I shall be engaged in directing tailors in the style and trim of uniform for our men.

Whatever may have been my political opinions before, I have but one sentiment now. That is, we have a Government, and laws, and a flag, and they must all be sustained. There are but two parties now, traitors and patriots, and I want hereafter to be ranked with the latter, and I trust, the stronger party. I do not know but you may be placed in an awkward position, and a dangerous one pecuniarily, but costs cannot be counted. My advice would be to leave where you are if you are not safe with the views you entertain. I would never stultify my opinion for the sake of a little security.

Yours truly,

U. S. GRANT.

At the time of the following letter Grant has changed his mind and joined the Northern army. He is assisting in the Adjutant General's office, as requested by Gov. Yates. There are interesting passages about the war feeling at the time he writes:

SPRINGFIELD, May 2, 1861.

DEAR FATHER: Your letter of the 24th received the same evening one I had written to Mary was mailed.

I am not a volunteer, and, indeed, could not be, now that I did not go into the first company raised in Galena. The call of the

President was so promptly responded to that only those companies that organized at once and telegraphed their application to come in were received. All other applications were filed, and there are enough of them to furnish the Illinois quota. The army should be raised to 300,000 men. I am serving on the Governor's staff at present at his request, but suppose I shall not be here long.

I should have offered myself for the Coloneley of one of the regiments, but I find all those places are wanted by politicians who are up to log-rolling, and I do not care to be under such persons.

The war feeling is not abating here much, although hostilities appear more remote than they did a few days ago. Three of the six regiments mustered in from this State are now at Cairo, and probably will be reinforced with two others within a few days.

Galena has several more companies organized but only one of them will be able to come in under a new call for ten regiments. Chicago has raised companies enough nearly to fill all the first call. The Northern feeling is so fully aroused that they will stop at no expense of money and men to insure the success of their cause.

I presume the feeling is just as strong on the other side, but they are infinitely in the minority in resources.

I have not heard from Galena since coming down here, but presume all is moving along smoothly. My advice was not to urge collections from such men as we knew to be good, and to make no efforts to sell in the present distracted state of our currency. The money will not buy Eastern exchange and is liable to become worse; I think that thirty days from this we shall have specie, and the bills of good foreign banks to do business on, and then will be the time to collect.

If Mary writes to me any time next week she may direct here to

ULYSSES.

President Lincoln asked the Illinois delegation in Congress to recommend some citizens of the State for the place of Brigadier General. They unanimously recommended Grant first in a list of seven. Meanwhile he had been promoted to the rank of Brigadier General. He was then ordered to Missouri, 70 miles south of St. Louis. This letter is to his sister Mary, and is interesting because it gives Grant's idea on the length of the war. Grant at the beginning thought that it would end within six weeks, and, indeed, maintained that opinion until after the battle of Shiloh:

IRONTON, Mo., Aug. 12, 1861.

DEAR SISTER: Your letter directed to me at Mexico came to my hand yesterday at this place. * * * When I came here it was reported that this place was to be attacked by 8,000 Secessionists within a day or so. Now their forces seem to be reduced, and their distance from here to have increased. Scouting parties, however, are constantly seen within a few miles of our pickets. I have here about 3,000 volunteers, nearly all infantry, but, our position being strong and our cause a good one, it would trouble a much larger force of the enemy to dislodge us. You ask my views about the continuance of the war, and so forth. Well I have changed my mind so much that I don't know what to think. That the rebels will be so badly whipped by April next that they cannot make a stand anywhere, I don't doubt. But they are so dogged that there is no telling when they may be subdued. Send Union troops among them and respect all their rights, pay for everything you get, and they become desperate and reckless because their State sovereignty is invaded. Troops of the opposite side march through and take everything they want, leaving no pay but scrip, and they become desperate secession partisans because they have nothing more to lose. Every change makes them more desperate. I should like to be sent to Western Virginia, but my lot seems to be cast in this part of the world.

I wanted to remain in St. Louis a day or two to get some books to read that might help me in my profession, and have my uniform made. Mine has been a busy life from the beginning, and my new-made friends in Illinois seem to give me great credit. I hope to deserve it, and shall spare no pains on my part to do so.

It is precious little time I shall have for writing letters, but I have subscribed for The Daily St. Louis Democrat to be sent to you, through which you may occasionally hear from me.

Write to me often even though your letters are not answered. As I told father in my last I will try to have you hear from me twice a month if I have to write you after midnight.

I told Julia she might go to Covington and board whilst I am away but I don't know but that she had better stay where she is. The people of Galena have always shown the greatest friendship for me and I would prefer keeping my home there. I would like very much, though, if you would go and stay with Julia.

If I get a uniform and get where I can have my daguerreotype taken, your wish in that respect shall be gratified.

Your Brother,

ULYS.

Grant's description of a battle in a letter is most interesting,

the battle of Belmont being the first event of importance after the occupation of Paducah. This was the first time the men and officers were under fire, and they behaved like veterans:

CAIRO, Nov. 8, 1861.

DEAR FATHER: It is late at night and I want to get a letter into the mail for you before it closes. As I have just finished a very hasty letter to Julia that contains about what I would write, and having something else to do myself, I will have my clerk copy it.

Day before yesterday I left here with about 3,000 men in five steamers, conveyed by two gunboats, and proceeded down the river to within twelve miles of Columbus. The next morning the boats were dropped down just out of range of the enemy's batteries and the troops debarked.

During this operation our gunboats exercised the rebels by throwing shells into their camps and batteries.

When all ready we proceeded about one mile towards Belmont, opposite Columbus; then I formed the troops into line, and ordered two companies from each regiment to deploy as skirmishers, and push on through the woods, and discover the position of the enemy. They had gone but a little way when they were fired upon, and the ball may be said to have fairly opened.

The whole command with the exception of a small reserve, was then deployed in like manner with the first, and ordered forward. The order was obeyed with great alacrity, the men all showing great courage. I can say with gratification that every Colonel without a single exception set an example to his command that inspired a confidence that will always insure victory when there is the slightest possibility of gaining one. I feel truly proud to command such men. From here we fought our way from tree to tree through the woods to Belmont, about two and a half miles, the enemy contesting every foot of ground. Here the enemy had strengthened their position by felling the trees for two or three hundred yards and sharpening the limbs, making a sort of abattis. Our men charged through, making the victory complete, giving us possession of their camp and garrison equipment, artillery, and everything else.

We got a great many prisoners. The majority, however, succeeded in getting aboard their steamer and pushing across the river.

We burned everything possible and started back, having accomplished all that we went for, and even more. Belmont is entirely covered by the batteries from Columbus, and is worth

nothing as a military position. It cannot be held without Columbus.

The object of the expedition was to prevent the enemy from sending a force into Missouri to cut off troops I had sent there for a special purpose and to prevent reinforcing Price.

Besides being well fortified at Columbus, their numbers far exceed ours, and it would have been folly to have attacked them. We found the Confederates well armed and braced. On our return, stragglers that had been left in our rear, now front, fired into us, and more recrossed the river and gave us battle for fully a mile, and afterward at the boats when we were embarking. There was no hasty retreating or running away. Taking into account the object of the expedition, the victory was most complete. It has given me a confidence in the officers and men of this command that will enable me to lead them in any future engagement without fear of the result. Gen. McClelland (who by the way acted with great coolness throughout, and proved that he is a soldier as well as statesman) and myself each had our horses shot under us. Most of the field officers met with the same loss, besides nearly one-third of them being killed or wounded themselves. As nearly as I can ascertain our loss was about 250 killed, wounded and missing.

I write in great haste to get this to the office to-night.

U. S. GRANT.

Our Unfought War With England

PART II

OF the series of unpublished letters presented at a recent meeting of the Massachusetts Historical Society, by Charles Francis Adams, from the papers of his father, Minister at the Court of St. James in 1861, a second installment follows:

ADAMS TO MOTLEY

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
LONDON, 4 December, 1861.

MY DEAR SIR: I am here quietly waiting the development of events over which I have no control, and in which I had no participation. Down to the moment of the outbreak about the *Trent* I had been flattering myself that things were getting better here rather than worse, and that I was gradually gaining upon the confidence of the Government. But in critical times the mistake of a naval officer may in a moment overturn the firmest superstructure. It was so in former times and it has proved so now. That Captain Wilkes acted solely on his own responsibility I have not a shadow of doubt. That on the basis of every English construction of the law of nations, as well as of its uniform practice the act may be defended, is equally clear to me. On the other hand, however, it ought to be remembered that the uniform tendency of our own policy has been to set up very high the doctrine of neutral rights, and to limit in every possible manner the odious doctrine of search. To have the two countries virtually changing their ground under this momentary temptation, would not, as it seems to me, tend to benefit the posi-

tion of the United States. Whereas a contrary policy might be made the means of securing a great concession of principle from Great Britain. Whether the Government at home will remain cool enough to see its opportunity I have no means of judging. I am making my arrangements on the expectation of an opposite course. If I remain here after New Year I shall be surprised. Nor yet do I feel as if I wanted very much to stay. The best thing for the two countries would be a stoppage of relations for a short time without actual war. As it is you may well imagine that my situation will not be likely to grow pleasanter. Though personally people treat me well, and Government professes to be fully satisfied, it is by no means agreeable to be made an exception of. The distinction might be thought to imply a good deal more of subserviency than I am disposed to earn a character for. My countrymen may be sometimes wrong, but in their relations with the mother country from first to last I honestly believe that their record will stand before posterity by far the best. Neither will that portion of it which has been made up since these latest troubles began tend in my opinion to change the character of the verdict. Its principal characteristic on the side of England is intense egoism and short-sighted nationality. Its type is the Minister who guides its policy. Had the view been more expanded, had the mind of Great Britain addressed itself to the recognition of great moral results to be arrived at in the movement of opinion over the world towards the protection of the human family against wilful wrong, perhaps the course of events might have been different. It is not for us to call in question the course of Divine Providence which regulates all these things much better than any of us could aspire to do, for the benefit of the world.

Should the worst happen to us I do not quite see the consequences which you imagine to flow from it. There will be many neutral nations who will naturally seek to appropriate to themselves the profits which Great Britain will wantonly throw away. She may injure us on the sea-board, but she cannot subject us. And the end will be that changes will take place in the course of trade as well as of political sympathies which may lead to important consequences in the course of years to the well-

being of the British community. She has now no friends in the world not of her own blood. She will ultimately find the exception the most bitter of her enemies. She may conciliate the slave-holder of the South but her treaties with him must be made only as that of Faust was made, exchanging a present enjoyment for eternal condemnation. . . .

This last news caught us in the midst of a visit to Monekton Milnes. I find I cannot follow that practice farther.

Very truly yours,

C. F. ADAMS.

ANDREW TO RUSSELL

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS,
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
BOSTON, December 11, 1861.

MY DEAR SIR: I thank you for your note of the 7th enclosing a slip from the *Evening Post* condemning the numerous manifestations of misplaced sympathy by some citizens of Boston with rebel prisoners confined at Fort Warren.

I fully appreciate your feelings in this matter and share with the writer of the *Post* in his condemnation of that sympathy with traitors which makes men, in comparison with whom Benedict Arnold was a saint, comfortable in their confinement, while our own brave defenders of liberty and Union and the rights of man are cut off from all such sympathy be the rigorous despotism of the southern oligarchy—but I do not know of anything that I can do to prevent it.

I very well remember Mason's insolent overbearing demeanor in that memorable interview between himself and old John Brown, and can truly rejoice with you that, if he does not, in all respects, receive all the compensation for his baseness through a long public career in the few days which yet remain to him in this life, his power for future mischief is forever abridged, and that all the luxuries which Boston sympathizers with treason and with traitors can bestow cannot defeat the purposes and the plans of infinite justice. Very truly and faithfully yours.

JOHN A. ANDREW.

Edward Russell, New York.

ADAMS TO DANA

LONDON, 13 December, 1861.

MY DEAR SIR: Probably the thing is all over with you before now: certainly it will be before this reaches you. It has been a curious state of feeling among us here to witness the calm confidence with which you repose in the belief that Great Britain will abide by her former policy, merely because you can quote chapter and verse against her. The experience of the past summer might have convinced you that she was not indifferent to the disruption of the Union. In May she drove in the tip of the wedge, and now you can't remember that a few spider's webs of half a century back will not be strong enough to hold her from driving it home. Little do you understand of the fast-anchored isle.

But what provokes me most is that we should consent to take up and to wear her cast-off rags. Our record on this question as against her is like the Archangel Michael's as against Satan. And now we are trying to prove that she was right when she is ready to cry *peccavi*, not because she really repents, but because the sin has become inconvenient.

I have not time to enter into the argument. My present expectation is that I shall have a chance before long to talk it over with you.

Ever truly yours,

C. F. ADAMS.

ADAMS TO DAVIS

LONDON, 13 December, 1861.

MY DEAR SIR: I am indebted to you for several letters which I regret to say I have not had the time to answer. They have all been quite encouraging in their tone, for which I was especially thankful. The worst thing we have had to contend against here has been the continuously unfavorable accounts from persons who affect public opinion through the newspapers.

Since the affair of the *Trent* matters have taken quite a new turn, and the disposition to take a hand in settling our affairs for us has become very predominant. We are all waiting with more

or less impatience the answer to the message by the *Europa*. Most of us think that it has not been put in the most favorable channel to be pacific. So that we are making our preparations to accept a polite invitation to receive our passports. I hope the Government will be able to see its way to a contrary result. For really these two gentlemen rebels do not seem to me worth what they are likely to cost us. But I pray you as the matter has already been in all probability decided before now, to keep this my opinion entirely to yourself.

With best respects to Mrs. Davis, I am, etc.,

C. F. ADAMS.

To Charles Aug. Davis.

DANA TO ADAMS

Boston, December 17, 1861.

MY DEAR SIR: This steamer brings a terrific howl from England, on the *Trent* question.—“The smug and silver Trent comes me cranking in, and cuts me off from my domain a huge half-moon, a monstrous cantle [out]”—all the South!

On a question of international law, I would offer no opinion to a person understanding the question as you do; but on a question of Prize Tribunals and Prize Processes, I have, of late, acquired some little knowledge, and got into the way of forming opinions. If England is going to make war upon us on a question of *abatement*, when the verdict and judgment have done substantial justice, let her do it, and the curse of the God of Peace be upon her!

But, independent of a question of Prize, did not your father, in one of his documents, say that Great Britain did not restrict her claim of the right to take seamen from our vessels to her own subjects? Did he not say that she extended her claim, as she did her usage, to Danes and Swedes, and men of all nations with whom she was at peace? I have never examined the question whether the taking of persons from a neutral vessel by a belligerent, when the having them on board was a breach of neutrality, can be justified on any other grounds than *as part of a Prize proceeding*. Is the belligerent obliged, in a clear case, to treat the

vessel as a prize, and have the change of property in her passed upon by the courts? If the hostile act is merely the transporting of soldiers, may he make the soldiers prisoners, and make no claim on the vessel, and prove the facts as in all other cases of international conflicts on land? Is the omission to insist on the capture and bringing in of the vessel, a good ground of complaint? It seems to me that he may do so. The release is no injury to the neutral owner, or to any private interest, but a benefit. So far as the neutral sovereign is concerned, for the invasion of the flag, and territory, etc., cannot the question be decided between the two sovereigns as almost all other questions of conflict are, by the best evidence attainable of facts, and the opinions of jurists and constitutional advisers? To insist on the capture and taking in of the vessel, seems to me a confounding of two things that do not belong together.

But, if I am wrong on that question, was the *Trent* a lawful prize? On that you have, doubtless, a fixed opinion, to which I defer, without knowing what it is. My own opinion, and I think the universal American opinion, is that she was a lawful prize. Mason and Slidell were bound on an errand solely, necessarily, and extremely hostile. The mission was treason to the United States, and, in the view of the law of nations, one which embraced and included all possible hostilities; nor were they ambassadors, in the opinion of England. Their mission was notorious and of the highest character, and the *Trent* took them with full knowledge. She gave them what they needed most, transportation under safe conduct and disguise of a neutral flag; and she refused to our cruiser the right of search. If these facts would not condemn her, in any Prize court, there is no such thing as law to Prize.

But, now to my specialty! We understand Great Britain to say that however that may be, we were bound to insist on the capture of the vessel, and obtain an adjudication. And that the failure to do so is ground of complaint.

A prize proceeding is merely an *inquest*, by the Sovereign himself, through his judicial branch, upon his own act done through his executive branch, to determine whether he will or will not ratify the capture. It is, in all its stages, a sovereign

act, on sovereign responsibility. His executive officers seize, and he is responsible. He is not bound by the advice of his court, except morally, and is not exempt from responsibility because his judges pronounced it lawful prize. It comes down to this:—the usage of nations is settled that he must not treat the vessel as prize, or retain the fruits of the prize, and refuse to put the question through his own tribunals. The neutral sovereigns have a right to have the facts elicited in the usual judicial manner, and to have the chances of a decision in their favor, which decision is morally conclusive against the belligerent. But the court is bound by the will of the sovereign, as in the case of the orders in Council, and he is responsible for holding to the decision, if neutrals think it unjust. And it is not conclusive in his favor, as a political question, in case of an open mixed commission, as in our case, in 1795.

The Prize Court does not sit *inter partes*, to determine litigated question between private suitors, or between the sovereign and a private person; but it is an *inquest*, held by the sovereigns direction, *ex parte* entirely, passing upon questions not voluntarily submitted to it, either by actual or implied assent, relating to the property of aliens and strangers, over whom it has no jurisdiction, by consent or otherwise, seized and brought before it by force; and if the sovereign follows its decisions, he is politically responsible.

This being the theory of the Prize Tribunal (which in England, is not the House of Lords, but the *Queen in Council*), there are many cases which cannot be submitted to it. The Court cannot decide questions or propositions. It must have, actually or by fiction, a *res* before it to pass upon. Whatever the Privy Council may do, our Supreme Court cannot advise, or give opinions on mere questions submitted by the sovereign.

If the prize is lost, abandoned as unseaworthy, lost in the taking, or any other case of necessity arises which requires the captor to so treat the prize that there shall be no cause possible for the Court, it is enough for the sovereign to show, otherwise, that the capture was lawful, and to account for the failure to have an adjudication. Suppose a neutral vessel taken with a

regiment of rebel troops on board, which had run one blockade, and was bound to another blockaded port, and the captor requires all his own men to guard his prisoners, and must either release the prize or destroy her, and he does the former, out of tenderness to the neutral, retaining the troops, but retaining, and using no *thing* which can be, even by fiction, the subject of adjudication,—must the sovereign, at the peril of war restore the regiment to the neutral sovereign's control, because his officer so acted that the question of the vessel being a prize cannot be passed through the courts? It is not competent for him, under the law of nations, to show two things, *first* that the vessel was a good prize, and second that the failure to carry the case through the Courts was from necessity in the exercise of a reasonable discretion, *bona fide*, and attended with no possible injury either to the neutral owner or to the Sovereign, as, for instance, no loss of testimony or means of proving facts,—nothing that throws a cloud or doubt over the cause? To me, it seems that the sovereign must be entitled to do that, under the law of nations. And for a neutral to insist on a restoration of the troops, *without reference to the question whether the vessel had made herself liable, and why she was not taken through the courts*, would be utterly unjustifiable.

As to the general view, I think our people are full of resolution. They wish to be in the right, and will do anything to avoid a war which is not undignified; but, if England makes a war which our people believe to be a war of pretext, the *animus* of which is to divide our empire, our people will enter into it with a zeal which has never been known before in our history.

You, my dear sir, must be having a peculiarly jolly time! I think often of your situation. You are the truest martyr of these days.

What a shame and pity it is, now, that the personal and political enemies of Mr. Seward have been so industrious in making him suspected and disliked abroad, and by the diplomatic circles here! I think his despatches and correspondence, furnished with the message of the President, do him great credit, and have restored confidence in him here. Yours, with respect and sympathy,

RICHARD H. DANA, JR.

ADAMS TO SEWARD

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,

LONDON, 20 December, 1861.

SIR: Although nothing remains to be done here to modify the respective positions of the two countries in regard to the affair of the *Trent*, I decided to ask a conference of Lord Russell for the purpose of talking over the substance of your communications to me in Despatches No. 136 and No. 137. It was appointed for yesterday at three o'clock, when I enjoyed an opportunity for full and frank conversation.

My main object at this time was, so far as I could, to disabuse His Lordship's mind of the impression which certainly exists there, and in a much stronger degree among most of his colleagues in the Ministry, that the Government of the United States and most particularly the Secretary of State, the organ of communication with Foreign nations, is bent upon a hostile policy towards Great Britain. I began by expressing my surprise at the prevalence of such an idea for which I could not well comprehend the cause. His Lordship then made a general reference to a speech said to have been delivered by yourself last year, which set forth the acquisition of Canada as an offset to the possible loss of the slave-holding states. To which I replied that I could not precisely recollect what speech of yours was referred to, but that from my personal knowledge of the tenor of most of them, I would confidently affirm that any such reasoning was in its essence speculative, and had reference to the probable course of future events without in any way involving the adoption of a distinct line of aggressive policy to bring them about either now or hereafter. I knew that I had entertained similar notions, but I was very sure that a war to effect any artificial result was never in my contemplation. A conquest either as against Great Britain or the people of the Colonies was the very last way to realize it. It was wholly inconsistent with our doctrines. Here his Lordship expressed doubts and instanced the case of Texas and Mexico. I admitted the exception as valid, but observed that it had been brought about under the adverse influence of the very power now in arms against

our authority. It was one of the causes which had brought on the present difficulties. The present Government would not be disposed to rely on it as a precedent.

I then remarked that my Despatches enabled me now to assure him that the act of Captain Wilkes had not been authorized by the Government, and further that they would reserve themselves perfectly free to act upon it until they should hear from this side of the water. If Her Majesty's Ministers were disposed to enter upon the subject with a view to an amicable adjustment, they would be met in an equally friendly spirit. His Lordship expressed his gratification on receiving this information. He had himself little doubt in regard to the first point ever since learning from me the nature of the instructions given to the Commander of the *James Adger*. The other point was likewise important, inasmuch as it removed the danger of committal prior to the moment when the views of the Government should be presented on the part of Great Britain.

I then proposed, as a means of fully bringing to his Lordship's knowledge the real spirit of the Government of the United States, that he should let me read to him a Despatch exactly as I had received it. A judgment might be fully formed of it in this way, inasmuch as the paper had recapitulated the various grounds of misunderstanding and complaint. His Lordship said he should be glad to hear it, so I read all the Despatch No. 136 but the first paragraph personal to myself. After I had concluded His Lordship touched on two of the points there made. The second being the case of Mr. Bunch, having been already settled in the correspondence that has taken place, was of course omitted by him. In regard to the others his representations, I must concede, carried with them much force. He admitted that the opinion of the Attorney-General on the Enlistment Act, upon which alone they could draw an authority to interfere, was adverse to the application of a restriction in cases where the *intent* to carry arms and supplies illegally was not fully established. But he observed that on the other hand it was well known that much greater quantities of arms and supplies had been transmitted from Great Britain by the authorities of the United States, without let or hindrance. The facilities of the latter in obtaining them safely were so much

greater than on the whole it seemed to him the advantage if any was on their side. I confess I could not answer this argument. The consciousness of this truth has impaired my energies in making remonstrances from the outset. Neither did I seek to disguise my impression from his Lordship.

On the third point his Lordship contested the fact as stated in the Despatch. He recapitulated what the Government had done as regards the assistance said to have been rendered to privateers in the Colonies. Supplies had been refused by the authorities in all cases. Whatever had been obtained had come from purchases of individuals. The only difference that he could find between the action of this Government and that of other nations was that the stay of belligerent vessels was confined by the latter to twenty-four hours. As to that, he said that the omission to insert the same provision in the British orders was by no means owing to unfriendliness to the United States. On the contrary, it was thought that, if a Government vessel of theirs should put into any port, such as Malta, for example, to stay a short time, it had seemed to them churlish to issue a decree to limit it to a single day. He said he had taken some pains to make inquiries as to the action of other Governments, and so far as he could learn he found it in other respects substantially the same.

In conclusion, I expressed the opinion that at best there was nothing in all this to make a moment's difficulty between countries really well disposed to one another. The only serious trouble was in the case of the *Trent*. And as that was not a matter of discussion on this side of the water, I should content myself simply with asking his Lordship, but not in any official capacity, to give me such information respecting the position of that question, as he felt at liberty to communicate, in order that I might form for myself a judgment of the arrangements which it would be necessary for me to prepare. If I were to draw my conclusions from the tone of the newspapers supposed to be in the confidence of the Government, I should be obliged to infer that war was inevitable and immediate. I was anxious to correct these impressions if there was any room left for me to do so.

His Lordship then went into an explanation of the measures taken by the Government, which it is needless to recapitulate,

as you know them already. The conclusion which I drew was that if both Governments were really bent on preserving the peace there was nothing in the nature of the difference itself to produce a war between them. But nations have been so often precipitated into difficulties by circumstances having no necessary connection with the causes of offence that I find myself compelled to await the development of events rather than attempt to waste time in predicting a result.

I have the honor to be, etc.

C. F. ADAMS.

MOTLEY TO ADAMS

LEGATION OF THE U. S. AMERICA, VIENNA, December 20, '61.

MY DEAR SIR: I was exceedingly obliged to you for your very interesting letter of 4 December, and perhaps you will hardly think that I am taking a becoming way of manifesting my gratitude, by writing so soon again, and again asking for a line or two in reply. When I wrote to you three weeks ago, it was under the excitement of the first announcement by telegram that England had sent a peremptory demand to Washington. That demand, if expressed in the terms and tone indicated by the journals, which we know to be in the confidence of, and very subservient to, the Prime Minister, seemed little short of a declaration of war, to take effect within a limited period.

Your letter was very satisfactory to me, and I have great pleasure in expressing my hearty concurrence with all you say. To accept war with England now if we can avoid it with honor, seems little short of madness. It hardly needs an argument to show the disastrous results of our providing the South with so potent an alliance as the fleets and armies of England will be for her. Strange enough, that on the first day of Congress it should have been voted to thank the man whose blunder has placed the country in such a perilous dilemma. I take great pleasure in feeling sure from the tone of your letter to me, that you have given the Government the most sagacious and statesmanlike counsels in this grave emergency. I shall not renounce the hope that prudence and dignity and real patriot-

ism will silence the clamors of passion—until the possibility of hope is taken away.

The American Government has now an opportunity—such as is rarely afforded—to manifest to the world that it is not subservient to the mob (according to the calumnies of its enemies), and that it is capable of holding on to the lofty principles of international law which it has always maintained. To my mind there could be no more legitimate triumph for us than thus to rebuke the tyranny which Great Britain, when belligerent, has ever exercised over neutrals, and over us most of all. Still, I see infinite difficulties in the way—for to give up the commissioners without procuring the *adhesion* of England to the principle on which such surrender is founded, would hardly be compatible with our character or our future safety. I don't desire that we should now adopt the Lynch law always practiced on the ocean by England in place of our own time honored principles—but it is necessary to protect ourselves in future against a despotism which, on the seas, has ever been as unscrupulous as any of the tyrannies which, *on land*, England permits herself so loudly to rebuke. I take some consolation from the prudence manifested by the President in his silence. Silence was never more golden than at this moment. At any rate there will be time for the Government to get your dispatches, and it is with the utmost sincerity that I express to you the comfort it gives me to reflect that we have a minister in England, at this moment, so able and so high-minded. I could say a *great deal more*, but I don't wish to have the appearance of a flatterer, and so will content myself with repeating my conviction that the interests and honor of the country could not be in purer or abler hands.

You may suppose that I am anxious enough at this moment. I am so isolated, and so in the dark. Even now I am ignorant as to the precise terms of the English demand, and of the instructions to Lord Lyons in the premises. I know nothing except what I see in the newspapers, and can learn from my colleagues.

Would it be asking too much to request you to let me know exactly what the English Government has demanded, how long Lord Lyons is to wait for answer, and whether, if he leaves be-

cause of not obtaining the commissioners, a declaration of war is at once to follow, or whether the English will entertain the notion of arbitration, or still better, of a general conference of the maritime Powers for the purpose of revising the international code, and including the present case under such provisions.

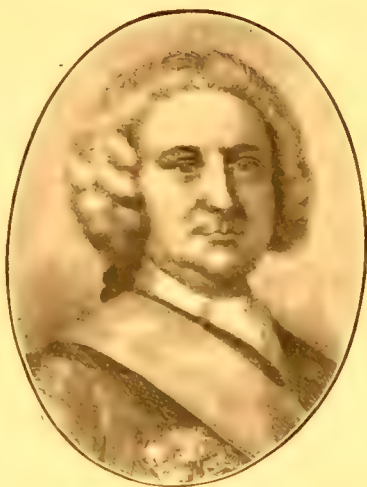
The dispatch of Earl Russell to Lord Lyons can be no secret—for the French ambassador told me that he had received an epitome of it. Count Rechberg [Prime Minister from 1859 to 1864] has also a copy of it, and, of course, Lord Bloomfield [second Baron Bloomfield, who served as British Ambassador to the Emperor of Austria from November 22, 1860, to October 28, 1871]. It seems rather hard that the person in Vienna most deeply interested in the matter should be in the dark, but it would not be agreeable to me, even if it were feasible, to ask any of these gentlemen to enlighten me as to what I am supposed to know, at least as well as they.

If you could find time to write me half a dozen lines, letting me know, as far as you feel authorized to do so, what has been written to Washington, and, furthermore, what language has been held on the subject, by word of mouth, as well as writing, either in Washington or London since, you may rely on my entire discretion. I hope that you will not think me importunate in making this appeal *ad misericordiam*. You certainly will not suppose that I desire to interfere, in the least, with your functions, by even a word of advice. But we are so inexpressibly anxious, and I am so much in the dark, except so far as my course is lighted by the noxious and misguiding exhalations of the London press, that I am forced to intrude upon you, and more than I otherwise should do. It would be a great satisfaction if I could come into Mansfield Street, for an occasional half-hour's talk.

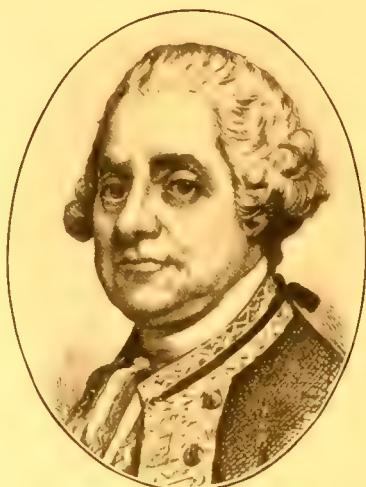
I maintain the best relations with the English ambassador here, and shall continue to do so, as long as circumstances will permit. He is an amiable and excellent man, and as sincerely desirous as I am, that the impending war should be averted. Of course we cannot enter much into the *merits* of the case, nor is it either his affair or mine—but their sympathies, when I first arrived here were fully with the North, and I can't but think that

there must be many in England who will feel disgusted, when they find themselves engaged in an alliance offensive and defensive, with the slaveholders. The Austrian Government is most earnest in deprecating the war. The minister of foreign affairs is very anxious. The French ambassador assures me that there is not the slightest possibility of his Government taking the part of England—but that absolute neutrality will be maintained. I am assured by private letters from Paris, that this neutrality, so difficult to preserve, will be sympathetic, not to England but to America. I think I understand the series of party intrigues in England which has at last caused the Government to seize upon this pretext for raising a popular war cry in order to maintain a moribund ministry, or to effect a coalition. But I forbear to touch on the subject on which you are so much better informed. I have no desire, either, to characterize the conduct of England towards us—as manifested by its press and its public men—with a few honorable exceptions. It would be difficult to do it, without using more violent and passionate epithets than I feel inclined, just now, to indulge in. I hope however that our Government will have the wisdom to frustrate the foul intrigue by which England is seeking our destruction, in this crisis of our history, and to parry the blow which she is aiming at our heart.

J. L. MOTLEY.



SIR PETER WARREN



SIR CHARLES HARDY



DAVID HOSACK



COL. MARINUS WILLETT

Places and People of Old New York

Places and People of Old New York

BY CHARLES B. HALL

The old prints used in illustrating this article are from the author's private collection.

I

THE OLD BROAD STREET CANAL

IN the early days of New York, when doghty Peter Stuyvesant administered Holland's rule in the colony, Broad street was the most picturesque and truly Dutch thoroughfare in town. It was originally a ditch or inlet, known as the *Breede Graft*, or Broad Canal. Along it were built some of the best houses, whose hospitable exteriors were centers of family life during the warm summer evenings—the father smoking his pipe, the mother knitting, the children playing and romping about until darkness drove them to early rest. Friend or neighbor who happened abroad was here invited to sit down and discuss the topics of the day which occupied the sturdy people.

The street was then marshy ground. Through the middle a ditch was made and developed into that pride of the Dutchman's heart, a canal, which was dyked in 1657-59, as shown in the engraving. The walks along either side were paved with keystones in 1660, each resident paving the portion before his own door. These became favorite promenades—probably from the fact that the little community typified to the burghers similar streets in their beloved Amsterdam.

Its commercial importance in those days was, if anything, superior to its social attractions, for here was heard the cry

“Ahoy!”, the gratings of boats along the landing, and the hum of market gardeners from Brooklyn, Bergen, and other points. A bridge crossed it, giving the name to the present Bridge street, and in the neighborhood stood the principal buildings of interest to the merchant—the weighhouse, the West India Company’s storehouse, and the house where merchandize was taken in and discharged. These as well as the canal long ago disappeared, and Broad street to-day reechoes with the shrill noises of a populous business city.

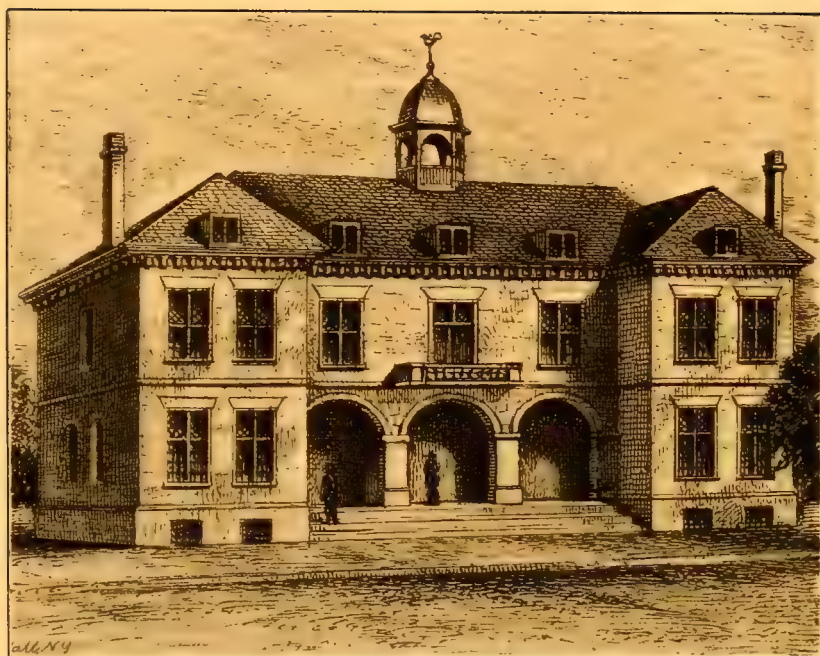
II

DAVID HOSACK, M. D., LL.D.

For forty years prior to his death in December, 1835, Dr. Hosack was one of New York’s skilful physicians and beneficent educators. No figure of his time stands out more prominently in the annals of the city.

The son of a Scotch artillery officer who was present at the siege and capture of Louisburg in 1758, he was born in New York in August, 1769, and studied medicine with Dr. Richard Bayley and under distinguished professors abroad, notably in London and Edinburgh. Upon his return in 1794 he brought the first collection of minerals ever seen in America, and, also, the collection of duplicate specimens of plants from the herbarium of Linnaeus, which became the property of the New York Lyceum of Natural History. The next year he was appointed professor of botany in Columbia College, and in 1797 the chair of *materia medica* was also assigned to him. He filled both chairs until 1807, when he accepted that of *materia medica* and midwifery in the College of Physicians and Surgeons. In 1826 he was one of the founders of the old Rutgers Medical College of New York.

In 1801 he established the famous Elgin Botanical Gardens—the second in the United States—which in 1814 were purchased by the State of New York and given to Columbia College. In 1804 he aided founding the New York Historical Society, and the same year he attended Alexander Hamilton after the historic



Old City Hall, New York



The Old Canal, Broad Street

Places and People of Old New York

duel with Burr. He was a noted patron of art, a founder of the American Academy of Fine Arts, and a voluminous writer in the artistic style of Johnson. His medical essays, in three volumes, became classics.

He is described by Dr. Mott as having "a tall, bulky form, piercing black eyes, and a sonorous voice," while a contemporary says "he was never without an interesting case." He certainly proved himself," says one writer, "an exemplar of the American physician advanced to the highest point of culture, with but few peers at home or abroad."

III

RESIDENCE OF MARINUS WILLETT

Colonel Marinus Willett's distinction in Revolutionary annals rests partly upon a daring encounter with His Majesty's officers at the corner of Broad and Beaver streets, New York, on June 6, 1775, when he sprang in front of the "Royal Irish" regiment and stopped the horse drawing five carts loaded with chests of arms which the British were conveying to their frigate "Asia." After an altercation Willett boldly jumped into the first cart, turned it about, and amid cheers, drove it up Broadway, followed by the others. Afterward the arms thus held up were used by the first patriot troops raised in New York. A tablet bearing appropriate inscriptions, a fine medallion of Willett, and a picture of the troops, the encounter, the houses, and the city hall was placed opposite the spot in November, 1892, by the Sons of the Revolution.

Colonel Willett's residence, as shown in the engraving, was one of the handsomest in New York, and in every respect a delightful home. Its stately appearance and beautiful surroundings were almost as noted as its patriotic owner.

Born in Jamaica, Long Island, July 31, 1740, he served under Abercrombie in 1758, graduated from King's (Columbia) College, and became an eminent "Son of Liberty." He was an officer in the New York militia from 1775 to 1778, sheriff of New

York county in 1784-92, mayor of the city in 1807-08, active in the War of 1812, and president of the electoral college in 1824. He died August 22, 1830. He was a great-great-grandson of Thomas Willett, a member of the Pilgrim colony at Plymouth and the first mayor of the City of New York in 1665-67.

IV

SIR CHARLES HARDY

Of the successive royal governors in New York during the pre-Revolutionary troubles Sir Charles Hardy probably knew less of administrative duties and more of seafaring life than any of the others. Nevertheless he filled the office with much credit and indelibly stamped himself upon the history of the time.

He was appointed "captain-general and commander-in-chief" January 29, 1755, being at that time about fifty years of age and a captain in the royal navy. His Majesty must have knighted him soon afterward, for his first communication from the Lords of Trade, dated August 12, was addressed to "Sir Charles Hardy, Knight." He had been in America before, and had been appointed governor of Newfoundland in 1744.

Sir Charles arrived at New York in the "Sphynx" on September 2, 1755, and reluctantly but satisfactorily performed his duties as governor until June 3, 1757, when he was relieved at his own request and returned to the navy. His chief adviser while in office was former Lieutenant-Governor James de Lancey, Clinton's persistent enemy, who, under Hardy, resumed the chief justiceship.

In 1758 Sir Charles, who had been made rear-admiral of the white, took part in the siege and capture of Louisburg, and subsequently attained the rank of vice-admiral. He was appointed governor of Greenwich Hospital in 1771, and died in 1780, at the age of seventy-five. He was among the largest donors of King's (now Columbia) College, and himself laid the corner-stone of the original structure in August, 1756.

V

BURN'S COFFEE HOUSE

This famous tavern disputed with Faneuil Hall the right to the title of the "Cradle of Liberty." Built for a family mansion by Etienne de Lancy about 1700, it was of gray stone, two stories high, with arched windows opened to the floor and a cupola surmounting the roof. From its piazza and garden in the rear the ground sloped gently to the Hudson, giving a grand view of the Jersey shore and the Orange Mountains beyond.

It was opened by Edward Willett as the "Province Arms" in 1754, and became the headquarters for important social and official entertainments. Its "Long Room" was the scene of many notable gatherings. In 1763 it witnessed William Johnson's experiments in electricity. And here on October 31, 1765, was adopted and signed, by upwards of two hundred merchants, the first "non-importation agreement" in the colonies—an act which laid the foundation of American manufactures. Here also was formed the first committee of correspondence, and alas! it became the temporary lodging-place of Benedict Arnold after his desertion to the enemy.

For several years it was kept by George Burns, and later by Bolton, and still later by Hull, and bore the name of the "City Arms" from its quaint old sign. Officers of the British army and navy made it their favorite haunt during the Revolution. Finally it passed into the possession of John Capes, a patriotic Boniface, who replaced the ancient sign by a new one bearing the arms of the State of New York.

The Boreel building now stands on the site.

VI

SIR PETER WARREN, R. M.

Among colonial New Yorkers the name of Sir Peter Warren, Knight of the Bath, Vice-Admiral of the Red Squadron of the British fleet, and member of Parliament for Westminster, was

held in high esteem—not alone for his maritime and political achievements, but also because of his supreme influence at the Court of Saint James.

A descendant of an ancient Irish family, he was born in 1702, entered the royal navy in 1727, and rapidly rose to the rank of commodore. In this capacity he gained a notable triumph at the taking of Louisburg in 1745, capturing with his blockading squadron the French relief ship “Vigilant” and taking possession of the town on June 17. For this he was knighted. He was the only prominent New Yorker who contributed to Massachusetts’s greatest colonial victory. In 1747 he also defeated the French in action off Cape Finisterre.

Sir Peter was a brother-in-law of Chief Justice James de Lancey, having married Susannah, eldest daughter of Stephen de Lancey. He owned a large tract of land in the Mohawk region, which he placed in charge of his nephew, the remarkable Indian manipulator, Sir William Johnson. His town house and estate, including the celebrated Vauxhall garden at the foot of Warren street, constituted one of the finest properties in the infant metropolis. He dabbled in politics effectively, much to the discomfort of Governor George Clinton, especially in the latter’s opposition to Chief Justice de Lancey. He was a member of Clinton’s Council.

He died in Ireland, July 29, 1752, and in Westminster Abbey a handsome monument was erected to his memory by his wife. He gave £100 toward the building of Saint George’s Chapel, on the corner of Cliff and Beekman streets, New York, and a pew was assigned to him, but he never occupied it.

VII

THE CITY HALL ON WALL STREET

By the close of the seventeenth century Stuyvesant’s “Stadt Huys” of 1642 was crumbling to decay and new municipal quarters became imperative. Abraham de Peyster gave a plot of ground on the northeast corner of Wall and Broad streets, Lord Bellomont donated some material from the old fort, and in 1699

Mayor David Provoost laid the corner-stone of a new City Hall, which was finished in 1700. On this site now stands the United States sub-treasury building.

This City Hall was the finest public edifice in the town. Built of brick with two wings, its cellar was a dungeon, its ground floor an "open walk," its garret a common prison. And for more than a century it was the center of municipal life, its weather-beaten figure of Justice looking down upon the growing city. The "Stamp Act Congress" assembled here in October, 1765. In the Revolution the British used it as a military prison house. The Continental Congress met within its walls in 1785, in the main hall or "Congress chamber," whose walls were adorned with portraits of Washington and the King and Queen of France. In 1788 Major L'Enfant was commissioned to remodel it, and thereafter it was "Federal Hall" to the proud people of a free country. It cost about \$65,000.

On its balcony, where the Declaration of Independence had been read in 1776, Chancellor Robert R. Livingston, on April 30, 1789, administered the presidential oath to George Washington, who thereupon kissed a London Bible (1767) containing a portrait of George II, and owned by Saint John's Lodge of Freemasons; and a flag on the cupola signalled for thundering guns and ringing bells.

This historic "Federal" building remained the National Capitol until the autumn of 1790 and the State Capital until January, 1798. After the erection of the present City Hall (1803-04) it gave place to the United States sub-treasury. All that remains of the old edifice is the stone pedestal of Washington's statue, on which it is said he stood while taking the oath of office.

The Cushing Monument

THE monument which will be erected to the memory of the three heroic Cushing brothers, through efforts of the Waukesha County Historical Society, will be placed near the log house in which William B. Cushing, forever famous as the destroyer of the rebel ram "Albemarle," was born, a short distance west of the village of Delafield, Wis.

Judge George H. Noyes of Milwaukee, a former Delafield boy, has offered to donate a site of three acres on which to place the monument. Albert Alden, who now owns the former Cushing farm, will donate a right of way to the site. The citizens of Delafield will build the road and bridge over the Bark river necessary to make the site accessible.

The state of Wisconsin has appropriated \$5,000 for the Cushings monument and Congressman H. A. Cooper has introduced a bill in Congress appropriating an additional \$10,000 for the same purpose.

Judge Noyes, who was to have made an address at the last meeting of the Society was not able to be present, but had written something of his opinions concerning the monument project and his offer of a site, and this letter was read by Dr. A. J. W. Nixon of Delafield. Judge Noyes wrote in part as follows:

"Nothing very substantial has been done, as I understand, toward securing the appropriation made by the legislature of the State at its last session for the erection of a monument to William B. Cushing at his birthplace in the town of Delafield. No time was fixed in the act within which its erection is to be accomplished. Nevertheless it would seem to be important that something should be done without further delay. The next leg-

islature will soon convene and what may be the views of its members as to economy, appropriations, or any other subject, cannot be foretold. Delays are dangerous. It would be a great misfortune to Waukesha county, and particularly to Delafield, should this act be repealed or materially amended so as to jeopardize the project in any way.

“The birthplace of William B. Cushing is well known. The log house in which he was born seventy years ago stood on a slightly spot on the banks of the river a short distance to the west of the village. Many of us remember it well. I worked on the farm, upon which it remained standing, for two years or more and during all of one winter while attending school at the village, when a boy in 1863-4, I daily, at the noon hour, passed by on my way to the barn located just beyond, to feed the young stock kept on that farm. In going to and fro I walked over the little bridge built by the Cushings across the river to enable them to visit their neighbors or relatives living on the other side.

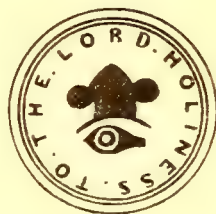
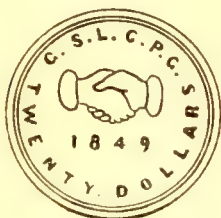
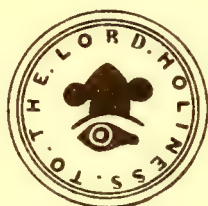
“Thus I have a peculiar interest in the site of the birthplace of William B. Cushing and a special desire to have it selected as the site of a monument to his memory. No other site would be as appropriate as the exact spot of the location of the house in which he was born, and I trust it may be selected at the earliest date practicable, which if possible should be at the meeting of the Society on the 5th inst.

“I do not know what area the Society may think necessary for the monument and its surroundings, but it would seem that three acres of land abutting on the river, the external boundaries to be agreed upon, would be ample for all purposes as a site. This I am willing to pay for and donate to the Society, provided the right of way to the site is donated to and accepted by the Society and the three acres are selected as the place for the erection of the monument and steps are taken at once to proceed to its erection.

“These preliminaries having been settled, immediate steps should be taken to raise by subscription from residents of the town of Delafield, present and past, an adequate sum to build a suitable roadway and bridge with fences and whatever else may

be necessary to improve and complete the project. That this may be readily accomplished seems reasonable to expect."

Mrs. Julia A. Lapham, Secretary of the Waukesha County Historical Society, whose article, "The Three Cushing Brothers," appeared in the April number of *AMERICANA*, desires to make a correction of a mistake in her paper. The statement was made that Alonzo Cushing was born in Milwaukee. It should have read that he was born in Delafield. In a paper written by T. W. Haight, on "Three Wisconsin Cushings," the author says: "Alonzo was also born on the Delafield farm, as shown by a Bible lately brought to light. Until this discovery, his birth had been credited to Milwaukee, like that of his elder brother, Howard."



History of the Moumon Church

By BRIGHAM H. ROBERTS, Assistant Historian of the Church

CHAPTER LXXVII

THE FOUNDING OF MISSIONS 1849

THE activities of the Latter-day Saints through their Church in the period, to which our historical narrative has now brought us—1849—were in marked but unconscious antithesis to the spirit of their fellow countrymen of the United States. I say unconscious antithesis because neither in the annals of the Church in the period referred to, nor in our literature since that time, do I remember to have seen anything that leads me to believe that the Saints were then conscious of the antithesis, nor are they conscious of it now.

At the time period referred to, the people of the United States—to give the antithesis no broader scope—were gold crazed, and engaged in a mad rush for the gold-fields of California. On the other hand, though some of their representatives were present when gold was discovered in California, were the first to extend the area of that discovery, had participated in some of the richest finds on the American River, and had brought considerable quantities of the precious metal to the Salt Lake Valley settlements until gold dust and certain stamped disks of gold, ranging in value from \$2.50 pieces to \$20 pieces were used as mediums of exchange—called the state of Deseret coinage of gold, meant only for local use however¹—notwithstanding all this, and the further fact that large communities of Latter-day

1. See note 1 end of Chapter on Early Utah Currency and Coinage.
(1061)

Saints were comparatively adjacent to these gold fields—a very few individuals aside—the Latter-Day Saints were unmoved by the gold-fever excitement, and were held to the high community purposes of colonizing semi-desert valleys; to gathering their co-religionists from the Missouri frontiers to these same valleys; and to sending the message of the new dispensation of the gospel to very many nations, and to the islands of the seas.

In the work of gathering their co-religionists from the Missouri frontiers—their fellow exiles from Illinois, too poor to make the journey to the valleys without the assistance of their more fortunate brethren—the saints in the valleys of Utah contributed both time and means on a large scale; but in this they were reminded that they were but fulfilling the obligations entered into at Nauvoo before the exodus began.² It was in this year of grace, 1849, however, that what was known afterwards as “The Perpetual Emigration Fund” was established. It had for its purpose, first, the removal to the mountains of all the worthy Latter-day Saints exiled from Illinois, who desired to gather the main body of the church, and after that to extend aid to the worthy poor among the saints throughout the world.

The “perpetual” feature of the plan was to be maintained by those who received aid from this Emigrating fund returning “the same, in labor or otherwise, as soon as their circumstances will admit,” and “with interest if required,”³ in order that the means might be used again to aid others; which arrangement if followed out, with additions made by new contributions from time to time by those philanthropically inclined, was calculated not only to make the fund perpetual but constantly increase its

2. A covenant was proposed by Brigham Young in the Nauvoo Temple to the effect that “We take all the Saints with us, to the extent of our ability, that is, our influence and our property.” This History, Ch. LIX.

The spirit in which the call for subscriptions to the Emigrating Fund was responded to in Salt Lake Valley may be judged by the following incident related by Lorenzo Snow, one of a committee appointed to collect it: “One man insisted that I should take his only cow, saying that the Lord had delivered him, and blessed him in leaving the old country and coming to a land of peace; and giving his only cow, he felt that he would only do what duty demanded, and what he would expect from others, were the situation reversed.” (Biography and Autobiography of Lorenzo Snow—1884—p. 108).

3. Section 16 of the act of incorporation of the “Perpetual Emigrating Fund Company,” and note of obligation signed by those receiving aid from the Fund, Liverpool Route, 1855, pp. 10, 11. Also note 2 end of chapter.

means, and by that also increase its power for good in its chosen and very necessary field of activity.

The measure taken by the Church to send forth her message to nations wherein it had never yet been proclaimed, and which activity forms part of the contrast between the Saints and the world of that period—the antithesis I am here considering—were astonishingly large, all circumstances considered.

The choice of three members of the Apostles quorum to form the First Presidency, and disfellowshipping Lyman Wight, another of the apostles,⁴ had made four vacancies in that quorum, and these vacancies on the 12th of February were filled by the selection and ordination of Charles C. Rich, Lorenzo Snow, Erastus Snow, and Franklin D. Richards.⁵ This circumstance of filling these vacancies in the apostalate is mentioned preliminary to recounting the missionary movements of the church began in 1849, because these new members are to take prominent parts in those movements.

The Mission of Elders Lyman and Rich in California: At the general conference held in October⁶ Charles C. Rich was appointed to join Elder Amasa M. Lyman who had been in California since April previous, and assist him in the Presidency of the mission in "Western California," as the Pacific slope of the Sierras was then called; and to succeed Elder Lyman in the presidency of the mission when the latter should return to Salt Lake City. The Mission of Elders Lyman and Rich in Western California, resulted in establishing something like discipline among the scattered church members on the Pacific slope; and ultimately, about two years later, in the purchase of the San Bernardino Rancho, a tract of country of from eighty thousand to one hundred thousand acres of land in what has since proved to be one of the richest fruit growing regions of southern Cali-

4. "On the 3rd of December, 1848, at a meeting held in the Fort (i. e. Salt Lake City) fellowship was withdrawn from Lyman Wight, one of the Twelve Apostles, and George Miller, Bishop (Hist. of the ch.—Cannon—*Juvenile Instructor*, Vol. XIX, p. 134. Also *Mill. Star*, Vol. XI, p. 246. Lyman Wight was then in Texas in which state, he died March 31, 1858.

5. Hist. of Brigham Young *Ms.* Bk. 4, p. 6. Entry for Feb. 12, 1849. "I [Brigham Young] was mouth in the ordination of Elder Rich and E. Snow; Bro. Kimball in the ordination of Elders L. Snow and F. D. Richards." See also an appended note *Ibid.*, p. 17.

6. The minutes of this conference are published in *Mill. Star*, Vol. XII, pp. 131-135.

fornia.⁷ In the fall of 1851 a company of about five hundred souls from Salt Lake Valley removed to this rancho for the purpose of settlement,⁸ and it was designed also that the immigration from the British Isles should be diverted to that region *via* of the Gulf of Mexico across the "Isthmus of Panama, Tehuan-tepec" or some of the interior routes, and land them at San Diego, and thus save three thousand miles of inland navigation through a most sickly climate and country."⁹ It was also intended that this settlement on the Pacific slope would be the western terminus of a line of settlements over the eight hundred miles of country between that point and Salt Lake City.

These several enterprises connected with the opening of this California mission gave great promise of large success, but a few years later the mission was disrupted by an event, the consideration of which belongs to a subsequent chapter.

Addison Pratt's mission to the Society Islands in the South Pacific Ocean: "It was moved and seconded that Elder Addison Pratt, James Brown, and Hiram H. Blackwell, go to the Society Islands to preach the gospel. Carried." Such the action of the conference of October 6th, 1849; and shortly afterwards these men left the valley on their way to the Islands. Sometime previous to starting upon this mission Addison Pratt, who had been a faithful Elder for many years, but on account of his absence on previous missions in the South Pacific Islands had not

7. The two Elders making the purchase describe the tract as follows: "The soil is rich; the water and timber abundant. We are situated about one hundred miles from San Diego, seventy miles from the seaport of San Pedro, and fifty miles from Pueblo de los Angeles." Letter of Lyman and Rich, December 10, 1851. *Mill. Star*, Vol. XIV, pp. 75-6.

8. See Lyman-Rich Letter, *Mill. Star*, Vol. XIV, p. 75. The *Los Angeles Star* for May 31st of that year thus announced the arrival of the Mormons in Southern California: "We learn that 150 Mormon families are at Canon pass, sixty miles south of this city, on their way here from Deseret. These families, it is said, intend to settle in this valley, and to make it their permanent home. We cannot yet give full credit to these statements, because they do not come to us fully authenticated. But if it be true that Mormons are coming in such numbers to settle among us, we shall, as good and industrious citizens, extend to them a friendly welcome."

9. General Epistle of the Presidency under dates of Apl. 7, 1851, *Mill. Star*, Vol. XIII, pp. 209-216. Also Letter of Lyman and Rich above, note 6. The Presidency of the British Mission, under instructions from the First Presidency investigated this route of Emigration, but it was found impracticable and emigration was resumed over the old route *via* Kanesville. ("*Liverpool Route*," 1855, p. 10). Lyman and Rich in describing the purpose of their settlement on the *Rancho de San Bernardino* say, "Our location here is made in view of forwarding the gathering of the Saints from abroad, and from Europe in particular, by this route, should we be enabled to settle in this country as we wish." (See Letter cited above).

had an opportunity to receive the endowment ceremonies of the Temple, was taken to the summit of Ensign Peak and there received those sacred ordinances, the mountain being dedicated especially for that purpose.¹⁰ This action was in harmony with the instructions of the Prophet in Nauvoo when he said that these ordinances of the temple under certain circumstances might be obtained "on the mountain top, as did Moses."¹¹

This mission of Addison Pratt's was but a renewal of his labors in the Pacific Islands, previously mentioned in these pages; but his second advent among the natives of those islands, with his new companions was not only a renewal but an enlargement of the work which has continued without abatement until the present, resulting in the conversion of tens of thousands of those people to a true faith in God, and an acceptance of the Christ as the Redeemer of the world.

Elder Lorenzo Snow's Mission to Italy: It was "moved and carried" by this October 1849 General Conference of the Church that "Lorenzo Snow and Joseph Toronto go on a mission to Italy." And they accordingly went and opened the door of the gospel to that nation. Progress in introducing the gospel into Italy was at first slow, that being a Catholic country, with religious liberty at the time somewhat restricted. Yet within eleven months of his departure from Salt Lake Valley, Elder Snow succeeded in effecting an organization of the Church in Italy. During a sojourn in London—Elder Snow years before had been a missionary in the world's metropolis—Elders T. H.

10. President Young's account of the incident is as follows: "Addison Pratt received his endowments on Ensign Hill on the 21st, the place being consecrated for the purpose. Myself and Elders Isaac Morley, P. P. Pratt, L. Snow, E. Snow, C. C. Rich and F. D. Richards, Levi W. Hancock, Henry Harriman and J. M. Grant being present. President H. C. Kimball, Bishop N. K. Witney and Elder John Taylor came after the ordinances were attended to. Elders C. C. Rich and O. Pratt were blessed by all, President Kimball being mouth." Hist. of Brigham Young Bk. 4, Ms. p. 107). Thus a new sanctity was given to this prominent mount. "In the side of the mountain" group which overlooks Salt Lake City from the north. A very fine view of this now sacred mountain in the engraving of Great Salt Lake Valley from the painting by Mr. Culmer, published in the August number of Americana, ch. LXXI, this History. The mount is on the upper right hand of the engraving.

11. Journal entry *Sunday, May 1st, 1842*: I preached in the grove on the keys of the kingdom, charity, etc. The keys are certain signs and words by which false spirits and personages may be detected from true, which cannot be revealed to the Elders till the Temple is completed. The rich can only get them in the Temple, the poor may get them on the mountain top as did Moses." (Documentary History of the Church, Vol. IV, p. 608).

B. Stenhouse and Jabez Woodard were added to the Italian mission, and these, with Elders Snow and Toronto, for a time constituted the "church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Italy," which they, on the 19th of September, 1850, in formal manner, and with great rejoicing, organized on the summit of a mountain over-looking the Piedmont valley, a short distance from La Tour, and which they named "Mt. Brigham." About one month later baptisms began, and ultimately resulted in the organization of a branch of the church among the Waldenses at La Tour and vicinity, with John D. Malan, President. Joseph Toronto, a native of Sicily, in the early months of the mission, visited his relatives in that island, but could make no impression with his message.

Elder Stenhouse was sent by Elder Snow to Switzerland to open the work in that country. He began his labors in Geneva, but later extended them to the city of Lausanne, and succeeded in baptizing a number of converts in both these cities. He was twice visited by Elder Snow, and by their conjoint labors the mission was founded which remains to this day, and is one of the most fruitful missions maintained by the Church.

Elder Snow with the assistance of Elders Woodard and Thomas O'Bray, the latter as well as the former from England, introduced the new dispensation of the Gospel on the Island of Malta, south of Sicily, where a branch of the Church was organized in June, 1852. Elder Snow regarded Malta as "a most important field of labor, where a great work may be accomplished, extending to adjacent nations." "The organization of a branch of the Church here," he remarks, "would lessen the spiritual fetters of many nations, as the Maltese in their commercial relations are spread along the shores of Europe, Asia and Africa." Indeed Elder Snow from this island raised his eyes to empire conquests in his missionary enterprises. In the October conference of 1849, replying to the question "Can Lorenzo Snow dictate anywhere but in Italy?" President Young answered; "Yes. The Twelve dictate in all the world. We have appointed Lorenzo and Erastus Snow to certain missions, have they a right to go anywhere else? Yes; I wish they would open the door to every nation on earth."¹² Acting under this extended

12. Minutes of the Conference, *Mill. Star*, Vol. XII, p. 133.

authorization Elder Snow conceived the idea of introducing the gospel into several countries bordering the Mediterranean Sea, including Russia, Turkey, and Spain. Meeting with a brother in England who had lived several years in India, he conceived the idea of opening the door of the gospel in that country by sending him and others with authority to preach the gospel, himself to follow later to give apostolic sanction to their work. Conferring with his fellow apostles in England upon the subject they sanctioned his suggestions and Elder William Willis was sent to Calcutta, where a few days after his arrival he baptized nine natives of the East Indies. Subsequently he baptized three hundred natives, and raised up a branch of the church among the Europeans of over forty members.¹³ About the same time Elder Hugh Findlay, president of the Hull conference, England, was sent to Bombay, by Elder Snow; and a little later Elder Joseph Richards was sent to the assistance of Elder Willis at Calcutta. It was the purpose of Elder Snow, as already stated, to visit these distant countries himself, and then accomplish the circumnavigation of the globe by returning to Salt Lake Valley "by way of San Francisco, San Diego, and our newly established settlements in the valleys of California."¹⁴

Such his plans for the extension of missionary work both for himself and others; but while waiting at Malta for a vessel in which to begin the journey to India he received his release from the church authorities at Salt Lake City, as his labors and influence were needed in Utah. Leaving Elder Stenhouse as president of the Swiss Mission; Elder Woodard, of the mission in Italy; Elder Obray, of the mission in Malta; and Elder Willis, of the mission in India, Elder Snow returned to Utah *via* of England and the United States.

While on this mission Elder Snow published in the French language—much in use both in Piedmont and Switzerland—"The Voice of Joseph," chiefly a compilation of historical *data* covering the rise and progress of the new dispensation from the beginning of the work with the visions of Joseph Smith to the arrival of the exiled Saints in the valley of the Great Salt

13. Report of the Church Historian 1880, in the Utah Pioneer, p. 26.

14. Snow's Autobiography, p. 199.

Lake.¹⁵ Later he wrote and published another tract for his mission, "*The Ancient Gospel Restored*," publishel in a first edition under the title "*The Only Way to be Saved*."¹⁶ The latter pamphlet was afterwards translated into Bengalee and Hindostanee. Elder Snow also superintended the translation of the Book of Mormon into Italian; and had the happiness of seeing it published in that language before leaving his mission.¹⁷

Mission of Erastus Snow to Scandinavia. The conference of 1849 sent the then newly ordained Apostle, Erastus Snow, to open the door of the Gospel to the Scandinavian countries. He was accompanied from Salt Lake by Peter O. Hansen, a native of Denmark; and Elder John Forsgren, a native of Sweden. In England the mission was joined by George P. Dykes, an American Elder, then on a mission in that land. He was Lieutenant in company "D" of the Mormon Battalion during its march to California, and for a time Adjutant to Col. Cooke. Elder Hansen was the first of the mission to arrive in Copenhagen, where the others arrived on the 14th of June, 1850. By August 12th, Elder Snow baptized in that city fifteen persons, and on September 15, organized a branch of the Church composed of fifty members.

"Elders John Forsgren was sent to Gefle, in the north of Sweden, where he baptized twenty persons, for which he was arrested and sent to Stockholm, August 8, where he was under surveillance of the authorities until September 11th, when he was put on board a vessel for America, but escaped at Elsinore, in Denmark, and continued his labors with Elder Snow.

"Elder George P. Dykes was sent to Jutland, arriving in Aalborg, October 10, 1851, where, and in the vicinity of which, he labored six months, and baptized ninety-one persons."

September, 1851, Elder Peterson was sent by Elder Snow

15. The pamphlet will be found *in extenso* in the "Biography and Autobiography of Lorenzo Snow," chapters XXI and XXII, where it occupies thirty-two pages. The compilation was made in English and then translated into French by a professor from the University of Paris residing in England and engaged by Elder Orson Pratt to do the work. It appears that it was also later published in Italian, (Snow's Autobiography, p. 215).

16. Autobiography, p. 215.

17. These missionary labors are elaborately set forth in Elder Snow's "Biography and Autobiography," by his sister, Elizo R. Snow Smith, chapters XVIII to XXXI. Also *Mill. Star*, Vols. XII-XIV *passim*.

from Aalborg to Norway. He baptized a few persons and organized a branch at Bergen.

The same year Elder Snow sent from Copenhagen to Iceland Elder Gudmansen, a native Iceland, whom he had baptized and ordained to preach the Gospel in his native land. Gudmansen baptized several persons and laid the foundation for subsequent missionary labors there.

"During Elder Snow's stay of twenty-two months in Denmark about six hundred persons were baptized. The Book of Mormon and the Doctrine and Covenants were translated and published in the Danish language, as also a number of pamphlets in Swedish and Danish, and the *Scandinavien Stjerne* founded, which continues the organ of the Church in that country to this day."¹⁸

Elder John Taylors Mission on France and Germany: The October Conference of 1849 appointed John Taylor of the quorum of the Twelve and Curtis E. Bolton and John Pack to a mission to France and Germany. Elder William Howell, a zealous Elder from Wales had preached the gospel in the various places in the Jersey Islands and on the coasts of France and had baptized a few into the church, and organized a branch of the Church with six members," on the 6th of April, 1850, at Boulogne-sur-mer, France.

After a brief stay in England Elder Taylor and his associates of the French mission crossed the English channel, arriving at Boulogne sur-mer on the 18th of June. A hall was taken in the center of the city and a course of lectures announced which were attended by a number of Protestant ministers of the city, three of whom finally joined in a challenge to Elder Taylor to publicly discuss the subject of "Mormonism." The challenge was

18. Report of Church Historian in "Utah Pioneers," p. 27. Also *Mill. Star*, Vols. XII to XIV *passim*.

19. See Howell's Letters to *Mill. Star*, Vol. XII, pp.90-92; also pp. 157-9. Following is Howell's characteristically Welsh report of the event:

"April 6th, 1850.—The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints was organized on the continent of America containing six members."

April 6th, 1850.—I had the pleasure of organizing a branch of the same church on the continent of Europe containing six members, to be called the Boulogne sur-Mer branch of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, under the presidency at Liverpool." He also ordained G. Viet, to preach the Gospel in France.

promptly accepted.²⁰ The *Boulogne Interpreter* published a condensed report of the discussion, and subsequently, in substance, it was published in pamphlet form and circulated in the British mission.²¹ The fact that the discussion was published and circulated in the British mission gives evidence of the success of Elder Taylor's advocacy and defense of the cause he espoused. So vigorous were the replies of Elder Taylor to the charges and arguments of his opponents that the three ministers asked that the discussion close, and while yet speaking the chairman informed Elder Taylor that the other side wished the debate to end.²²

Notwithstanding much opposition the mission in France was successful, and branches of the Church were organized in Paris, Havre, Calis, and Boulogne. In June, 1851, the branches of the

20. *Revs.* C. W. Cleave, James Robertson and Philip Carter were the names of the three ministers. Elder Taylor inclosed the challenge to the Mayor of Boulogne with a note asking if there would be any objection to such a meeting. Being informed there would be no objection, the challenge was accepted and the preliminaries arranged (*Life of John Taylor*, 1892, Roberts, p. 202).

21. It is published in the "Works of Orson Pratt," Edition of 1851, Liverpool.

22. The following is the manner of the closing. Elder Taylor was defending the organization and ordinances of the gospel of the "new dispensation by a comparison of them with the New Testament, doctrines, then—

Chairman (To Elder Taylor)—Do you wish to continue the gentlemen on the opposite side are satisfied that it rest here?

Elder Taylor.—I certainly did not anticipate this. I expected to investigate their principles further, according to agreement.

Chairman.—They do not wish to say any more.

Elder Taylor.—If they have no reply to make, of course I must let it rest. (Public Discussion in France, p. 36).

There is one item connected with this discussion that should be dealt with, since it is a matter that the enemies of Elder Taylor have sought to make much of in casting reproach upon his veracity and moral courage. In the course of the discussion his opponents rehearsed writings and lectures of John C. Bennett after he was excommunicated from the Church; and accused the Saints with practicing the grave immoralities described by this arch apostate. Among the immoralities charged were those of promiscuous sexual intercourse, a community of wives, the keeping of seraglios, polygamy, illicit intercourse by permission of the Prophet, and the keeping of spiritual wives.

To all this Elder Taylor made a general and emphatic denial, and read from an article then published in the Appendix of the Doctrine and Covenants, expressing the belief of the Church on the subject of marriage; and inasmuch as he knew of and had obeyed the law of celestial marriage, including as it does a plurality of wives, he has been accused of falsehood, and of seeking to deceive by denying the charges then brought against the Church.

The polygamy and gross sensuality charged by Bennett and repeated by those ministers in France, had no resemblance to celestial or patriarchal marriage which Elder Taylor knew existed in Nauvoo, and which he had obeyed. Hence in denying the false charges of Bennett he did not deny the existence of that system of marriage that God had revealed; no more than a man would be guilty of denying the legal, genuine currency of his country, by denying the genuineness and denouncing what he knew to be a mere counterfeit of it.

Channel Islands were added to the French mission. By December, 1851, when a conference was held in the city of Paris, more than four hundred members in the French mission were represented.

Besides publishing a number of articles in the current press of France on the subject of his mission, Elder Taylor founded a monthly periodical in French under the title *Etoile Du Deseret* a royal octavo sheet, the first number of which appeared in May, 1851. With the assistance of his associates, Elders Curtis and Bolton, together with the assistance of Louis Bertrand and others, he succeeded in translating and publishing the Book of Mormon in French. A few wealthy members of the Church in England supplied the means, and he made such arrangements with the publishers that when copies of the book were sold a certain amount of the proceeds was set aside for printing another edition, "until 200,000 copies were printed without additional expense."

Elder Taylor introduced the new dispensation of the gospel into Germany as well as in France. He preached in the City of Hamburg and organized a branch of the Church there in the summer of 1851. Here also he founded another monthly periodical called "*Zion's Panier*," the first number of which issued from the press November 1st, 1851.²³

Elder Taylor supervised the translation of the Book of Mormon and arranged for its publication in German. The work was completed and the plates stereotyped; and the text so arranged that the French and German pages would face each other, each page containing the same matter in the same opening, thus admitting of their being bound together in one volume.

In this work he was assisted by Elder Viet, a German, and a teacher of that language in France, where Elder Taylor found him; by Elder George P. Dyles, who by this time had been transferred from the Scandinavia mission to Germany; and by a Brother Charles Miller, who was among the first converts of Hamburg.

The unsettled conditions obtaining in France during the years 1850-1852, hindered very much the progress of the Mission to

23. It was continued until —

France, especially in the matter of publishing *Etoile Du Deseret*, those being the years of the revolution which marked the rise to power of Napoleon III; and Elder Taylor found it necessary to leave France in the closing month of 1851.

In addition to these spiritual labors, Elder Taylor had been interested while in France in the manufacture of sugar from the sugar beet, and being convinced that both the climate and soil of Salt Lake Valley were favorable to the production of beets, he organized the "Deseret manufacturing Company," having for its chief, though not exclusive purpose, the manufacture of beet sugar in Salt Lake Valley. The company was composed of four partners, of whom Elder Taylor was one, with equal shares. The capital stock was put at fifty thousand pounds sterling, equal to a quarter of a million of American dollars.

Elder Taylor had the machinery for the proposed sugar works made in Liverpool, by Faucett, Preston & Co., at a cost of twelve thousand five hundred dollars. It was first class machinery, the very best that could be obtained, and such was its weight that it required fifty-two teams to carry it from Council Bluffs to Salt Lake City, where it arrived in due time.²⁴

Elder Orson Pratt's and Elder Franklin D. Richards's Mission in the British Isles: Elder Pratt was already in England when the general conference of October, 1849, appointed Elder Franklin D. Richards, of the council of the Twelve, and a number of other Elders from the Salt Lake Valley,²⁵ to a mission in England; Elder Richards being selected to succeed Elder Pratt in the Presidency whenever the latter should deem it advisable or necessary to return home.

Elder Pratt, it will be remembered, went to England from

24. The machinery was installed about three or four miles south of Salt Lake City, and when an ecclesiastical organization was affected there it was called "Sugar House Ward." Owing to the lack of skilled workmen, the operations were unsatisfactory, and at the instance of President Young the enterprise was abandoned. The successful manufacture of sugar now, however, both in Utah and throughout the Inter-mountain West, is a vindication of Elder Taylor's conviction and judgment that the climate and soil in Utah was pre-eminently suited to that great industry.

25. The other Elders called by this conference to go to England were Job Smith, Haden W. Church, Geo. B. Wallace, John S. Higbee, Jacob Gates, Joseph W. Johnson, Joseph W. Young, see *Minutes of the Conference Mill. Star*, Vol. XII. pp. 131-5; also an Epistle of the First Presidency, *Ibid*, pp. 118-122. "Elder Orson Pratt is doing a great work in England, and the cause of truth is advancing rapidly" said the Epistle.

winter quarters in 1848, arriving in Liverpool in the latter part of July, honorably releasing Elder Orson Spencer from the Presidency of the British Mission. He inaugurated a most vigorous administration of affairs in the British mission. Some of his most effective and valuable works appearing in the *Millennial Star* of the next two years. Then appeared his series of articles on “*Divine Authority, or Was Joseph Smith Sent of God*”; “*The Kingdom of God*”; “*Remarkable Visions*”; “*The New Jerusalem*,” a consideration of the prophecies concerning the founding of a Holy City, Zion on the American continent; “*Divine Authenticity of the Book of Mormon*”; “*A Reply to Remarks on Mormonism*,” being an answer to a pamphlet printed at Glasgow with the “*Approbation of Clergymen of Different Denominations*”; and a philosophical treatise on the “*Absurdities of Immaterialism*.”

After one year and a half of this vigorous work, which extended to preaching the gospel, the organization of branches, the multiplying of conferences, and the emigration of the Saints to America, as well as to the publication of the works above noted. He could say on the 15th of March, 1850:—

“It is now over one year and a-half since our arrival in this country; during this period, the Kingdom of God has rolled forth with unparalleled success; its numbers have increased in Great Britain alone, from about eighteen thousand to nearly twenty-nine thousand souls (increase of 11,000) Two thousand of this number have emigrated to America. The circulation of the *Star*, during the same period, has increased from thirty-seven hundred to fifty-seven hundred. The great reduction proposed in the price of the *Star* will, no doubt, have a tendency to soon quadruple its circulation.”²⁶

All these achievements were accomplished before the arrival of Elder Richards, and on the eve of a departure for the United States on business.

Elder Richards arrived in England in March, 1850, and during the temporary absence of Elder Pratt assumed the responsibilities of presidency.²⁷ The latter part of July Elder Pratt re-

26. *Mill. Star*, Vol. XII, p. 89.

27. See Epistle *Mill. Star*, Vol. XII, p. 135, Et Seq.

turned and resumed the presidency,²⁸ which he held until the latter part of January, 1851. During his administration the *Millennial Star* increased in circulation from 3,700 to 22,000; by his agency 5,500 souls emigrated from the British Mission to America; and twenty-one thousand were brought into the church.²⁹

After his departure Elder Richards, the appointed president from the October conference of 1849, continued the work in the same spirit. It was during his presidency that the *Millennial Star* was changed from a semi-monthly to a weekly periodical, in which form it continues to this day (1912). He enlarged and printed a new edition of the Latter-day Saints Hymn Book; published a collection of revelations and writings of the Prophet Joseph Smith, known as the "*Pearl of Great Price*," which, with the Bible, Book of Mormon, and Doctrine and Covenants, is recognized and accepted as one of the volumes of Scripture by the Church of Latter-day Saints, binding upon the Church as authority in doctrine and history.³⁰ He published a new edition

28. See Pratt's Epistle in *Mill. Star*, Vol. XII, p. 246, Et Seq.

29. See Testimonial to Orson Pratt on the occasion of his departure for Salt Lake City, given 22nd January, 1815. *Mill. Star*, Vol. XIII, pp. 43, 44.

30. Its Title page was as follows:

The
PEARL OF GREAT PRICE
Being a
Choice Selection
from the
Revelations, Translations, and Narrations

of
JOSEPH SMITH,
First Prophet, Seer, and Revelator to the Church
of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

In addition to the Articles now published in the current and authorized version of the tract, it also contained a number of extracts from the Revelations of the Doctrine and Covenants, including a key to the revelations of St. John (Doc. and Cov. Sec. 77); commandments to the Church concerning baptism (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 20); on the method of administering the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 20); the duties of the Elders, Priests, Teachers, and Deacons and members of the Church (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 20); on Priesthood (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 84); the calling and duties of the Twelve Apostles (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 107); an extract from the revelation given July, 1830, (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 27); extract from the revelation on the rise of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 1); John Jaques' splendid hymn, entitled "Truth," (Hymn-book, p. 71), and last but not least, the revelation and prophecy on war, (Doc. & Cov., Sec. 87). From this enumeration of articles omitted from this choice collection in the later editions of the work, it is seen that nothing is omitted but what is now published in the Doctrine and Covenants or Hymn-book; and the eliminations were made to avoid duplicating the publication of the articles in several books.

Reverting to the revelation and prophecy on war, I call attention to the fact

of Parley P. Pratt's Mormon classic, the "*Voice of Warning*"; stereotyped plates of the Book of Mormon; founded the Perpetual Emigrating Fund in Great Britain, and sent the first company by that agency to the Salt Lake Valley. During his presidency about one thousand souls emigrated to Utah.³¹

Such were the missions appointed by the Conference of 1849; such in brief, the things accomplished by those missions. These achievements are remarkable when all the circumstances are taken into account. The men engaging in these missionary enterprises had been for two years, and some of them for three years, exiles, and forced into camp life in the wilderness, on the frontiers of the United States. Some of them had been in the Mormon Battalion march from the Missouri River to the Pacific coast. Some of them had been leaders in the Mormon Pioneer journey, from Winter Quarters to the Salt Lake Valley. All had been engaged in founding colonies on the shores of the Salt Lake, America's "Dead Sea." Their families were living in log or adobe huts in the newly settled, wilderness homes. Their *habitat*, when called to these missions, was comparatively adjacent to the gold fields of California, to which vast multitudes were hastening with all available speed; one of the main streams of this gold-mad migration passed through their city of huts of log and adobe homes, and mocked the humble lives they led, derided the faith they followed, the ideals they cherished as evangelists of a new dispensation of the gospel of the Christ, and often urged them to forsake this to participate in the world's rush for gold. But these men responded to the call of conceived duty, and became the founders of missions in foreign lands, or enlarged the work where it was already established. They founded periodicals and translated their scriptures and wrote books in

that the preface of the Pearl of Great Price bears the date of July 11, 1851, and the work was published in that year; but it was not until the morning of the 12th of April, 1861, that the first gun in the great Rebellion was fired on Fort Sumter by General Beauregard, so that this remarkable prophecy made by the Prophet in 1832 was actually in print and widely published in England and the United States nearly ten years before the war of the Rebellion broke out.

31. Nine hundred and seventy-seven to be exact. Liverpool Route Tables, p. 15. The reason there was such a falling off in the numbers emigrated in Elder Richards' administration as compared with that of Elder Pratt's, arose from the fact that about the time Elder Richards administration began the Presidency of the Church suspended immigration to America except in cases where, the parties could meet the expense the journey through to Salt Lake Valley, and as but few could do this the emigration was very much decreased.

languages to them before unknown. They directed streams of emigration to the far-away state they and their associates were founding in the Great Basin. Their thoughts were upon big things. They were building the world-wide empire of the Christ. Their vision of their work stretched wide as eternity. They were living in conscious union and service with God. They were His ambassadors to the nations and empires of the world. Their work concerned itself with the salvation of men. Their service was given for the love of God and the love of man. If it be true, and who doubts it, that occupation influences character; that as men's spirits can never be generous and noble while they engage in petty, mean employments, so they can never be abject and mean-spirited while their actions are honorable and glorious, then what must have been the greatness of soul, the spirit-expanding power experienced by these men while engaged in these missions of the Church, appointed in that year of grace 1849?

The antithesis their work presents to that of the gold-mad migration rushing westward through their settlements, to point out which the account of these missions is here presented, should not be overlooked.

NOTE 1. EARLY UTAH CURRENCY AND COINAGE: The first currency in Salt Lake Valley would naturally be such United State money as the people would bring with them, which, considering their circumstances when driven from their homes, would not be a large amount. When Captain Brown of the Mormon Battalion returned from California in December of 1847 with the pay of the invalided detachments of the Battalion, which he had been authorized to collect, he bought the amount, about \$10,000, in Spanish doubloons; and this, for a time, supplied a currency. On the arrival of Brigham Young in the valley in 1848 he brought with him \$84 "in small change," and this was distributed in the community; but this was inadequate, soon disappeared, and the people were distressed for want of change. The gold dust brought into the valley from the California mines by members of the Mormon Battalion was inconvenient to handle and there was much waste in weighing it. An effort was made to coin the dust, John Kay being employed to do the work but all the crucibles broke and the effort failed. President Young then proposed to issue paper currency against the gold deposited until the dust on hand could be coined. The municipal council authorized the issuance of such currency, and appointed

Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball and N. K. Whitney to issue it. The first bills of one dollar denomination were printed on the first day of January, 1849, and this was the first printing done in Salt Lake Valley. (Hist. Brigham Young Ms. Bk. 4, p. 1). Later Kirtland Bank bills (see *ante* this History ch. XXVI) of various denominations, which had been preserved by some of the saints, were brought out, resigned and placed on a par with gold. "Thus fulfilling the prophecy of Joseph" [Smith], said Brigham Young, "that the Kirtland notes would one day be as good as gold" (Hist. B. Y. Ms. Bk. 4, p. 3. See also *Ibid* p. 56). A second attempt at coinage of gold dust was successful, and coins of the denomination of \$2 1-2, \$5, \$10 and \$20 pieces were issued. Their fineness was 899.1000, no alloy being used except a little silver. The coinage continued intermittently until as late as 1860.

An engraving of these several coins from photographs of them is published with this chapter. The character on the reverse side of the coin of 1860, (around the lion couchant) are in the characters of the "Deseret Phonetic Alphabet," designed by Orson Pratt, and reads "*Holiness to the Lord.*"

NOTE 2. THE LATTER-DAY SAINTS PERPETUAL EMIGRATING FUNDS The first steps in effecting this organization, as stated in the text of this History were taken in September, 1849, when the propriety of creating a perpetual fund for the purpose of helping the poor saints to emigrate to this place (i. e. the Salt Lake Valley), agreeably to our covenants in the (Nauvoo) Temple that we would "never cease our exertions, by all the means and influence within our reach, till all the saints who were obliged to leave Nauvoo should be located at some gathering place of the saints." The council approved this suggestion, and a committee was appointed to raise a fund by voluntary contribution to effect this purpose. "The October conference (1849) sanctioned the doings of the Committee," says the epistle of the Presidency bearing date of October 12th, 1849, and appointed Edward Hunter, a tried, faithful and approved Bishop, a general agent to bear the perpetual emigrating funds to the States, to superintend the direction and appropriation thereof, and return the same to this place with such poor brethren as shall be wisdom to help.

"We wish all to understand, that this fund is *Perpetual*, and is never to be diverted from the object of gathering the poor to Zion while there are Saints to be gathered. unless He whose right is to rule shall otherwise command. Therefore we call upon President Orson Hyde and all the Saints, and all benevolent

souls everywhere, to unite their gold, their silver, and their cattle, with ours in this perpetual fund, and co-operate with Bishop Hunter in producing as many teams as possible, preparatory for next spring's emigration." (Mill. Star, Vol. XII, p. 120).

The subject at the October conference was brought up by Heber C. Kimball. Referring to the Nauvoo covenant he said: "Shall we fulfill that covenant, or shall we not?" The vote was unanimous to fulfill the covenant. "Now let every man and woman take hold," said Elder Kimball, "and do not send your agent to the states with less than \$10,000; and then you will cause a day of rejoicing among the poor in Illinois." The conference appointed a committee of five to gather contributions for the fund. The names of the committee follow: Willard Snow, John S. Fulmer Lorenzo Snow, John D. Lee and Franklin D. Richards. Bishop Edward Hunter was appointed to be the agent to go east and expend the funds thus raised,—amounting that year to six thousand dollars,* in gathering the poor to the valleys. It was moved by Elder John Taylor that the whole business pertaining to the fund be placed under the direction of the First Presidency of the Church, and his motion was carried unanimously. (See minutes of the conference Oct. 1849, *Mill. Star*, Vol. XII, p. 131, Et Seq.)

The general manner of using the fund was thus stated in the Epistle of the First Presidency, under date of Oct. 12, 1849:

"This perpetual fund is to be under the special direction of the Presidency at all times, and as soon as Bishop Hunter shall return with the same and his freight of Saints to this place, the cattle and teams will be disposed of to the best advantage, and the avails, with all we can add to it, will be sent forth immediately on another mission, and we want you all prepared to meet it and add to it, and so would we continue to increase from year to year, until 'when a nation is born in a day,' they can be removed the next, if the Lord will; therefore, ye poor, and meek of the earth, lift up your heads and rejoice in the Holy One of Israel, for your redemption draweth nigh; but in your rejoicings be patient, for though your turn to emigrate may not be the first year, or even the second, it will come, and its tarryings will be short, if all the Saints who have, (means) will be as liberal as those in the valley."

*"Bishop Hunter is now in Kanesville with \$6,000 as the first fruits of the fund which was obtained in the valley by voluntary donations for the purpose of buying oxen, and to take the poor saints from the Bluffs to the Valley in the spring." Letter from Wilford Woodruff, Cambridgeport, Mass., June 12, 1850, in *Mill. Star*, XI, p. 62-3. At the General conference of the Church held at Salt Lake in September, 1850, President Young placed the sum at over \$5,000: "Last year we did wonders," are his words, "we accomplished a good thing in raising over, \$5,000 which was sent back to the states for the poor." *Mill. Star*, XIII, p. 21.

This passage reflects the spirit in which the movement was conceived and in which for many years its work was carried on. In order to give this charity stability and perpetuity its promoters were organized into a company by the provisional government of the state of Deseret, September 14, 1850; under the style and title of "The Perpetual Emigration Fund Company." This act was legalized by the Utah Territorial government, Oct. 4th, 1851; amended by the same authority in January 12, 1856. (See Utah enactments of the territorial legislature for those years and dates).

The method of making this fund a perpetual one was by requiring those emigrated by the fund to repay into its coffers the amount used in their emigration, "with interest if required;" this to be used again in immigrating others. The first efforts of the Emigrating company was to provide for the gathering of the exiles from Illinois; but the Presidency of the British Mission was authorized to introduce this system for the gathering of the Saints out of that country, and by January, 1852, 1,140 English pounds, equal to about \$5,700.00 had been subscribed; and in the emigration of that year from England, 251 persons were sent by the "Fund." Special arrangements had been made to conduct this company from Liverpool to Salt Lake City; John S. Higbee and Isaac C. Haight having charge of the Saints on the ocean voyage traveling in two vessels, the *Kennebec*, Haight in charge, the *Ellen Maria*, Higbee in charge; the first sailing from Liverpool in January; the second in February. These Elders delivered their respective companies to the care of Abraham O. Smoot, who conducted them over the plains and mountains to Salt Lake City, where they arrived on the 3rd of September following. This company was met at the mouth of Emigration Canon by President Young, a number of the Twelve, and many leading citizens on horseback and in carriages and escorted into the city, headed by Captain Pitts band. When passing Temple Square the company was saluted by the firing of canons; and before dispersing were welcomed in a public address by President Young, in the course of which he said—and from this paragraph may be judged the spirit of this whole emigration movement in behalf of the poor:

"I will say to this company, they have had the honor of being escorted into the city by some of the most distinguished individuals of our society, and a band of music, accompanied with a salutation from the cannon. Other companies have not had this mark of respect shown to them; they belong to the rich, and are able to help themselves. I rejoice that you are here; and that you will find yourselves in the midst of an abundance of

the common necessities of life, a liberal supply of which you can easily obtain by your labour." (*Liverpool Route*, 1855, p. 12).

In order to comply with the requirements of the 16th section of the act of incorporation, *viz*, that "all persons receiving assistance from the Perpetual Emigrating Fund for the Poor, shall "re-emburse the same, in labor or otherwise, as soon as their circumstances will admit," the following obligation was drawn up and signed by each emigrant of this first and by members of all subsequent companies:

CONTRACT

"Perpetual Emigrating Fund Company, organized at Great Salt Lake City, Deseret, U. S. A., October 6th, 1849.

"..... Agent, Liverpool.

"We, the undersigned, do hereby agree with and bind ourselves to the Perpetual Emigrating Fund Company, in the following conditions, *viz*.—

"That, in consideration of the aforesaid Company emigrating or transporting us, and our necessary luggage, from Great Britain to the Valley of the Great Salt Lake, according to the Rules of the Company, and the general instructions of their authorized Agents;

"We do severally and jointly promise and bind ourselves to continue with, and obey the instructions of, the Agent appointed to superintend our passage thither: that we will receipt for our passages previous to arriving at the several ports of New Orleans, St. Louis, and Kanesville;

"And that, on our arrival in the Great Salt Lake Valley, we will hold ourselves, our time and our labour, subject to the appropriation of the Perpetual Emigrating Fund Company, until the full cost of our emigration is paid, with interest if required." (*Liverpool Route*, pp. 10, 11.)

That these obligations were never rigorously pressed—some anti-Mormon writers to the contrary notwithstanding—is witnessed by the fact that by the year 1880, the unpaid principal of indebtedness to this fund amounted in the church to the sum of \$704,000; and if interest on this outstanding indebtedness during the years it could legitimately have drawn interest at the rate of ten per cent.—the usual rate in the west previous to 1880—that interest would have amounted to \$900,000; making a total of principal and interest of \$1,604,000. Yet instead of oppressively seeking to collect this amount, the Fund Company in

the year 1880—the year known in our annals as the Year of Jubilee, the Church then having been in existence fifty years—one half of this principal and interest was cancelled, being applied on the indebtedness of the worthy poor, they being wholly set free from the obligation of payment. (See Minutes of the Fiftieth Annual Conference—Year of Jubilee—1880—Pamphlet, p. 62).

It will be observed that the obligation in the signed contract concerning interest was an agreement to pay interest “*if required.*” When ever there was anything like promptness in the payment of the principal, or where misfortune had been encountered, it was the policy of the company not to require interest; indeed the policy of the company was very generous in respect of the payment of both principal and interest. This fund conceived in such noble spirit was the means of bringing tens of thousands of the landless poor from Europe—for its operations were not confined to America and the British Isles—to the unoccupied lands of the Great Basin, where in a few years, they and their descendants became landed proprietors, independent and prosperous citizens of the intermountain west. The “Perpetual Emigrating Fund Company” was dissolved by act of congress in 1887, the congressional enactment known as the “Edmunds-Tucker Act,” of which more in the appropriate place.

Historic Views and Reviews

LAFAYETTE'S CHAIR IN WASHINGTON

THE United States National Museum has in its historical collection the arm-chair of the Marquis Lafayette, in which he is said to have sat on the day of his death.

This chair is a recent acquisition, presented to the museum by the Marquise Arconati Visconti of Paris, and it was through the interest of Prof. Franz Curmont of Brussels that this interesting piece of furniture is now in the National Museum of the country the Marquis so loyally served in the War of Independence.

The chair is in excellent condition. Its frame, of simple design, is constructed of plain unpolished mahogany pieces about two inches square. While it is a comparatively low chair, the seat being only a little more than 12 inches from the floor, the curved back stands over three feet high. The slightly rounded front legs support horizontal arms, and at the junction are surmounted with carved figures representing the heads of sphinxes, which constitute the only decoration on the chair.

Both the seat and back, as well as the sides under the arms, are upholstered in green silk worsted cloth, interwoven with a floral design resembling tulips. All four legs are tipped with brass and provided with casters. The chair has a comfortable appearance.

After the Marquis died in 1834 the chair became the property of his grandson, Edmond Lafayette, who in turn transmitted it to the donor, Marquis Arconati Visconti.

REMEMBERED LANDING OF RUSSIANS

Dora Di Santos, an Indian woman, said to be 106 years of age, died recently, and she claimed to have been living with her family at Fort Ross when the Russians landed a century ago and built the historic fort, a Greek chapel and other landmarks.

The old woman maintained her faculties right up to death. She had a son, eighty-seven years old, living with her. In the Llano district, near Sebastopol, on the occasion of her one hundredth birthday, a number of the pioneer families made the day a happy one for her. She and her people lived for many years in the Fort Ross section, and in the early days they had lands and cattle galore.

The aged woman used to tell that her family helped the Russians build their forts.



WHY CADETS WEAR GRAY

While stationed at Buffalo in the summer of 1814 General Scott wrote to the quartermaster for a supply of new clothing for the regulars. Word soon came back that blue cloth such as was used in the Army could not be obtained owing to the stringency of the blockade and the embargo and the lack of manufactures in the country, but there was a sufficient quantity of gray cloth (now known as "cadet gray") in Philadelphia. Scott ordered it to be made up for his soldiers, and in these new gray suits they marched down the Niagara River, on the Canadian side, in the direction of Chippewa. It was just before the battle known by that name, which occurred early in July. General Riall, the British commander, looked upon them with contempt when preparing for battle on the morning of the 5th, for the Marquis of Tweeddale, who, with the British advance, had skirmished with them all the day before, had reported that they were only "Buffalo militia," and accounted for their fighting so well and driving him to his intrenchments, north of the Chippewa River by the fact that it was the anniversary of American independence that stimulated them.

On account of the victory won at Chippewa on that day, chiefly by these soldiers in gray, and in honor of Scott and the troops, that style of cloth was adopted at the Military Academy at West Point as the uniform of the cadets.



EMPTY WASHINGTON TOMB

Few persons know it was planned that the body of George Washington should find its resting place, not at Mount Vernon, but in the capital city named in his honor. Directly beneath the centre of the rotunda of the Capitol, in one of the subterranean chambers in a direct line beneath the Goddess of Liberty which surmounts the dome, was built the crypt which to the few is known as "Washington's Tomb."

It was the desire of the statesmen of the early days that the ashes of Washington should forever rest in this inclosure. A galleried opening was to be left in the centre of the rotunda floor, and through this the sarcophagus containing the body could be viewed from above. In this manner the reverent may look down upon the tomb of the great Napoleon in the Hotel des Invalides in Paris. It was deemed peculiarly appropriate that the body of Washington should rest here in what seemed the heart of the nation which he had founded. However, upon his death, in 1799, his body was entombed at Mount Vernon, his magnificent Virginia estate, thirteen miles down the Potomac River from Washington. It never was brought to Washington.

Subsequent to his death Mrs. Washington consented to the removal of the body from Mount Vernon to the Capitol on the condition that she also might be laid by his side. The crypt was made ready. Correspondence was carried on between Mrs. Washington and the officials relative to the ceremonies attending the removal. Before arrangements had been concluded Mrs. Washington died. In 1832 the Virginia State Legislature passed a resolution protesting against removing the body of her most illustrious son from within her borders. At length, on February 15, 1832, John A. Washington, then the owner of Mount Vernon, in a letter denied the request which had been

formerly made by Congress. There were those who whispered that his action was inspired by the idea that the value of Mount Vernon would depreciate seriously if the request were granted. Now, those who wish to pay homage at the tomb of the "Father of his country" must make the pilgrimage to Mount Vernon.

Despite the attitude of the heirs of Washington, Congress manifestly did not abandon the idea of ultimately transferring his sarcophagus to the Capitol. By order of Congress a "keeper of the crypt" kept a light burning in the vault until the civil war. Until that time it had not been extinguished for fifty years. It had come to be regarded as a hallowed shrine.

The tomb has been for the last forty-five years the storage room for the catafalque on which rested the body of President Lincoln when it lay in state. It has served a similar purpose at the state funeral of later presidents who have died in their term of office. To-day the crypt is inclosed by a temporary iron grill and is not open to visitors. In fact few know of its existence.



VALUABLE AMERICANA SOLD

A remarkable collection of rare autograph letters, historical documents, and literary manuscripts was recently sold by Stan. V. Henkels in Philadelphia. Included in it are letters of George Washington and other Presidents of the United States, Signers of the Declaration of Independence, Generals in the American Revolution, the War of 1812, and the civil war; naval officers, eminent authors and poets, historians, and other celebrities, American and foreign. There are also manuscripts of Mark Twain, Alexander Dumas, Thomas Bailey Aldrich, and others; personal association books, and manuscript journals of early travels in the United States.

One of the most interesting of the Washington letters refers to his stepson, John Parke Custis, the son of Martha Washington by her first husband, Daniel Parke Custis. Young Custis served as aid to Washington in the American Revolution. He died in 1781, leaving four children, the two younger of whom, Eleanor Parke Custis and George Washington Parke Custis, Washington at once adopted.

The letter is dated Mount Vernon, Feb. 3, 1771, and is addressed to the Rev. Jonathan Boucher, who was rector of St. Anne's Church in Annapolis, Md., and tutor to Washington's stepson. It reads as follows:

Dear Sir: Col. Robert Fairfax, with whom I have often talked, and who much approves of Jackson's intended Tour of Improvement, purposes to leave this on his return to England some time in March, before his doing of which he is desirous of seeing Jacky and has instructed me to say that he should be very glad of seeing you with him—the warmth with which he has made a tender of his services and the pressing invitation to make use of Leeds Castle as a home, in vacation time, are too obliging to be neglected. I should be glad, therefore, if it could suit you both to be over some time before the last of the month, or as soon after the 10th of March as may be, as I expect to be in Frederick, indeed, am obliged to be, from the first of the month to that time, and I do not know but Mrs. Washington may accompany me to my Brother's. His Horses shall attend you at my appointed time. Company and the suddenness of the opportunity prevent my enlarging, or taking notice of your last letter, further than to say that it never was my intention that Jacky should be restrained from proper company—to prevent as much as possible his connecting with Store boys and that kind of low, loose company, who could not be displeased at the debauchery of his manners, but perhaps endeavour to avail themselves of some advantages from it, is all I had in view. Mrs. Washington requests the favour of you to get her 2 oz. of the Spirit of Ether, if such a thing is to be had in Annapolis for Miss Custis and send it by Price Posey. Our love and best wishes attend yourself and Jackey, and I am, Yr. Most Obedt. Servt.

G. WASHINGTON.



PISTOLS IN HIS PULPIT

Boucher was a native of Cumberland, England, and was ordained by the Bishop of London in 1782. For many years he had charge in turn of several ecclesiastical parishes in America.

He lived in intimate friendship with Washington. They often dined together and spent many hours in talk. Boucher's loyalty was, however, uncompromising, and, when the American Revolution began he denounced the doctrines of the patriots. His last sermon, preached, it is said, with pistols on his pulpit cushion, ended with the words:

"As long as I live; yea, while I have my being, will I proclaim 'God save the King.' "

Washington shared in the condemnation of Boucher, but, when the latter published the discourses, which he had preached in America between 1763 and 1775, he dedicated the collection to Washington as "a tender of renewed amity." He returned to England in the autumn of 1775, married thrice, was rewarded by a Government pension, and died April 27, 1804.



PAINE'S JOYFUL LETTER

Letters of Thomas Paine are extremely rare. In this collection is one dated "Gen. Greene's Quarters," Oct. 30, 1777, and addressed to Timothy Matlack, who was a member of the Society of Free Quakers, or "Fighting Quakers," as the members of the Society of Friends were called who took an active part in the War for Independence. The letter relates to the surrender of Gen. Burgoyne and the British attack on Red Bank. It reads as follows:

The enclosed were written when your express came; please to convey them as directed. Your letter, I observe, is dated 26, four days ago. Suppose by this time you have had particulars of Burgoyne's surrender. The bad weather and the high waters render it impossible to pass from one part of the camp to another. I understand by the articles of Capitulation which came to Head Qrs. that Burgoyne and his Army are to be sent to England. You will see my remarks on that head in my letter to Col. Lee, which is enclosed and unsealed. No attempt has been made on the forts since the 22d by the Hessians. Count Donop is wounded and a prisoner, with about 200 others killed, wounded, and

taken, besides what wounded were carried into Philadelphia, which by ye account of persons who came out exceed that number. Four twenty-four poundes have been got from the wreck and more will yet be gotten. The Army is as well as can be expected after a long continuance of cold rain. I write this at Gen. Greene's. Shall go from hence to Head Qrs. If anything new there I will either add it, or send another letter. I go toward the forts this afternoon.



TWO GREENE LETTERS

There are several fine letters of Major Gen. Nathaniel Greene, written during his famous campaign in the South. In one, to his wife, dated Jan. 25, 1781, he refers to the victory at the Cowpers:

Gen. Morgan has given Col. Tarleton a complete defeat. The enemy's loss is upward of one hundred killed, upward of two hundred wounded, and upward of 500 prisoners, and between thirty and forty commissioned officers killed or taken prisoners. Besides these there were taken two field pieces, 800 stand of arms, thirty-four waggons, sixty negroes and an hundred Dragoon horses. The victory was complete as it is glorious. The particulars you will see in the papers. * * * Keep a good heart. I hope we shall enjoy many happy days together, tho' we may be separated a few months longer. Write me by every opportunity. The birds are singing and the frogs are peeping in the same manner they are in April in the Northward, and vegetation is in as great forwardness as the beginning of May. We are to have a feu de joy to-day, and I have many letters to write, therefore you will pardon this short note. Please to present my kind regards to all friends. I am in perfect good health, and everybody is in high spirits about me. But I am of a Spanish disposition, always the most serious when there is the greatest run of good fortune, for fear of some ill-fated stroke.

The other Greene letter is dated "Camp before Ninety-six," May 24, 1781, and is addressed to General Butler. In it Greene says:

I expected Lord Cornwallis's pride would force him to the northward. The state of matters here is simply this: Camden and the fort at Nelson's Ferry are evacuated; the forts at Mott's, Watson's, Granby, and Orangeburg taken. Ninety-six and Augusta are besieged; since we came into this State we have taken near 800 prisoners and fifty officers. Should this post and Augusta fall, which is by no means certain, though probable, our prisoners will be numerous, and the whole country open to the gates of Charleston; and the people are joining us in all quarters, though much distressed for want of arms.



WILLIAMS TO NATHAN HALE

A letter of E. Williams to Nathan Hale, dated New Haven, April 20, 1775, and endorsed in Hale's handwriting, reads in part:

All public exercises and exhibitions are discontinued at college, on account of the present melancholy aspect of our public affairs. Politics engross so much the attention of the people of all ages and denominations among us that little else is heard or thought of. It would, I suppose, be nothing new to inform you that the best military company in the colony consists of the members of Yale College, who appear stately under arms three times per day. Query. Do we not bid fair to be in time a martial people and a match for our enemies, when even students are so much engaged in the cause?



GEN. GATES'S DEFEAT

In a letter dated Sept. 10, 1780, and addressed to Col. Jeremiah Wadsworth, David Humphreys, aid to Gen. Washington, writes of Gen. Gates's defeat at Camden as follows:

Govr. Jefferson of Virginia, in a Letter of the 3d inst., advises, that, after being shamefully abandoned by all the militia,

except Col. Dixon's Regt. of North Carolina, a most desperate conflict ensued between the Continental troops and the British, in which the former behaved gloriously, and a considerable number made good their retreat. The enemy pursued but four miles, and their Horse, which were detached to annoy the retreat, were totally repulsed by our troops. Generals Smallwood, Gist and Stearns are safe, De Kalb and Rutherford in the hands of the enemy. Out of 800 Continental troops engaged it is said five hundred have been reassembled. Lord Cornwallis has retreated to Canada. . . . Matters wear a much more favorable aspect than we were taught to believe from Genl. Gates's letter. . . . Three duels have lately been fought, in which two of the parties concerned have been killed and three wounded. The gentlemen killed were Bill Livingston of Baskenridge and Lt. Peyton of Maryland. Several more, now on the carpet, are inevitable. So you can see what a passion we have for fighting. What a pity it cannot be gratified on the common enemy. Genl. Poor, who died of fever, is to be buried to-day.



FROM "THE SWAMP ANGEL"

There is an interesting two-page folio letter of Gen. Francis Marion, "The Swamp Fox" of the Revolution, dated St. Stephens, April 8, 1782, and addressed to Gen. Greene, in which Marion gives particulars of his situation, stating it took him two days to cross a swollen river. He then goes on to say:

I shall keep a party patrolling to get the earliest intelligence of the enemy's movements, as my militia is dismounted it is impossible I can move with that alacrity as formerly. Consequently I cannot lay so close to the enemy, or take an advantage of their excursions in the country. My force is not more than two hundred, exclusive of the Horse, but if they were mounted, I could now and then give them a fire without risking the whole.

Among the other notable autographs in the collection were a letter of John Adams, Boston, May 24, 1805, to John Luyac;

a letter of John Quincy Adams, The Hague, Jan. 29, 1797, eulogizing President Washington; two letters of Harman Blennerhassett, noted for his unfortunate association with Aaron Burr; a letter of Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, to John Quincy Adams, March 19, 1827, thanking him for appointing the son of Samuel Chase, Signer of the Declaration of Independence, as Judge of the Orphans' Court; four documents signed by Benjamin Franklin; a letter of Gen. Horatio Gates, Aug. 31, 1777, in reference to calling together absentees from the army to meet Burgoyne; letters to Benjamin Harrison, Signer of the Declaration of Independence, to Gov. Lee and to Gen. Greene; letters of Sir William Howe about Count Donop's intention to attack Red Bank, and a letter of Thomas Jefferson, Dec. 8, 1807, written while he was President.



INDIANS IN THE UNITED STATES

"There are as many Indians in the United States to-day as there were in the same territory in Columbus' time," declares Dr. Thomas Waterman, instructor in anthropology in the University of California. Dr. Waterman has made a special study of the American Indian, especially the Western Tribes. He lays particular claim to popular fame for his discovery of Ishi, the last of an expiring race in Northern California.

Dr. Waterman's assertion comes as a considerable jolt to the current sentiment, which pictures the red man as a tragic figure expatriated and fast vanishing from his native plains and woods.

"As a matter of fact, there were not nearly as many Indians in North America when it was discovered as is generally believed," continues Dr. Waterman. "Recent discoveries have led scientists to conclude that there were but a scarce quarter of a million east of the Sierras, and hardly 200,000 in California.

"The annals of the Lewis and Clark expedition are the basis for the idea that the United States swarmed with Indians. This expedition, however, merely traversed the river, and as it was on the river banks that all the Indian settlements were located, the explorers were misled as to the existence of inland towns.

In Columbus' time there was but one Indian to every twenty square miles of territory."

Dr. Waterman admitted that in California and Alaska the Indian is fast disappearing. Whiskey, consumption and modern diseases have worked havoc with the Indian whenever he has come into contact directly with the white. In the big reservations of Oklahoma and Indian Territory, however, the red man is flourishing and multiplying in health and normal conditions.



MONUMENT TO REBEL DORR

A monument to Thomas Wilson Dorr, of Dorr war fame, was unveiled July 18, on Acotes Hill in Chepachet, R. I., where Dorr made his last stand in 1842.

Col. Daniel R. Ballou, acting in behalf of the commission appointed by the General Assembly, turned the monument over to the State and Gov. Pothier accepted it. The memorial consists of a hugh rough hewn boulder with a tablet on one side.

In the speeches made by Gov. Pothier, State Treasurer Reid, Col. Ballou and Thomas W. Bicknell, Dorr was described as one who, though he headed open rebellion against the State, yet urged principles which to-day are known to be just.

Miss Edith C. Davis, daughter of Representative Frank F. Davis of Gloucester, unveiled the monument.



WAR RELICS FOUND IN BRONX

Recent excavations in the Bronx have unearthed numerous interesting relics of the British occupation during the New York campaign in the Revolutionary War. A new case containing these relics has been installed in the museum which the Bronx Society of Arts and Sciences is maintaining in the Lorillard Mansion, Bronx Park, New York City.

The collection is the property of Reginald Pelham Bolton, of

No. 638 West 158th street, member of the New York Historical Society and of the Scenic Preservation Society of New York, and William J. Calver, of No. 846 Hewitt place, who collects historic military accoutrements. The exhibits represent nearly two years' work of these men and are among the most interesting of their kind yet disclosed in the Bronx.

Many of the articles are well preserved, but the corrosion of more than a century and a quarter has distorted some of the metallic relics almost past recognition. The display case contains camp axes, bullets, gun flints, pike points, pot hooks, coins bearing the profile of George III. and George II., sundry flakes of quartz, iron hinges, locks, tea cups and other articles of pottery, clay pipes, fragments of Indian earthenware, glass and stone bottles, glasses, horse shoes, a thimble, knives and other cutlery.

The venue of the Bolton-Calver research has been the Jerome reservoir site, formerly that of Fort No. 4 of the British army during the Revolution; Hunt's Point, Heath avenue, which was the camp of Yager's or Emmerich's chasseurs; Kingsbridge road, the site of Fort 2 or Fort Swartwout; Spuyten Duyvil hill, the Moses Devoe house, near Fordham road; vicinity of 231st street and Broadway, the Morris Manor house of old Morristania and the site of Jonas Bronck's house, foot of Willis avenue.

Perhaps the most interesting parts of the collection are from the chasseurs' camp. Knife blades, bullets and pipe bowls, in comparatively good state of preservation, were unearthed here. Some of the pipes are almost as complete as when, hurriedly, no doubt, they were left behind to become covered by a soil which may have entombed their owners. The manufacturers' trade marks are still discernable on some of the pipe bowls.

Six bronze coins of the George III. period, about an inch in diameter and presumably pennies, were found, with pike points, hoes and other paraphernalia of troops in encampment, at the site of Fort No. 4, near Sedgwick avenue, Kingsbridge, occupied by British and Hessian troops until September, 1779.

The collection of Mr. Bolton and Mr. Calver is likely to be considerably enlarged, as both of them are still busy with their historical searches.

LINCOLN'S MSS. BRING \$22,000

The famous Lamon collection of Abraham Lincoln documents has been sold through James F. Meegan, of this city, to a New York buyer. It is said the purchase was made for H. E. Huntington, of Los Angeles, who recently paid \$50,000 for the Gutenberg Bible, for about \$22,000.

Mrs. Teillard has written a book entitled "Recollections of Lincoln," in which all of the manuscripts are contained. Following the completion of the work she was approached by Mr. Meegan, and agreed to sell the old manuscripts.

The collection contains twenty-five letters written by Lincoln and two thousand written to him by men prominent at the time of the Civil War, among the writers being General Sherman, W. H. Herndon and W. H. Lamon. The latter two were law partners of the President when he made his home in Illinois.

Among the most historic of the letters was one which, it was generally believed, was written by Lamon, then marshal of the district, denying that the President had asked Lamon to sing a jocular song on the field of Antietam at the time it was covered with dead and dying, but the letter was undoubtedly written by Lincoln himself, as the handwriting shows.

In a letter to his brother, who, it appears, had tried to borrow money from him on many occasions, Lincoln refuses to lend, telling him that he is lazy, and agreeing to give him a dollar to add to every dollar he earned. He also tells his brother that he can earn money right where he is, in Illinois, and that it will not be necessary for him to go to California or any other new country.



FIRST TRAIN ORDER COMMEMORATED

The Erie Railroad dedicated recently at Harriman, N. Y., the new name for the station formerly known as Turners, a monument commemorating the first telegraph train order ever sent over a railroad. This order was transmitted in 1851 when Chas. Minot was General Superintendent of the road.

The line was then known as the New York & Erie Railroad and this is the order Mr. Minot sent:

“To agent and operator at Goshen: Hold the train for further orders. Conductor and engineer Day Express: Run to Goshen regardless of opposing trains.”

This message marked the transition from the days when trains crawled over single track, haphazard from switch to switch, to the present day of speed, limited only by the capacity of the locomotives.

When it is considered that prior to 1851 locomotives had been developed which were perfectly capable of making between forty and fifty miles an hour, and did it as a regular thing, the great difficulty which confronted the train dispatcher in keeping his trains moving without accident may be surmised. As an old railroad man once put it when speaking of these days:

“The only things that limited the speed of a wood-burner were the muscles of the firemen.”

It seems almost impossible to us, accustomed to train orders transmitted by telegraph, to conceive of a day when such a medium did not exist. And yet they had little difficulty in those days. For one thing, no road existed on which there were more than two limited expresses a day. These trains had the right of way and their times for reaching different points along the road were thoroughly established. All local trains, of which there were correspondingly few, were timed so as to reach sidings before the “limited” arrived.

Freight trains were run only at night for the most part, and the divisions were kept clear for their use after the last fast train had passed through. They merely crawled along, and the danger from collision amounted to little or nothing.



RAILROADING BEFORE 1851

Before 1851 the engineer of a train would pull into a station, and, after conferring with the conductor, decide whether to run for the siding at the next station or take the “side” where they were to await a down train. If there was any doubt about

their having time enough in which to make it, they usually decided on the safer course and took the "side" where they were. In this case the passengers were at liberty to pick wild flowers if it were summer or huddle around the old-fashioned base-burner stoves in the ends of the cars if there were snow on the ground.

In those days these delays were taken as a matter of course, and many old-time railroad men look back with regret on the time when the traveling public was philosophical. If there was scant time for a train to make the regular "meeting point," as the designated siding was called, the crew ran little risk, as the engineer of the train coming from the opposite direction would know, not finding the other train on its siding, that it was somewhere along the road, and would run slowly, accordingly, until he picked it up.

When they met, the train having the right of way would wait while the other backed up to the nearest siding, unless they were so close to the other siding that the train having the right of way actually could save time by backing up itself.

It was sixty-one years ago that telegraphic transmission of train orders was established. To-day the railroads of this country are considering installing another system, a system under which train orders will be transmitted by telephone direct to the engineer as he sits in his cab. There are two systems which have been tested and enable the train dispatcher to do this, and the Delaware, Lackawanna & Western Railroad now has one division equipped with one of these systems.

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*A PLAN of the
RAPIDS,
in the River Ohio,
by
Thos. Hutchins.*



Falls of the Ohio as sketched by Thomas Hutchins in 1766

AMERICANA

December, 1912

Falls of the Ohio

THE BATTLE GROUND OF TRADITION AND HISTORY, THE CARRYING
PLACE OF EARLY NAVIGATION AND THE BIRTHPLACE
OF CIVILIZATION IN KENTUCKY

THESE historic rapids represent a total fall of twenty-seven feet in two and one-half miles and offer the only serious obstruction to navigation of the Ohio river from the junction of the Allegheny and the Monongahela rivers at Pittsburgh, and in fact for one hundred and twenty-three miles above that point on the Allegheny river, to its mouth, a total distance of one thousand ninety-five miles. In this distance the total fall is six hundred and ninety feet, an average of seven-tenths of a foot to the mile.

The Falls of the Ohio, the "carrying place" of the Aborigines and Indians for six centuries, are formed by the greater resistance to erosion presented by a Palaeozoic coral reef that here constitutes a part of the limestone beds on which the river flows.

We are enabled to reproduce the original appearance of these falls through the possession of a drawing made in 1766 by Captain Thomas Hutchins (1730-1789), who accompanied the sixtieth Royal American regiment under General Henry Bouquet to America in 1764, and was imprisoned in London, England, in 1669 on the charge of corresponding with Benjamin Franklin, then in France. He is said to have lost a fortune of twelve thousand pounds by this imprisonment, and on being released he went to France and thence to America, for a second time, where he joined the United States army and was attached to the staff of General Nathaniel Greene, taking part in the siege

(1097)

of Charleston, South Carolina. He was, by act of Congress passed May 20, 1785, made geographer-general and instructed to make topographical maps and descriptions of Virginia, Pennsylvania, Maryland, North Carolina, Louisiana and Florida.

His geographical work formed the basis of the *American Gazetteer*, compiled by Doctor Jedidiah Morse and published in 1789. The illustration accompanying this article was drawn when the map-maker and artist was at the Falls in 1766 before the white men had felled the trees, or in any way interfered with the great work of nature, by constructing canals to carry the first flat-boats safely around the barrier.

It was at these Falls that the progress of the Cavalier de la Salle on his journey of discovery, in canoes launched in the Allegheny, in the autumn of 1669, stopped and turned back undecided whether the stream emptied in the Mississippi river or in the Pacific Ocean, but inclined to the latter opinion. It is from this voyage that the river acquired the title *La belle riviere*—(the beautiful river), as it was named on the French maps.

Here in June, 1778, George Rogers Clark, the late deputy-surveyor under Captain Hancock Lee, came as a leader of settlers from Virginia into Kentucky, commissioned by the council of Virginia to protect Kentucky from the savages on the ground as advanced by Clark that "a country which was not worth protecting was not worth saving," and who was afterward commissioned lieutenant-colonel and instructed by Patrick Henry, governor of Virginia, to enlist seven companies of soldiers, of fifty men each, and proceed to attack the British post at Kaskaskia, made his camping ground on Corn Island at the Falls of the Ohio, and on his return for the expedition which followed, found in 1779 that the garrison he had left on Corn Island had constructed a fort on the mainland, and he forthwith occupied the fort and submitted to the settlers a plan for a proposed town which, had it been adopted, would have made Louisville one of the most beautiful cities on the American continent.

Here Col. Richard C. Anderson, father of General Robert Anderson, the hero of Fort Sumter in 1861, settled after the close of the Revolutionary War and established in the wilderness his celebrated home, "Soldiers' Retreat," and from this point on the

the Ohio River he shipped the first cargo of produce, in a vessel constructed under his direction, and at his expense, by the Mississippi River and New Orleans direct to Europe, in 1797.

Here Colonel "Dick" Taylor settled, locating six miles from the fort on land selected by his brother Hancock Taylor, and helped in holding in check the unfriendly Indians who disputed the ownership of their rich lands and constantly harassed the new settlers; and in this home his grandson, Richard Taylor Jacobs (1825-1903), was born, became one of the defenders, first in the Legislature and then under General Robert Anderson, of the soil of Kentucky from the inroads made by the Confederate armies in the Civil War.

Here Francis Durrett of Spottsylvania county, Virginia, came as an Indian fighter under Geo. Rogers Clark and settled after the campaign in Henry county, and his grandson, Reuben Thomas Durrett the historian, founder of the Filson Club, and a celebrated lawyer and jurist of Louisville was born.

Here John Filson, the early historian of Kentucky, learned from the lips of the earliest settlers at the Falls, the traditional history of Modoc and of the annihilation of the Welsh Indians by the red men, centuries before the settlement about this Falls by the white men; and here he heard of the deeds of valor and daring performed by Anderson, Boone, Clark, Durrett, Taylor and their associate Indian fighters in planting civilization and opening the Ohio to the commerce of the world.

The Great Fire in New York, Sept. 20, 1776

WAS THE CITY FIRED BY THE PATRIOT CITIZENS?

Report as printed in the New York Gazette, September 30, 1776, and report made by General Washington from Harlem Heights, September 23, 1776.

THE first great fire that visited the city of New York was in 1741, and it totally destroyed the business portion of the city. The same year a pestilence followed which decimated the population. The city then enjoyed freedom from great disaster for thirty-five years. General Earl Howe took possession of the city September 14, 1776, on its evacuation by the Continental army under Washington, and it had been under British military rule for only a single month when the second great fire occurred, September 20, 1776.

Washington and his army were encamped and fortified on Harlem Heights and gave no promise to the loyal subjects of King George in the city of an extended period of peace. Loyalists made up the great majority of the inhabitants of New York and included the rich merchants and bankers who were anticipating from the presence of the British army, a period of prosperity such as universally accompanied the presence of a standing army quartered in a seaport city.

The patriots who for business reasons, family ties, or extreme poverty, had been unable to leave the city with the Continental army, had high hopes that their great leader, upon being reinforced by levies from the adjacent counties in New York and New Jersey, would be able to force the army of Howe to evacuate New York, as it had Boston in March of the same year.

This was the condition of affairs in New York on Friday,

(1100)

September 20, 1776, when the second great fire broke out.

Whether by accident, or by design on the part of the few Patriots left in the city, the fire was started on Whitehall street on the evening of September 20, burned for the ensuing twelve hours and destroyed one thousand of the finest stores, residences and churches, covering one-fourth of the total area of the city.

In the New York Gazette of September 30, 1776, the following account of the fire, viewed from the standpoint of the Royalist newspaper, is printed:

“On Saturday, the 21st inst., we had a terrible fire in the City, which consumed about 1,000 houses, or nearly a fourth of the whole city.

“The following is the best account we can collect of the melancholy event. The fire broke out at first at the most southerly part of the City, near White Hall, and was discovered between twelve and one o’clock in the morning, the wind blowing fresh from the south, and the weather exceeding dry. The rebel army having carried off all the bells of the City, the alarm could not be speedily communicated, and very few of the citizens were in town, most of them having been driven out by the calamities of war, and several of the first rank having been sent prisoners of war to New England and other distant parts. A few minutes after the fire was discovered at White Hall, it was observed to break out in five or six other places at a considerable distance.

“In this dreadful situation, when the whole city was threatened with destruction, Major General Robertson, who had the chief command, sent immediately for two regiments that were encamped near the city, placed guards in several streets, and took every other precaution that was practicable to ward off the impending ruin. Lord Howe ordered the boats of the fleet to be manned, and after landing a large number of officers and seamen to assist us, the boats were stationed on each side of the city in the East and North rivers, and the lines near the royal army were extended across the island, as it manifestly appeared the city was designedly set on fire.

“The fire raged with inconceivable violence, and in its de-

structive progress swept away all the buildings between Broad street and the North River, almost as high as the City Hall; and from thence all the houses between Broadway and the North river as far as King's College, a few only excepted. Long before the main fire reached Trinity Church, that large, ancient and venerable edifice was in flames, which baffled every effort to suppress them. The steeple, which was 140 feet high, the upper part wood and placed on an elevated situation, resembled a vast pyramid of fire, exhibiting a grand and most awful spectacle. Several women and children perished in the fire. Their shrieks joined to the roaring of the flames, the crash of falling houses and the widespread ruin, which everywhere appeared, formed a scene of horror great beyond description, which was still heightened by the darkness of night. Besides Trinity Church, the rector's house, the charity school, the old Lutheran Church, and many other fine buildings were consumed. St. Paul's Church and King College were directly in the line of the fire, but were saved with great difficulty. After raging about ten hours, the fire was extinguished between ten and eleven o'clock, A. M.

"During this complicated scene of devastation and distress, at which the most savage heart might relent, several persons were discovered with large bundles of matches dipped in melted rosin and brimstone attempting to set fire to the houses. A New England man, who had a captain's commission under the Continental Congress, and was in their service, was seized with these dreadful implements of ruin in his hands. General Robertson rescued two of those incendiaries from the enraged populace, who had otherwise consigned them to the flames, and reserved them for the hand of deliberate justice. One White, a carpenter, was observed to cut the leather buckets which conveyed the water. He also wounded with a cutlass a woman who was active in handling the water. This provoked the spectators to such a degree that they instantly hung him up. One of those villains set fire to the college and was seized. Many others were detected in the like crime and secured.

"The officers of the army and navy, the seamen and the soldiers greatly exerted themselves, often with the utmost hazard

to themselves, and showed all that alertness and activity for which they are justly celebrated on such occasions. To their vigorous efforts in pulling down such wooden buildings as would conduct the fire, it is owing, under Providence, that the whole city was not consumed; for the number of inhabitants was small, and the pumps and fire engines were very much out of order. This last circumstance together with the removal of our bells, the time and the place of the fire's breaking out, when the wind was in the south, the city being set on fire in so many different places at the same time, so many incendiaries being caught in the very act of setting fire to houses; these to mention no other particulars, clearly evince beyond the possibility of doubt, that this diabolical affair was the result of a preconcerted, deliberate scheme. Thus the persons who called themselves our friends and protectors, were the perpetrators of this atrocious deed, which in guilt and villany is not inferior to the Gun Powder plot; whilst those, who were held up as our enemies, were the people who gallantly stepped forth at the risk of their lives to snatch us from destruction.

“Our distress was very great before, but this disaster has increased it tenfold. Many hundreds of families have lost their all, and are reduced from a state of affluence to the lowest ebb of want and wretchedness—destitute of shelter, food and clothing.

“Surely there must be some chosen curse,—some secret thunder in the stores of Heaven, red with uncommon wrath to blast the miscreants who thus wantonly sport with the lives, property, and happiness of their fellow creatures, and unfeelingly doom them to inevitable ruin.”

General Washington in a letter dated “Headquarters, Heights of Harlem, September 23, 1776,” one week before the issue of the Gazette from which we copy this account, addressed to Jonathan Trumbull, paymaster of the Northern Department, gave to the patriots beyond the British lines, the news of this fire and of the punishment meted out to the supposed incendiaries, as follows:

“On Friday night, about eleven or twelve o'clock, a fire broke

out in the City of New York, which burning rapidly till after sunrise next morning, destroyed a great number of houses. By what means it happened we do not know; but the gentleman, who brought the letter from General Howe last night, and who was one of his Aides de Camp, informed Col. Reed that several of our countrymen had been punished with various deaths on account of it, some by hanging, others by burning, etc., alleging that they were apprehended when committing the act."

Notable Personages in American History Who Should be Better Known

RICHARD TAYLOR JACOB, PATRIOT, FRONTIERSMAN, SOLDIER, LEGIS-
LATOR, LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR, INSTRUMENT IN SAV-
ING THE STATE OF KENTUCKY TO THE UNION

RICHARD TAYLOR JACOB was born at the home of his grandfather, Colonel Richard Taylor of Oldham county, Kentucky, March 13, 1825. He was a son of John Jeremiah and Lucy Donald (Robertson) Jacob and a descendant of Zachariah and Susan Jacob of Ramsey, England, who settled in Maryland in 1740; of Donald and Rachel (Rogers) Robertson of Virginia and of Colonel James Taylor of Carlisle, England, who settled in South Virginia in 1682, and was the progenitor of James Madison, fourth president of the United States and through Isaac and Mathilda (Taylor) Robertson, of General Zachary Taylor, twelfth president of the United States. Upon reaching his majority, Richard Taylor Jacob joined an immigrant party on May 11, 1846, which undertook the overland route to California. At Fort Laramie he was chosen second in command of the expedition and with only eight of the original explorers he reached the frontier of California, September 9, 1846, where he found the Californians in rebellion against the Mexican government. He at once raised a company of volunteers to join Major Fremont who had already been elected governor of California and was cooperating with Commodore Stockton, U. S. N., in maintaining United States authority. He was made captain of his company which was made up of mounted men. He served under Fremont until after the surrender of the Mexican army at Los Angeles, when he returned to the United States by way of the Isthmus of Panama.

He reached New Orleans in 1847 where he offered his service to fight with his distinguished relative in the Mexican war, but

failing to receive a commission he returned to Kentucky where he raised a company of volunteers for service in Mexico, but which service was not accepted. He then proceeded to Washington as a witness in the court-martial of Colonel Fremont, and while in that city he married on January 17, 1848, Sarah, third daughter of Senator Thomas H. and Elizabeth (McDowell) Benton and sister of Jesse Benton Fremont, wife of Colonel John Charles Fremont, the Pathfinder and conqueror of California. They resided on a farm in Missouri until 1854, when they removed to the family homestead in Oldham county, Kentucky.

He was representative in the Legislature of Kentucky, 1859-61; a Breckenridge and Lane presidential elector in 1861; a member of the committee on Federal relations in the Kentucky Legislature where he sought abeyance to the rights of the government of the United States until the questions of the secession of the State could be submitted to a vote of the people. He drew up the report which was submitted to the house in favor of remaining loyal to the government, and it was adopted by the Legislature on a vote taken January 27, 1861, of forty-eight ayes and forty-seven noes. Governor Magoffin thereupon issued a message, ordering the armies of both the North and the South to keep off the soil of Kentucky, and when President Lincoln called for troops, Magoffin refused to furnish the quota assessed upon Kentucky, and in order to save the State to the Union, Captain Jacob joined with other Union legislators in endorsing the governor's position, and on May 24, 1861, the State Legislature voted forty-eight to forty-seven in favor of mediatorial neutrality.

In July, 1861, when the Legislature ordered an election for new members it resulted in returning seventy-six Union men and twenty-four Secessionists, with senators in like proportion.

In the Legislature in September, 1861, he demanded through a resolution offered to that body, that the three Confederate armies within the borders of the State should withdraw unconditionally and the Legislature by a vote of seventy-six to twenty-six in the House, and twenty-five to nine in the Senate, agreed to the proposition. He thereupon offered a set of resolutions reciting that the Federal army, as it occupied its own soil for purposes of defence, had a constitutional right to remain, and the

resolutions were adopted by both houses without calling the roll.

When General Anderson, the hero of Sumter, was placed in command of the Department of the Cumberland, he authorized Captain Jacob to raise three regiments of infantry, but the purpose of Anderson was thwarted by Governor Magoffin's order of consolidation. He remained inactive up to June, 1862, when he proposed through the public press to be one of 2,000 men to take their own horses and drive General John H. Morgan out of the State. On July 27, 1862, he obtained authority from the United States government to raise the 12th Kentucky regiment of cavalry for twelve months' service, to defend the soil of Kentucky from Bragg's invasion, and he raised, in five days, men and horses to fill two regiments. He commanded the 12th Kentucky Cavalry, and with only half of his regiment he took part in the disastrous battle of Richmond, Kentucky, under General William Nelson, October 3, 1862, when the Federal army lost 206 killed, 844 wounded and 4,303 captured. On October 1 he marched with Buell from Louisville, on October 3, with half his regiment he encountered Colonel Scott's Confederate brigade, and on October 6, drove them as well as the Secession Legislature out of Frankfort, the State capital. He soon after encountered General Kirby Smith, who with Bragg was in a determined race with Buell for the possession of Louisville. In this race he was desperately wounded, separated from his command and barely escaped capture, when rescued by eleven men from the 14th Ohio sent out by Lieutenant-Colonel Este. He was invalided at his home in Louisville, and while there he suffered the loss of his devoted wife who died while in attendance on him, and it was not till January 14, 1863, that he was able to re-join his regiment.

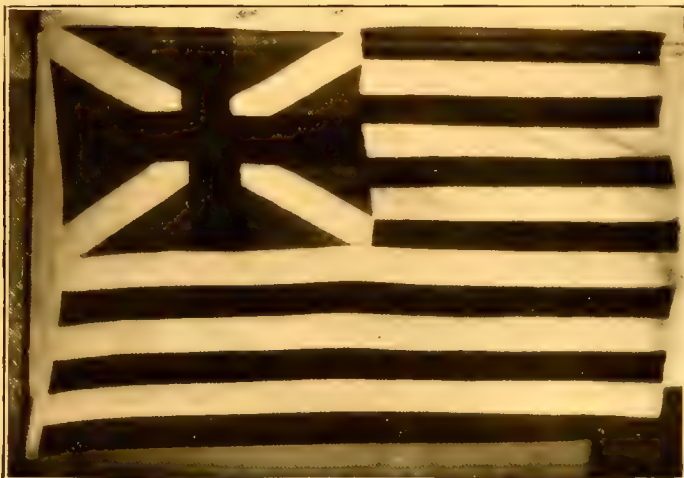
On May 11, 1863, he resumed command and defeated an overwhelming cavalry force of General Morgan at Horse Shoe Bend, after pursuing that general along the Cumberland to the crossing of the Ohio at Blandenburg. He then pursued Morgan through Indiana and Ohio and was largely instrumental in his capture near Salineville, July 26, 1863, with the 364 officers and men of his command. His regiment was discharged at the end of its term of enlistment and eighteen days after Colonel Jacob was mustered out, September 9, 1863.

He was elected to the office of lieutenant-governor of Kentucky, serving 1863-64, and was a presidential elector on the McClellan and Pendleton ticket in 1864. He opposed the enlistment of negro troops, feeling that it helped to destroy the growing Union sentiment in the border states and hindered the enlistment of Union men or encourage their desertions from the army. When Lincoln was re-elected President in 1864, General S. G. Burbridge ordered the arrest of Colonel Jacob and he was taken to Louisville without trial, or a chance to know the nature of his offense or to meet his accusers, and from thence carried across the country to within the lines of the Confederate army.

He scorned an offer of high rank and important command in the Confederate army, reached the Confederate capital and from there he sent a letter at the hands of George D. Prentice of the Louisville Courier to President Lincoln, by which he obtained safe conduct through the Federal lines. On reaching Washington January 16, 1865, the story of his arrest and persecution not only resulted in his being given safe conduct to his home in Louisville, but a few weeks later General Burbridge was superseded in his command by General Palmer.

Kentucky being under military rule, Colonel Jacob was not received with favor, notwithstanding his army service and the friendship of the President, and this treatment caused him to manifest his determination and personal courage by free speech. It did not, however, lessen his loyalty to the government, and in 1867 he was the administration candidate for representative from the Louisville district to the 40th Congress, but he was defeated by Asa P. Grover, elected by ex-Confederates, and in 1882 he was in the same way defeated as clerk of appeals by J. H. McHenry. He however, in the election, received about 75,000 votes. He was a comrade of the Grand Army of the Republic, and was elected to the post of general-commanding the Union Veterans' Union, of Tennessee, Kentucky, and Indiana. He also served as park commissioner of the city of Louisville, 1895-99.

Colonel Jacob married as his second wife on June 6, 1865, Laura, daughter of Dr. Wilson, of Lexington, Kentucky, and by this marriage he had four sons and one daughter. His second wife died September 21, 1895, and he died in 1903 at his home in Louisville, Ky.



1. Washington Headquarters Flag
2. Flag of Gansevoort's 2d Regiment

The Stars and Stripes on Fort Schuyler, August 3, 1777

THIS FORT WAS KNOWN AS STANWIX, 1757-73, SCHUYLER, 1776-81,
AND AGAIN STANWIX, 1781-1814

THE FIRST UNITED STATES FORT OVER WHICH THE NATIONAL
FLAG WAVED DURING ACTUAL BATTLE

THE flag used in all the British colonies in North America up to 1777, was the Union Jack, the military flag of England. Under this flag, with various modifications, the early battles of the Revolution were fought. The first modification was in the flag first hoisted by General Washington, January 2, 1776, at his headquarters at Cambridge. It was known as the "Cambridge Flag" and the "Flag of the Union" and was a blue field with the combined crosses of St. George and St. Andrew, bordered by thirteen stripes representing the thirteen colonies. This flag received a salute of thirteen guns and thirteen cheers.

In New England the colonial flag had a Pine Tree in the Union Jack quartered by a red cross on a blue or white field. This flag was borne on the earliest armed vessels sent out by Washington from the Massachusetts ports.

The first naval flag recognized by Congress was white with a green tree and "Appeal to Heaven" and this flag appeared on the floating batteries constructed for defence.

In Trumbull's picture of the Battle of Bunker Hill, the flag under which the patriots fought was the flag of the Massachusetts cruisers with the British Union supplanted by a white field with a green tree in the center, but it is generally conceded that the patriots fought under a red flag signifying defiance.

The troops of Pennsylvania and the vessels fitted out at Philadelphia carried the flag of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania and the troops and vessels from New York carried the "Excelsior" flag, the coat of arms of New York colony. The use of these two standards gave rise to the derisive appellation "The Goose Flag" as applied by the British soldiery to the flag of the New York and Pennsylvania troops and ships, as each of the standards give prominence to a goose or swan as a crest.

FORT STANWIX IN THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR

Fort Stanwix was constructed by the British government under direction of General Stanwix in 1757, at a cost of £60,000. It was erected near a dismantled log fort hastily built the year before, but condemned as inadequate for the purpose of defence. The site of Fort Stanwix was at the Oneida carrying place on the watershed between the Great Lakes and Hudson's river. It commanded the principal line of communication between New York and Upper Canada and formed one of line of forts erected on the border that year. The first use to which the fort was placed was as a depot for stores to provision the Colonial army invading the French territory of Canada. It was to this new and strong fort that the remnant of the provincial army, including the New York regiments, took refuge after the disastrous defeat they met under Colonel Munro at Fort William Henry, the New York regiments spending the winter of 1757-8 in the fort over which the flag of the Second New York regiment floated in conjunction with the Union Jack.

The fort was not the scene of any great battle or the object of assault by the French and Indians, the garrison merely guarding the ample stores accumulated and distributed therefrom.

In the autumn of 1768 the historic treaty with the Six Nations was negotiated here by Sir William Johnson, by which the Iroquois Indians represented by 3,200 of their braves, gathered at Fort Stanwix, agreed to surrender their title to the vast tract of territory which afterwards constituted the State of Kentucky, western Virginia and the western part of Pennsylvania; the price agreed upon being \$10,000 to be paid to them by Sir William

Johnson in money and goods. Soon after the close of these negotiations, with the prospect of a long period of peace, the fort was dismantled and the garrison withdrawn.

In 1776 the Congress made General Philip Schuyler (1733-1804) one of the four major generals in the Continental army, and he was given command of the Northern Division with instructions to organize an army of Patriots and with this army to invade Canada. One of his first projects was to rebuild and refortify dismantled Fort Stanwix and he renamed it Fort Schuyler. As he had been too ill to advance into Canada with the army, which was placed under the command of General Richard Montgomery (1736-1775), he made Fort Schuyler his headquarters and there found plenty of employment in diplomacy and active service in counteracting the intrigues of Sir William Johnson and his powerful family and Indian allies.

FORT SCHUYLER IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Peter Gansevoort (1749-1812) was commissioned as major of the 2nd New York regiment by the Provincial Congress in July, 1775, and with his regiment joined the expedition against Quebec under General Richard Montgomery, who had returned from England after the close of the French and Indian war.

On returning to America as a private citizen, Montgomery espoused the revolutionary cause and under General Philip Schuyler led the ill-fated expedition against Montreal and Quebec. Major Gansevoort was in Montgomery's command and on March 16, 1776, he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-colonel, and on November 21, 1776 was made colonel of the 2nd New York regiment and assigned to the command of Fort George. In 1777 he was placed in command of Fort Schuyler and he had within the fort, a garrison of about 750 men, levies from the State of New York, which included the third regiment of which he was colonel, and which regiment was known as Gansevoort's regiment, the flag of which regiment was the one at Fort Schuyler which was superseded by the Stars and Stripes, August 6, 1777.

While in command of the fort, Gansevoort was besieged by

British troops under Saint Leger who had a force of about 1,700 British soldiers, augmented by the large body of Sir William Johnson's Tories and Indians. During the siege, General Nicholas Herkimer, commander of the militia of Tryon county, hurried to the relief of Gansevoort, but after a desperate battle in which Herkimer was mortally wounded, his forces were compelled to fall back without affording help to the besieged fort. Meantime Gansevoort made a sortie from the fort, drove back the enemy and captured a large supply of provisions which he carried back to the fort. This exploit encouraged the garrison and in celebration of the signal victory, they improvised a national flag after the pattern adopted by Congress, June 14, 1777, having a field of thirteen stripes alternate white and red with a union of thirteen stars (white) on a blue ground "representing a new constellation." In the same resolution providing a design for a national flag it was resolved that Captain John Paul Jones be appointed to command the ship "Ranger." Thus, as if by happy chance, two widely divergent acts were coupled in one resolution of Congress, and John Paul Jones was placed in command of the first ship in the United States navy to carry this flag to the old world, and on February 13, 1778, to see it recognized "in the fullest and most complete manner by the flags of France" in Quiborne Bay by the French squadrons anchored in that road.

It was after the decisive battle of Oriskany that took place on August 6, 1777, that Gansevoort having returned from his successful sortie, looked around for material out of which to make a veritable "Stars and Stripes," in honor of the great victory. A white shirt and a blue jacket, together with a red petticoat, furnished by a soldier's wife, were quickly transformed into a National flag, and it was hoisted to the masthead of the flag-pole of the fort amid cheers and its stars and stripes confronted the astonished besiegers who continued the siege up to August 22, when a strong force under General Arnold caused them to retreat in great haste to Oswego. It was no doubt a surprise to the garrison to learn that their flag flung to the breeze August 6, 1777, was the first National flag to wave over a United States fort during an actual battle, and that they had by

their valor held the army of Saint Leger back from joining Burgoyne at Saratoga, and thus became largely instrumental in causing the surrender of his entire army to General Gates, October 17, 1777.

Colonel Gansevoort received from Congress a vote of thanks for his very important service in paralyzing the movements of Saint Leger's large army, and in 1781 he was appointed brigadier general of the New York militia, and in 1809 of the United States army.

Fort Schuyler was dismantled and in 1781 it was destroyed by a flood and fire. It was immediately rebuilt and given its original name "Fort Stanwix" and in the new fort on October 22, 1784, Oliver Wolcott, Richard Butler and Arthur Lee, acting in behalf of the Continental Congress, negotiated an important treaty with the Six Nations. Gansevoort's regiment, afterwards known as the 3d New York, were again defenders of the old State ensign at Yorktown and the flag was carried when Cornwallis surrendered Oct. 7, 1781. It was brought home and now hangs in a mahogany frame in the rooms of the Historical Society at Albany, the only State flag in existence that served with the New York State troops in the Revolution.

The Demand for Citizenship for Women

NO NEW THING IN THE UNITED STATES

- 1647—Margaret Brent petitioned for a seat in the Maryland Legislature. She was heir of Lord Calvert, the brother of Lord Baltimore, and executor of the estates of both, in the colony. Her petition for a “place and voyce” in the Legislature was hotly debated for some hours and finally denied.
- 1691-1700—During these nine years the women of Massachusetts under the Province Charter of Massachusetts, voted for all executive officers.
- 1776—Abigail Adams, in 1776, wrote to her husband, John Adams, at the time a delegate in the Continental Congress, as follows: “I long to hear that you have declared for independency, and in the new code of laws, which I suppose it will be necessary for you to make, I desire that you would remember the ladies and be more generous to them than were your ancestors. If particular care is not paid to the ladies, we are determined to foment a rebellion and will not hold ourselves bound to obey any laws in which we have no voice or representation.” Continental Congress however left the subject of suffrage to be dealt with by the states.
- 1787—New Jersey, in 1787, conferred suffrage on all its inhabitants worth two hundred and fifty dollars, male and female alike, and the women of New Jersey actually voted on the momentous question of the adoption of the Constitution of the United States that went into operation in 1789. The law granting them the franchise was in force for eighteen years, and in 1807 was repealed.

- 1836—Ernestine L. Rose, the daughter of a Polish Rabbi, was the first woman in the United States to take the platform and urge the women of America to appeal for the right to vote upon questions affecting their interests. This was in 1836, at a time that the common law of England was in full force in the United States. She circulated a petition for a law that would enable married women to hold property, but she failed to receive the immediate support of the women and only five signed her petition. She persisted in her efforts, however, and in 1840 she had a considerable following, her most notable convert being Elizabeth Cady Stanton. The two continued their efforts for women's rights.
- 1840—Through the efforts of Ernestine Rose and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, the State of New York, in 1840, through its legislature, conferred property rights upon married women and this gained, they directed their efforts to agitating the right of suffrage.
- 1848—The first Woman's Rights Convention was held at Seneca Falls, New York, and they took up the question of woman's right to education and to the same consideration before the law, as was accorded to men. This was in controversion to the Common Law of England then still in force. The same year at a national convention held at Rochester, New York, Belva Lockwood was nominated for President of the United States on a platform advocating woman suffrage.
- 1851—Susan B. Anthony first met Elizabeth Cady Stanton in 1851, and the meeting marks the beginning of an active political campaign for the rights of women. The same year the first woman's rights delegation went to Albany, New York, and petitioned the State Legislature to give them a hearing, and they persistently continued the task yearly except during the period of the Civil War. In 1869 a bill was presented before the Legislature of the State asking for municipal suffrage, and it found many supporters among the legislators, and when put to vote resulted in sixty-five ayes and fifty noes, a constitutional majority,

but before the applause had subsided and the vote announced, two legislators changed their votes and left the result sixty-three to fifty-two, less than a constitutional majority, and the women lost. In 1895, on March 14, six men presented a petition of mammoth proportions for the suffrage cause, and introduced a bill conferring the right upon women and it passed the Assembly by a vote of eighty-one ayes and thirty-one noes, and in the Senate it was passed twenty ayes and five noes. A blunder, either real or for a purpose, was found in the draft of the bill which substituted the word "resident" for "citizens," and the bill was declared void.

- 1869—Wyoming women were given the same right to vote with men in the territory in 1869, and the right was conferred by the State constitutional convention of 1889, under which constitution the territory was admitted as a State in 1890.
- 1870—The women of Utah voted from 1870 until disfranchised by the United States Congress by the passage of Edmund's Act passed March 22, 1882.
- 1912—Ten states in the United States had declared for Woman Suffrage, according to the returns of the November election, 1912, and the woman suffragists of the nation celebrated the victory at Carnegie Hall, New York, Wednesday evening, November 13, 1912.

The Filson Club and its Publication

BY COL. REUBEN T. DURRETT, A.M., LL.D.

ITS FOUNDER AND PRESIDENT, 1884-1913

THE Filson Club is an historical, biographical, and literary association located in Louisville, Ky., and in 1908 had on its rolls three hundred and twenty active members, all natives of Kentucky. It was named after John Filson, the first historian of Kentucky, whose quaint little volume of one hundred and eighteen pages was published at Wilmington, Del., in 1784. The club was organized May 15, 1884, and incorporated October 5, 1891, for the purpose, as expressed in its charter, of collecting, preserving and publishing the history of Kentucky and adjacent states, and cultivating a taste for historic inquiry and study among its members.

While its especial field of operations was thus theoretically limited, its practical workings were confined to no locality. Each member is at liberty to choose a subject, prepare a paper, and read it to the Club, among whose archives it is to be filed. From these papers thus accumulated, selections are made for publication, and there have now been issued twenty-three volumes of these publications. They are all paper-bound quartos, printed from pica old-style type on pure white antique paper with broad margins, untrimmed edges and illustrated with half tone illustrations.

These volumes have been admired both at home and abroad, not only for their original and valuable matter, but also for their tasteful and comely appearance. They are not printed for sale in the commercial sense of the term, but only for distribution among the members of the Club, and only limited editions to

meet the wants of the Club, are published. The titles and authors of the published papers are as follows, all of which are illustrated:

1. JOHN FILSON, the first historian of Kentucky. An account of his life and writings, principally from original sources, prepared for The Filson Club and read at its second meeting in Louisville, June 26, 1884, by Reuben T. Durrett, A. B., LL.B., A. M., LL.D., President of the Club. Illustrated with a likeness of Filson, a facsimile of one of his letters, and a photo-lithographic reproduction of his map of Kentucky printed at Philadelphia in 1784.

2. THE WILDERNESS ROAD: A description of the routes of travel by which the pioneers and early settlers first came to Kentucky. Prepared for The Filson Club by Captain Thomas Speed, Secretary of the Club. Illustrated with a map showing the routes of travel.

3. THE PIONEER PRESS OF KENTUCKY, from the printing of the first paper west of the Alleghanies, August 11, 1787, to the establishment of the Daily Press, 1830. Prepared for The Filson Club by William Henry Perrin, member of the Club. Illustrated with facsimiles of pages of the Kentucky Gazette and Farmer's Library, a view of the first printing house in Kentucky, and likenesses of John Bradford, Shadrack Penn, and George D. Prentice.

4. LIFE AND TIMES OF JUDGE CALEB WALLACE, sometime a Justice of the Court of Appeals of the State of Kentucky. By the Reverend William H. Whitsitt, D. D., member of the Club.

5. AN HISTORICAL SKETCH OF ST. PAUL'S CHURCH, Louisville, Kentucky, prepared for the Semi-Centennial Celebration, October 6, 1889. By Reuben T. Durrett, A. B., LL.B., A. M., LL.D., President of the Club. Illustrated with likenesses of the Reverend William Jackson, the Reverend Edmund T. Perkins, D. D., and views of the church as first built in 1839 and as it appeared in 1889.

6. THE POLITICAL BEGINNINGS OF KENTUCKY: A narrative of public events bearing on the history of the State up to the time of its admission into the American Union. By Colonel

John Mason Brown, member of the Club. Illustrated with a likeness of the author.

7. **THE CENTENARY OF KENTUCKY:** Proceedings at the celebration by The Filson Club, Wednesday, June 1, 1892, of the one hundredth anniversary of the admission of Kentucky as an independent State into the Federal Union. Prepared for publication by Reuben T. Durrett, A. B., LL.B., A. M., LL.D., President of the Club. Illustrated with likenesses of President Durrett, Major Stanton, Sieur LaSalle, and General George Rogers Clark, and facsimiles of the music and songs of the Centennial Banquet.

8. **THE CENTENARY OF LOUISVILLE:** A paper read before the Southern Historical Association, Saturday, May 1, 1880, in commemoration of the one hundredth anniversary of the beginning of the city of Louisville as an incorporated town under an act of the Virginia Legislature. By Reuben T. Durrett, A. B., LL.B., A. M., LL.D., President of the Club. Illustrated with likenesses of Colonel Durrett, Sieur LaSalle, and General George Rogers Clark.

9. **THE POLITICAL CLUB, Danville, Kentucky, 1786-1790.** Being an account of an early Kentucky debating society, from the original papers recently found. By Captain Thomas Speed, Secretary of the Club.

10. **THE LIFE AND WRITINGS OF RAFINESQUE.** Prepared for The Filson Club and read at its meeting Monday, April 2, 1894. By Richard Ellsworth Call, M. A., M. Sc., M. D., member of the Club. Illustrated with likenesses of Rafinesque and facsimiles of pages of his *Fishes of the Ohio* and *Botany of Louisville*.

11. **TRANSYLVANIA UNIVERSITY.** Its origin, rise, decline, and fall. Prepared for The Filson Club by Robert Peter, M. D., and his daughter, Miss Johanna Peter, members of the Club. Illustrated with a likeness of Doctor Peter.

12. **BRYANT'S STATION** and the Memorial Proceedings held on its site under the auspices of the Lexington Chapter D. A. R., August 18, 1896, in honor of its heroic mothers and daughters. Prepared for publication by Reuben T. Durrett, A. B., LL.B., A. M., LL.D., President of the Club. Illustrated with likenesses of officers of the Lexington Chapter, D. A. R., President Durrett

of the Filson Club, Major Stanton, Professor Ranck, Colonel Young, and Doctor Todd, members of the Club, and full-page views of Bryant's Station and its spring, and of the battlefield of the Blue Licks.

13. *THE FIRST EXPLORATIONS OF KENTUCKY.* The Journals of Doctor Thomas Walker, 1750, and of Colonel Christopher Gist, 1751. Edited by Colonel J. Stoddard Johnston, Vice-President of the Club. Illustrated with a map of Kentucky showing the routes of Walker and Gist throughout the State, with a view of Castle Hill, the residence of Doctor Walker, and a likeness of Colonel Johnston.

14. *THE CLAY FAMILY.* Part First—The Mother of Henry Clay, by Zachary F. Smith, member of the Club. Part Second—The Genealogy of the Clays, by Mrs. Mary Rogers Clay, member of the Club. Illustrated with a full-page halftone likeness of Henry Clay, of each of the authors, and a full-page picture of the Clay coat-of-arms, also four full-page grouped illustrations, each containing four likenesses of members of the Clay family.

15. *THE BATTLE OF TIPPECANOE.* Part First—The Battle and Battle-ground; Part Second—Comment of the Press; Part Third—Roll of the Army commanded by General Harrison. By Captain Alfred Pirtle, member of the Club. Illustrated with a likeness of the author and likenesses of William Henry Harrison and Colonel Joseph Hamilton Daveiss and Elkswatawa, "The Prophet," together with three full-page views and a plot of the battle-ground.

16. *BOONESBOROUGH,* a pioneer town of Kentucky. Its origin, progress, decline, and final extinction. By George W. Ranck, historian of Lexington, Kentucky, etc., and member of the Club. Illustrated with copious half-tone views of its site and its fort, with likenesses of the author and of Daniel Boone, and a picture of Boone's principal relics.

17. *THE OLD MASTERS OF THE BLUEGRASS.* By General Samuel W. Price, member of the Club. Consisting of biographic sketches of the distinguished Kentucky artists Matthew H. Jouett, Joseph H. Bush, John Grimes, Oliver Frazer, Louis Morgan, Joel T. Hart, and Samuel W. Price, with halftone likenesses of the artists and specimens of their work.

18. **THE BATTLE OF THE THAMES.** By Colonel Bennett H. Young, member of the Club. Presenting a review of the causes which led to the battle, the preparations made for it, the scene of the conflict, and the victory. Illustrated with a steel engraving of the author, halftone likenesses of the principal actors and scenes and relics from the battlefield. To which is added an appendix containing a list of the officers and privates engaged.

19. **THE BATTLE OF NEW ORLEANS.** By Zachary F. Smith, member of the Club. Presenting a full account of the forces engaged, the preparations made, the preliminary conflicts which led up to the final battle and the victory to the Americans on the 8th of January, 1815. Illustrated with full-page likenesses of the author, of Generals Jackson and Adair, of Governors Shelby and Slaughter, and maps of the country and scenes from the battlefield, to which is added a list of Kentuckians in the battle.

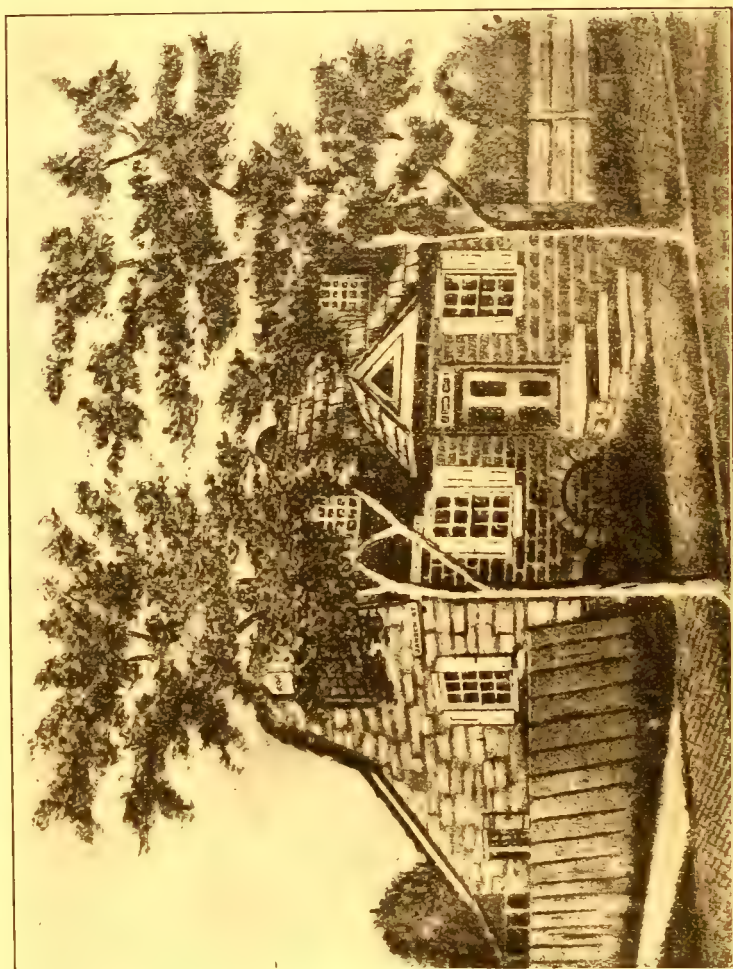
20. **THE HISTORY OF THE MEDICAL DEPARTMENT OF TRANSYLVANIA UNIVERSITY.** By Doctor Robert Peter, deceased. Prepared for publication by his daughter, Miss Johanna Peter, member of the Club. Illustrated with full-page likenesses of the author and principal professors, and a view of the old medical hall and its janitor.

21. **LOPEZ'S EXPEDITIONS TO CUBA.** By A. C. Quisenberry, member of the Club. Presenting a detailed account of the Cardenas and the Bahia Honda expeditions, with the names of the officers and men, as far as ascertainable, who were engaged in them. Illustrated with full-page likenesses of A. C. Quisenberry the author, General Narciso Lopez commander-in-chief, Colonel John T. Pickett, Colonel Theodore O'Hara, Colonel Thomas T. Hawkins, Colonel William Logan Crittenden, Captain Robert H. Breckenridge, Lieutenant John Carl Johnston, and landscape views of Cuba, Rose Hill, Moro Castle, and a common human bone-heap of a Cuban cemetery. In the appendix, besides other valuable matter, will be found a full list of The Filson Club publications and of the members of the Club.

22. **THE QUEST FOR A LOST RACE.** By Thomas E. Pickett, M. D., member of the Club. Presenting the theory of Paul B. Du Chaillu, an eminent ethnologist and explorer, that the English-

speaking people are descended from the Scandinavians rather than the Teutons, from the Normans instead of the Germans. Examples of similar customs and peculiarities between the Scandinavians and English are given, and the work illustrated with half-tone likenesses of the author, of William the Conqueror, of DuChaillu, and of "Our Beautiful Scandinavian," with maps of Scandinavia and Northumbria, and with likenesses of a number of distinguished Kentuckians whose names, aspects, and habits indicate descent from the Scandinavians or Norman-French.

23. TRADITIONS OF THE EARLIEST VISITS OF FOREIGNERS TO NORTH AMERICA, the first formed and first inhabited of the continents. By Reuben T. Durrett, A. B., LL.B., A. M., LL.D., President of the Club. An attempt to show that history, tradition, and science favor the probability that the East was originally peopled from the West, that the first Oriental visitors found this country already with occupants, and that America was really the first formed and first inhabited of the continents. The principal pre-Columbian discoveries are cited, and ample space given to the tradition that Prince Madoc planted a Welsh colony in America in the Twelfth century which at one time occupied the country at the Falls of the Ohio. Copiously illustrated with half-tone views of mountains, valleys, castles, churches, abbeys, etc., in Wales, the native country of the colony, a view of the Falls of the Ohio at the time the colony may be supposed to have dwelt there, and a likeness of the author. (This paper will appear serially in *Americana* in 1913, to begin with the January number.)



The Papen House

The Papen-Johnson House in Existence 1698=1883

THE FIRST SPECIMEN OF GERMAN ARCHITECTURAL SKILL IN STONE
IN GERMANTOWN, PENNSYLVANIA

THE Papen-House, of which we reproduce a drawing engraved for the Philadelphia Sunday Dispatch to illustrate Westcott's History of Philadelphia, is known as one of the best examples of early Colonial Dutch architecture. A noted architect once said that the masonry in Germantown was the best in the United States, a statement abundantly confirmed when the old Papen-Johnson House was demolished in 1883, the solid walls giving away only after repeated charges of dynamite. This house came into the possession of the Johnson family early in the eighteenth century, and it became thereafter known as the Johnson House. In the American Revolution at the battle of Germantown, Col. Thomas Proctor planted two cannon directly in front of the house to silence the musketry of the British who held possession of the Chew House opposite. That this house, historic in point of age and of Revolutionary recollections and so important a landmark of early settlement, should have been torn down in its very prime to make way for modern dwellings, is a sad commentary on the age of the destructor, when want of antiquarian respect, disregard for the antique, and want of veneration for the monuments of the past, even when they mark superior architectural skill of unusual solidity, besides being of intense historic interest, so generally obtained.

The first permanent German settlement in America was made in the fall of 1683. Francis Daniel Pastorius was the agent of the Frankfort Land Company, the original purchaser of the Germantown tract from William Penn. Pastorius had gathered together in Holland thirteen families selected from the German refugees who had been driven from their homes on the

Upper Rhine by the persecutors of the Mennonite and other Protestant sects opposed to war, and unwilling to furnish recruits to the armies engaged in the Thirty Years War. They laid waste their farms, and vineyards, drove off their live stock and depleted their graneries, scenes along the Upper Rhine so frequent during the progress of this War.

William Penn had offered to these seekers after religious freedom a refuge, with the prospect of freedom of worship, should they settle on his possessions in the New World and carry with them the thrift and agricultural skill that had made of the Upper Rhine the garden spot of Europe. In August, 1683, Pastorius, their leader, had preceded his company of adventurers and dug for himself a cave, awaiting their arrival. The Company reached Philadelphia October 6, 1683, and on October 24th of that year these German adventurers met in the cave of Pastorius to determine on the division of land they were to occupy and build homes for their respective families. The map prepared by Pastorius had designated the various lots by numbers. They were narrow on the Indian trail, which marked the main street of the new German town, but stretched back from the street for a long distance. To secure perfect good feeling between the neighbors the lot numbers were drawn, one by each head of a household, and the name of the holder written on the map on the lot so numbered. It will be well to call the roll and preserve the names of these original settlers: Abraham Op den Graeff, Herman Op den Graeff, Lenart Arets, Jan Semens, Willem Streypers, Jan Lensen, Dirck Op den Graeff, Thomas Kunders, Reynier Tyson, Jan Luckens, Johannes Bleekers, Peter Keurlis, Abraham Tunes. They had with them their families, and their homes before their migration to Holland had been Crefeldt on the Rhine. During the years following, other German families followed, attracted by the favorable accounts of the new settlers, possibly magnified by the Land Company, where every individual could carry out unmolested his own form of religious worship, the denial of which had been the strongest incentive to put the broad Atlantic between them and their fatherland. It is of one of these tardy settlers Heivert (Howard) Papen, from Mulheim in the Palatinate, who reached

the Germantown settlement in 1685 that we have to deal in this paper. Heivert Papen was a young man and had on his arrival no need for a house-lot, the first requisite to ownership being the possession of a wife. A few years after his arrival, Willam Ruttinghuyser (Rittenhouse) a Mennonite minister with his sons Gerhard and Klaus (Nicholas), and a daughter Elizabeth, came from Braich in Holland to Germantown. Heivert Papen married Elizabeth Rittenhouse soon after her arrival, and naturally he must have been absorbed in the welfare of the Mennonite church established in Germantown by his father-in-law, but as the records of that church covering the period between 1708 and 1770 are lost we know little of his life. He was with sixty-four others, naturalized in 1691 under Thomas Lloyd, the deputy governor of Pennsylvania and the same year he was one of the signers of the application for a charter for Germantown as a borough. When the charter was granted May 31, 1691, Francis Daniel Pastorus was chosen burgess and Heivert Papen a member of the council. The corporation was maintained with considerable difficulty owing to the reluctance of the Mennonites to hold office. Loper the historian says: "They would do nothing but work and pray and their mild consciences made them opposed to the swearing of oaths, and would not suffer them to use harsh weapons against trespassers, and Heivert Papen in 1701 declined to be burgess through such conscientious scruples."

He built a house in 1698, claimed to have been the first stone house in Philadelphia, and without a doubt the first stone house in Germantown. Appurtenant to Lot No. 8, on the original map was a side lot toward the Schuylkill. This lot and side lot were apportioned to Abraham Op der Graeff, and conveyed by him to Jacob Shumacker, March 4, 1685. In 1693 Shumacher conveyed both lots to Heivert Papen, and in 1698 he completed and moved into the stone house erected on the side lot. In 1705 Heivert Papen conveyed the side lot to Samuel Richardson, Richard Townsend, Thomas Lotts, and Samuel Cost, trustees of the Quaker Meeting, and the Papen House passed into the possession of the Society of Friends.

Heivert Papen's will is dated January 30, 1707-8, and was witnessed February 19, 1707-8. There appears to be no record

of the date of his death except that at the time, his youngest daughter Elizabeth was not of age. His wife and five daughters survived him and he had no son, hence the name of Papen died with him as far as descendants are concerned. He is remembered however through the descendants of four of his daughters. The eldest, Christina (Styntie) Papen, received by her father's will £75 over and above her equal share with her sisters, and she died unmarried about 1728. (II) Mary Papen, born about 1695, married Gerhard Brumbaugh, who was living in Philadelphia as late as 1721, but in 1724 paid taxes in Vincent township, Chester county, where he took up over 1,000 acres of land, a part of which he gave for Brownback's Church, and over 300 acres of which is still held by the family under the first deed signed by William Penn. Gerhard Brumbaugh (Brownback) and Mary Papen had issue: (1) Benjamin Brownback, married Elizabeth Paul; (2) Henry Brownback, married Mary Magdalen Paul; (3) Elizabeth Brownback, married Richard Custer; (4) Anna Brownback, married Paul Benner; (5) Catherine Brownback, married Jacob Maushower; and (6) Mary Brownback, married Frederick Bingamon. (III) Gertrude Papen, married Benjamin Howell of Germantown, July 19, 1721, and according to his recorded will he had no children. (IV) Margaret Papen, married Jacob Shimer (born 1676; died September, 1757) and left six children. Abraham, Anthony, Elizabeth Dickinson, Mary Shoemaker, Catherine Young, and Sarah Shimer. After the death of Margaret (Papen) Shimer her widowed husband married as his second wife, Elizabeth ———, and by her had seven sons. He moved in 1736 from Skippack to a plantation on the southern slope of South Mountain below Bethlehem. (V) Elizabeth Papen, married Jan Jensen on December 29, 1719, in the First Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia. She died prior to 1728.

Are Republics Ungrateful?

THE following communication introduces letters of public interest, which taken in connection with the sad ending of the life of General Bailey less than a year after his letter to Senator Doolittle was written, is a severe commentary on the ingratitude of the majority of the United States Congress, in 1866, toward one of the Nation's most conspicuous defenders.

Milwaukee, Wis., Nov. 14, 1912.

To the Editor of "Americana:"

I am sending you copies of 2 letters from the Judge Doolittle correspondence and my note attached. I think they have historical value enough to warrant their publication in your magazine. Don't you?

Very truly yours,

Duane Mowry,
387-18th St.

Fort Scott, Kansas, May 4th, 1866.

Hon. Senator Doolittle,
U. S. Senate,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir—I wrote you a short time since in relation to a matter which is of importance to me and beg again to trouble you by enclosing a letter from Admiral Porter which you will please use if necessary, and if not used please return to me at this place. I will not trouble you by relating my history in the war, but simply mention that the reason that no more has been said of my services than has, was because of my advocating the very principals that the President has advocated in which I have been

pleased to see that you have so nobly stood by him during the past winter. With great respect,

I am your obt. Servt,
J. Bailey.

Naval Academy, Annapolis, Md., April 21st, 1866.

Your Excellency,

I would most earnestly represent to you the case of the late Brig. Gen'l J. Bailey of the U. S. Vols. and ask that as a reward for his most eminent service on the Red River Expedition that he may receive some appointment which will enable him to live.

He is now suffering from wounds received in the war and also from disease contracted during that time and thus is prevented leading his former life of Civil Engineer.

It is unnecessary to enumerate his services or to allude to the Dam which he designed and constructed in Red River and which saved to the country a large and valuable fleet and probably the possession of the Mississippi River. Gen'l Bailey asks to be appointed Indian Agent, either of the Chicasaws, Choctaws or Cherokees. I know that he will do well and do most earnestly recommend him to your most favorable consideration. Gen'l Bailey has never received the praise he should for this great act of genius and I trust you will be able to reward him.

With the greatest respect

I remain, your Obed't Serv't,
David D. Porter,
Rear Adm'l and Supt.

His Excellency, President Andrew Johnson,
President of the United States,
Washington, D. C.

Note.—Endorsed on the back of the General Bailey letter in a handwriting not known to the writer are these words: "General Bailey, May 4th. Desires an appointment and encloses a recommendation from Admiral Porter."

These letters are interesting to Wisconsin soldiers and sailors, because General Bailey, "Red River Dam, Bailey" as he is well known to history, was a resident of Wisconsin, and enlisted

from this state in the civil war. His great public services are fittingly recognized in this strong letter by Admiral Porter. No history of Wisconsin's part in the civil war would be complete that did not take into account the valuable service of General Bailey.

Duane Mowry.

Milwaukee, Wis., Nov. 14th, 1912.

General Joseph Bailey, U. S. V., the engineer whose skill and prompt action in the face of ridicule and in spite of the advice of army engineers of high rank, saved the fleet of Admiral Porter engaged in transporting the army of General Banks after the disastrous defeat at Sabine Cross Roads, La., April 8, 1864, was born in Salem, Ohio, April 28, 1827. At the time of his death March 21, 1867, he was sheriff of Newton County, Mo., and was murdered by two criminals arrested by him while he was conveying them to the court for trial. This was less than a year after he had written the above letter to Senator Doolittle, at the time a minority member of the committee on Indian affairs in the United States Senate. Apparently his friendship for the petitioner, his influence with the President and the letter of Admiral Porter were of no avail at a time when prejudice had its sway in the Senate and recommendations from friends of the administration of President Johnson, of any measure however meritorious was equivalent to defeat.

The fact that General Bailey accepted the local office of sheriff of Newton County, indicates his dire need of employment. This, it must be remembered, was at a time his incomparable services to his country were still fresh in the minds of the people, and just after he had received a perfunctory vote of thanks from the United States Congress, "*for his military, naval and engineering service as displayed in the Red River Campaign.*" Are republics ungrateful, or is it that their public servants are remiss in their obligations.

Governor Tilden and the Presidency in 1884

DUANE MOWRY, ESQ., sends us another letter from Judge Doolittle's Correspondence which is of historical interest, coming as it does from Mr. Tilden's confidential friend and adviser, and showing the reluctance of Governor Tilden in accepting the nomination for President in 1884.

New York, July 6, 1884.

Hon. J. R. Doolittle.

My Dear Sir:—Though Governor Tilden has never been sick in bed a day since I have known him, now more than forty years, nor ever so ill as not to attend to current affairs, he is not strong and has no expectation of being stronger. He does not feel that if elected to the Presidency he could realize the reasonable expectations of his friends or of the country. It was this apprehension which led him to decline the nomination in 1880, and there is no reason operating now, except the greater apparent unanimity of the party and the deduction of four years from the working balance of his life, that was not operative then.

I take no responsibility in saying, not only that the Governor does not wish the office but that he does wish not to assume the burdens which it would impose upon him.

From a conviction that the anxieties of a canvass and the labor incident to a regeneration of our administrative system would interfere with the regularity of life and the repose which are indispensable to his health and comfort, I approved entirely of his course in 1880, and I am very reluctantly constrained to approve of the course which he now seems determined to pursue.

I regret that from the very nature of the situation I cannot give a more explicit answer to your favor of the 2d inst., nor one more in harmony with what I suppose to be your feelings.

Yours very truly,

John Bigelow.



View of Salt Lake City in 1852.

History of the Mormon Church

BY BRIGHAM H. ROBERTS, Assistant Historian of the Church.

CHAPTER LXXVIII

THE FOUNDING OF CIVIL GOVERNMENT IN THE GREAT BASIN

THE founding of civil government in the Great Basin by the Latter-day Saints can only properly be understood by viewing the act in the light of the declared intentions and purposes of the church leaders; and accordingly these are here considered.

On the 7th of August, 1846, a council meeting was held at the tent of Geo. D. Grant in the "Camp of Israel" at which the Twelve, Bishop Whitney, *et al.*, were present and met with Col. Thomas L. Kane who wished to know the intentions of these church leaders respecting their relationship to the government of the United States. To which President Young made the following answer:

"I informed the Col. we intended settling in the Great Basin or Bear river valley, and those who went round by water would settle at San Francisco. We would be glad to raise the American flag; we love the constitution of our country, but are opposed to mobocracy; and will not live under such oppression as we have done. We are willing to have the banner of the United States constitution float over us.

"Col. Kane said Boggs had been working against us in Washington, and asked whether we should like a territorial government. I replied we should, and that many of our English emigrants would probably settle at Vancouver Island.

"The Col. said that Lord Aberdeen informed Mr. McLance that the British government designed to colonize Vancouver's Island. I said, we would be willing to carry the mail across the

continent, and build block houses wherever the United States might wish."¹

I have already published a letter of Parley P. Pratt's in *fac simile*,² dated at the "Camp of Israel," July 9th, 1846, in which, when urging haste in raising the Mormon Battalion, he said:

"Be assured it is the mind and will of God that we should improve the opportunity which a kind Providence has now opened for us to secure a permanent home in that country, [i. e. the Rocky Mountains] *and thus lay a foundation for a territorial or state government under the constitution of the United States*, where we shall be the first settlers and a vast majority of the people, and thus be independent of mobs and be able to maintain our rights and freedom, and to assist in the redemption of our country, and the emancipation of the world from bondage."

Again, in a letter to President James K. Polk, dated at "Omaha Nation, August 9th, 1846," and signed by Brigham Young, President; and Willard Richards, Clerk, in a series of six resolutions contained in that letter the *first*, *third* and *fifth* were as follows:

(1) "*Resolved*, That as children of the United States, we have not been disappointed in our anticipation of a brighter day and a more righteous administration in our endeavors for the canvass of his Excellency, James K. Polk, to the Presidency. . . .

(3) "*Resolved*, That should we locate within the territory of the United States, as we anticipate, we would esteem a *territorial government of our own*, as one of the richest boons of earth, and while we appreciate the Constitution of the United States as the most precious among the nations, we feel that we had rather retreat to the deserts, island or mountain caves than consent to be ruled by governors and judges whose hands are drenched in the blood of innocence and virtue, who delight in injustice and oppression."

(5) "*Resolved*, That as soon as we are settled in the Great

1. Hist. of Brigham Young Ms. Bk. 2, p. 133. Later, namely, on the 31st of August of the same year, discussing the same subject, and the action of some of the "great ones at Washington," President Young, referring to the government, said "that if they (i. e. the government) would treat us as they ought, we would fight for them, and do them good; but we never would consent to be governed again by unjust judges or governors, let the consequences be what they might." (Hist. Brigham Young Ms., Bk. 2, p. 219-220 Entry for Aug. 31st, 1846).

2. See ch. LXIII, *Americana* for March, 1912.

Basin we design to petition the United States for a territorial government, bounded on the north by the British, and south by the Mexican dominions, and east and west by the summits of the Rocky and Cascade mountains.”³

Again, in November, 1846, Elder John Taylor in a letter to the church in England, explaining the prospects for the Saints in America obtaining lands in the “Great Basin,” to which they were removing, it will be seen that the probability of that land falling under the control of the United States was complacently anticipated, and the advantages to the Saints considered as great as if it remained under the control of Mexico:

“When we arrive in California, according to the provisions of the Mexican government, each family will be entitl to a large tract of land, amounting to several hundred acres; but as the Mexican and American nations are now at war, should California fall into the hands of the American nation, there has been a bill before congress, in relation to Oregon, which will undoubtedly pass, appropriating six hundred and forty acres of land to every male settler; should California fall into the hands of the American nation, this privilege will unquestionably extend to that land, for the encouragement of emigration; so that whether it is in the hands of the Americans or Mexicans, still we shall obtain a vast territory of country for nothing, and become the legal proprietors of the soil without any outlay of money or other property—our presence alone gives it value.”⁴

As early as the 20th of January, 1846, the high council at

3. Hist. Brigham Young, *Ms.* Bk. 2, pp. 136-140. Inasmuch as the valuable historical letter from which the above excerpts are taken has never been published *in extenso*, I deem it both a duty and a pleasure to give it a place in *note* I, end of this chapter. I find reference made to it in a personal letter by Col. Thomas L. Kane to President Millard Fillmore, in which he quotes the assertions in it respecting the “government” and “the United States’ Constitution”—the former as “the best government on earth;” and the latter, as the “most precious among the nations”—in evidence of the loyalty of President Young, and the Mormon people. Col. Kane had the letter with him at the time, July 11th, 1851. He regretted that he had never been authorized to make use of it, but he sent a copy of it to President Fillmore, at the same time saying: “I regret that I have never been authorized to make use of the paper, a copy of which I enclose you, itself a copy of a letter to President Polk, written at a time of the severest trial. Its author, I believe, was the talented gentleman whose name was offered to you for the post of secretary of the Territory, [Dr. Richards]; but it was signed by Brigham Young, and I know expresses the genuine feelings of his heart. I want you to remark, sir, that this, their first communication with our Government after their expulsion from their homes in Illinois, dates of August 9, 1846.” (Mill. Star, Vol. XIII, p. 344).

4. Mill Star, Vol. VIII, p. 115.

Nauvoo in a document which, according to the document itself, was unanimously agreed to by all the authorities of the church at Nauvoo, stated:

“We also further declare, for the satisfaction of some who have concluded that our grievances have alienated us from our country, that our patriotism has not been overcome by fire—by sword—by daylight, nor by midnight assassinations, which we have endured; neither have they alienated us from the institutions of our country. Should hostilities arise between the government of the United States and any other power, in relation to the right of possessing the territory of Oregon, we are on hand to sustain the claims of the United States government to that country. It is geographically ours; and of right, no foreign power should hold dominion there; and if our services are required to prevent it, those services will be cheerfully rendered according to our ability.”⁵

Such were the declared purposes of the leading authorities of the church respecting their relations with the United States. They are presented here at such length and from original documents, because the motives and intentions of the Saints with reference to their removal to the west have been so grossly misrepresented that I deem it necessary that their purposes should be stated clearly, and placed upon such authority, as to be henceforth incontestible. We shall also see in the sequence that their actions were in strict harmony with these early declared intentions. Before confirming that statement by proof, however, let the misrepresentation of their purposes be considered.

William A. Linn, in his “Story of the Mormons,” says:

“We have seen that Joseph Smith’s desire was, when he suggested a possible removal of the church to the Far West, that they should have, not only an undisturbed place of residence, but a government of their own. This idea of political independence Young never lost sight of. Had Utah remained a distant province of the Mexican government, the Mormons might have been allowed to dwell there a long time, practically without governmental control. But when that region passed under the government of the United States by the proclamation of the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo, on July 4, 1848, Brigham Young

5. *Times and Season*, Vol. V, p. 1096.

had to face a new situation. He then decided that what he wanted was an independent state government, not territorial rule under the federal authorities, and he planned accordingly.”⁶

The unfairness of this representation of the desires of Joseph Smith and his people for “a government of their own,” arises, first, from the interpretation given to the phrase that such government is to be separate from the government of the United States; and, second, that a state government was only contemplated or desired after the treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo was signed, and the Great Basin became United States territory. The latter notion is clearly contrary to the evidence in the case, as may be verified by reference to the quotations from original documents already given in preceding paragraphs of this chapter, where the hope is expressed that they could obtain in the Great Basin either a state or a territorial government “under the constitution of the United States,” even before their Pioneers had left the Missouri for the Mountains. And as to the first part of the misrepresentation, that “a government of their own” meant a government separate from that of the United States, that is contradicted from the quotations from the same documents in this chapter, where entire willingness is expressed to have such civil government as they contemplated in connection with and under the Constitution of the United States, which they esteemed as “the most precious among the nations.”

Even Lieutenant Gunnison in his “*History of the Mormons*,” by mistake, puts the declaration of “their adherence to the great charter of liberty,” the Constitution, to a time after their “adopted land had come under the jurisdiction of the Stars and Stripes.”⁸

6. Linn’s “*Story of the Mormons*,” p. 468.

7. See excerpts from President Young’s Letter to President Polk; and the whole letter in *Note I* end of chapter. As it was in respect of civil government, so also was it in relation to lands. “The Mormons having been driven from what was then the United States,” says Bancroft, “it was but natural, as indeed it seemed to be necessity, that they should take possession of such unoccupied lands in the region toward the Pacific as best suited them. But it was not necessary that they should hold possession of such lands in opposition to the government of the United States, as they *have been charged with doing*.” (Bancroft’s *Hist. of Utah*, pp. 239-40).

8. I charge this to a mistake so far as Lieutenant Gunnison is concerned, because throughout his valuable book, notwithstanding some misconceptions, I am sure his effort was to be entirely fair to the Mormon people, and it is a pleasure to make this acknowledgment. Following is the passage in full referred to in the

On the 22nd of February, 1850, when the question of providing government for the country occupied by the Latter-day Saints was being considered in the national house of representatives, John Wentworth, a representative from Illinois, presented a petition from citizens of Lee county, in his state, asking congress to protect the rights of American citizens passing through the Salt Lake valley, and charging, on the Mormon leaders, among other things, "a desire for a kingly government."⁹

On the last day of December, 1849, Joseph R. Underwood, of Kentucky, presented in the house of representatives a memorial from William Smith, and Isaac Sheen, the former the brother of Joseph Smith, the Prophet, and twelve others, making the charge that fifteen hundred of the "Mormons" before leaving Illinois, had taken a treasonable oath to avenge the blood of Joseph Smith upon the nation of the United States; that they would so teach their children; and would forthwith begin to carry out hostilities against the nation, but "keep the same a profound secret now and forever."¹⁰ Just how the hostility was

text. "Though this people fled to a foreign country to enjoy the liberty that persecution denied them in the states, *as soon as they found their adopted land had come under the jurisdiction of the stripes and stars*—which their own valor had helped to win in the army of the Pacific against Mexico,—*they embraced the earliest opportunity of declaring their adherence to the great charter of liberty and national glory*, and announced to the world that it was given to our patriot fathers by divine inspiration, and that they will uphold and defend it, though all the original parties shall secede and trample it under foot.

"They will make no law forbidden by the sacred constitution of the United States, and predict that the day is not far distant when they shall be solicited by patriotic American citizens, to descend from their rocky fastnesses, to enforce its sanctions upon those led astray by frantic, political delusion and anarchy." ("The History of the Mormons," pp. 83, 84). Stenhouse referring to the passing over of the Salt Lake country from Mexico to the United States, says: "Thus was unforeseen and undesirable to the Mormon leaders, for they could have dictated terms to Mexico and have worked out better the theocratic problem with the relics of the Montezumas, than with the Anglo-Saxon descendants of the Pilgrim Fathers." This cannot be credited to mistake, because Mr. Stenhouse by his association with the leaders of the church during the years of his membership therein; and with his knowledge of Mormon history and literature must have known better. On the part of Mr. Stenhouse the above statement can be nothing but deliberate misrepresentation.

9. Linn's "Story of the Mormons," p. 431. Congressional Globe, Vol. XXI, p. 413. A falsehood once launched into the literature of a subject, how hard it is to destroy it! As late as August 16th, 1909, the Salt Lake Tribune, editorially discussing the intentions of the "Chiefs of the Church," at the time of the exodus from Nauvoo, said: "It is well known to be a fact that the idea of the chiefs of the church at the time was to get out from under the flag and establish in the west a kingdom of their own, in which they should reign in independence of the general government."

10. Congressional Globe, 1849-50, Vol. XXI, p. 92. Also quoted by Linn, "Story of the Mormons," p. 430.

to "begin forthwith," and at the same time be kept a profound secret, does not appear. This is not the place for a defense of the Saints against this particular charge of Smith, Sheen, *et al.*, it is mentioned here only as a passing reference to the charges of disloyalty made against the Saints in those early years of Utah's history, 1849-1850. It will be enough to say now, and the evidence is before the reader in the first few paragraphs of this chapter, that no fact of history is more clearly established than the fact of the expectation and desire on the part of the Latter-day Saints to form a civil government in the midst of the Rocky Mountains under the sanctions of the Constitution of the United States; and that both the desire and expectation existed and was expressed before they arrived in the Salt Lake Valley, and therefore before that section of Mexico passed under the jurisdiction of the United States.

If the Latter-day Saints did not aspire to establish civil government in the Salt Lake valley in opposition to, or independent of, the government of the United States; the fact that they did not was not owing to any lack of encouragement for them to do so. First there was Senator Stephen A. Douglas who, in April, 1844, on the occasion of Orson Hyde being in Washington to urge congress to pass an ordinance authorizing Joseph Smith to police the Intermountain and Pacific coast west with a volunteer force of 100,000 men, gave the Prophet's representative every encouragement to seize upon the then existing opportunities to settle the Mormon people in Oregon. "Judge Douglas says," reports Elder Hyde, "he would equally as soon go to that country without an act of congress as with; 'and that in five years a noble state might be formed; and then if they would not receive us into the Union, we would have a government of our own.' He is decidedly of the opinion that congress will pass no act in favor of any particular man going there; but he says if any man will go and desires that privilege, and has confidence in his own ability to perform it, he already has the right, and the sooner he is off the better for his scheme."¹¹

11. Letter of Orson Hyde from Washington to Joseph Smith at Nauvoo, bearing date of April 26th, 1844. Documentary Hist. of the Church, Vol. V, p. 374.

Under date of April 8th, 1845, Governor Ford of Illinois, urged upon the church authorities an invasion of Mexico and the establishment of an independent state which Mexico would be too feeble to overthrow. I copy the portion of the governor's letter relating to the proposed western movement of the church, the last paragraph of which, with Governor Ford's signature, being reproduced in *fac simile* in this chapter from a photograph of the original now in the Church Historian's office at Salt Lake City:

Excerpt of Ford's Letter.

"I was informed by Gen. Joseph Smith last summer that he contemplated a removal west and from what I learned from him and others at that time, I think, if he had lived he would have begun to move in the matter before this time. I would be willing to exert all my feeble abilities and influence to further your views, in this respect, if it was the wish of your people.

"I would suggest a matter in confidence. California now offers a field for the prettiest enterprise that has been undertaken in modern times. It is but sparsely inhabited and by none but the Indian or imbecile Mexican Spaniard. I have not inquired enough to know how strong it is in men and means. But this we know that if conquered from Mexico, that country is so physically weak and morally distracted that she could never send a force to reconquer it. Why would it not be a pretty operation for your people to go out there and take possession of and conquer a portion of the vacant country and establish an independent government of your own, subject only to the laws of nations. You would remain then a long time before you would be disturbed by the proximity of other settlements. If you conclude to do this your design ought not to be known or otherwise it would become the duty of the United States to prevent your emigration. But if you once cross the line of the United States territories, you would be in no danger of being interfered with.

"I am respectfully your obedient servant,

"THOMAS FORD."

This suggestion, of course, was never acted upon by the church leaders. On the contrary, as we have already seen, they raised the Stars and Stripes in the Salt Lake valley while it was yet Mexican territory, at least ten months before the authority

of the United States was extended over it.¹² And what is more, the congress of the United States having not only failed, but actually refused to provide any kind of civil government for the territory—at least for that portion of it east of the Sierras¹³—ceded to the United States by Mexico, the colonists in the Great Basin themselves took steps to institute civil government; and on the first day of February, 1849, issued the following, signed by many citizens:

Call for a Convention to Form Civil Government in the Great Basin.

“Notice is hereby given to all the citizens of that portion of Upper California lying east of the Sierra Nevada Mountains, that a convention will be held at the Great Salt Lake in said territory, on Monday, the fifth day of March next, for the purpose of taking into consideration the propriety of organizing a Territorial or State Government.

“Dated at the Great Salt Lake City, Great Basin, North America, this first day of February, 1849.”¹⁴

In accordance with this call a “considerable number of the inhabitants of that portion of Upper California, lying east of the Sierra Nevada Mountains, met in convention in Great Salt Lake

12. Ante chapter LXXIII this History, note. The treaty which ceded the Mexican territory in the Great Basin to the United States was signed 2nd February, 1848. “This treaty was finally agreed to by both governments, and on the 4th of July following, President Polk proclaimed it.” Loring’s Hist. of U. S., p. 496. Edition of 1872. The U. S. flag was raised in Salt Lake Valley at least as early as October, 1847. See this History, chapter LXXIII.

13. This fact was well stated in the debates in House of Representatives by Mr. Brown of Mississippi, who said: “How, sir, in what manner have we governed these territories (New Mexico and Deseret)? We have steadily refused them all governments. The *aegis* of our protection has not been extended over them. We have sent them neither governors, secretaries, judges, or tax-gathers. We have taken no cognizance of them, or of their condition. This state of things ought not so long to have existed. It was the solemn duty of congress to have taken these people under its care—to have extended over them the shield of the Constitution—to have given them laws and government. It was a reproach to congress that all this had been neglected or refused.” (Congressional Globe, Vol. 22, p. 1415). See also note 2 end of chapter.

14. History of Brigham Young *Ms.*, Bk. 4, entry 1st Feb., 1849, p. 3. “Monday, fifth day of March” in the text of the note is an error, should be the “fourth”; for Monday was the fourth of March that year, and that was the day the convention met.

City, on Monday the 4th¹⁵ and appointed Albert Carrington, Joseph L. Heywood, William W. Phelps, David Fulmer, John S. Fulmer, Charles C. Rich, John Taylor, Parley P. Pratt, John M. Bernhisel and Erastus Snow a committee to draft and report to the convention a constitution, under which the inhabitants of said territory might organize and govern themselves, *until the congress of the United States should otherwise provide by law.*"^{15½}

The italics in the foregoing quotation are mine, and I employ them because of the efforts of Anti-Mormon writers to distort this effort to establish a civil government in the Great Basin as something reprehensible, un-American in fact.¹⁶ The last clause of the closing sentence, duly noted, certainly corrects such a false impression and proves that the proposed state was merely a provisional government, awaiting either the confirmation of the national congress to give permanent effect to its proceedings, or otherwise to provide for civil government in the territory concerned; in either event clearly recognizing the sovereignty of the national congress in the premises.

The convention assembled again on the 8th, 9th and 10th of March, when the committee appointed to draft a constitution, through its chairman, Albert Carrington, reported; and after such consideration as could be given the subject in the three days through which the convention met, a constitution was finally adopted. The preamble was as follows:

"Whereas, A large number of citizens of the United States, before and since the treaty of peace with the Republic of Mexico, emigrated to and settled in that portion of the territory of the

15. Hist. Brigham Young Ms., Bk. 4, p. 26. The date on which the committee was appointed is given in the published reports of the ordinances passed by the "State of Deseret;" as the 15th of March, and the date of their report as the 18th of March (See "Acts Resolutions and Memorials of the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Utah, 1855," which authorized the publication of the constitution and the ordinances passed by the State of Deseret, pp. 44-109). All other original sources of information, however, are in harmony with the date of the text, while the date of the published report though authorized by the Territorial legislature, stands alone.

15½. Hist. Brigham Young Ms., Bk. 4, p. 26.

16. "Referring to the preamble of the constitution, which was finally adopted, one anti-Mormon writer declares that the purpose was to establish a "free and independent government," that it was the intention for it to remain such "until the new state thus constituted should be admitted into the union. In other words, they (i. e. the Mormons) intended through the machinery of this independent

United States, lying west of the Rocky Mountains, and in the great interior basin of Upper California; and

Whereas, By reason of said treaty, all civil organization originating from the republic of Mexico became abrogated; and

Whereas, The congress of the United States has failed to provide a form of civil government for the territory so acquired, or any portion thereof; and

Whereas, Civil government and laws are necessary for the security, peace, and prosperity of society; and

Whereas, It is a fundamental principle in all republican governments that all political power is inherent in the people; and governments instituted for their protection, security, and benefit, should emanate from the same—

Therefore, Your committee beg leave to recommend the adoption of the following constitution, until the congress of the United States shall otherwise provide for the government of the territory hereinafter named and described.

We, the people, grateful to the Supreme Being for the blessings hitherto enjoyed, and feeling our dependence on Him for a continuation of those blessings, do ordain and establish a free and independent government, by the name of the State of Deseret; including all the territory of the United States within the following boundaries, to wit: commencing at the 33rd degree of north latitude, where it crosses the 108th degree of longitude, west of Greenwich; thence running south and west to the northern boundary of Mexico; thence west to and down the main channel of the Gila river, on the northern line of Mexico, and on the northern boundary of Lower California to the Pacific Ocean; thence along the coast northwesterly to 118 degrees, 30 minutes of west longitude; thence north to where said line intersects the dividing ridge of the Sierra Nevada Mountains; thence north along the summit of the Sierra Nevada Mountains to the dividing range of mountains that separates the waters flowing into the Columbia river, from the waters running into the Great Basin; thence easterly along the dividing range of mountains that separates said waters flowing into the Columbia river on the north, from the waters flowing into the Great Basin on the south, to the summit of the Wind River chain of mountains; thence southeast and south, by the dividing range of mountains that separate the waters flowing into the Gulf of

state to harass and annoy the government and the Gentiles until the 'saints' could force themselves into the union upon their own terms . . . The formation of this government for the state of Deseret was the first effort to throw off the yoke of the federal government—an effort which has been persistently persevered in to the present time (i. e. 1866) ("The Mormon Prophet, or An Authentic History of Brigham Young"—Waite, p. 13).

Mexico, from the waters flowing into the Gulf of California; to the place of beginning, as set forth in a map drawn by Charles Preuss, and published by order of the Senate of the United States in 1848.”¹⁷

The constitution in a general way followed the lines of the older state constitutions; creating administrative, legislative, and judicial departments and describing and therefore prescribing the limits of each sphere of the government. The electorate of the state to vote upon the constitution and at the first election was to consist of all white male residents of the state over the age of twenty-one years, exclusive of persons in the military, naval, or marine service of the United States.

The state officers were to be elected for a term of four years. The judicial power was to be vested in a supreme court, and such inferior courts as the general assembly “shall from time to time establish;” but the supreme court by constitutional provision was to consist of a chief justice and two associate justices elected by conjoint vote of both houses of the general assembly, their term of office to be for four years, and until their successors were elected and qualified.

The Constitution included a declaration of rights in which it was said that in republican governments all men should be born equally free and independent, and possess the right to enjoy and defend their rights of life and liberty; acquiring, possessing and defending property; seeking and obtaining their safety and happiness. All political power was declared to be inherent in the people, and all free governments are founded in their authority and instituted for their benefit; “therefore they have an inalienable and indefeasible right to institute government, and to alter, reform, and totally change the same when their safety, happiness, and the public good shall require it.”¹⁸

A State militia was provided for, to consist of “all able bodied,

17. Mill. Star, Vol. XII, p. 19. The constitution is there published *in extenso*, copied from the New York Herald. It will be observed that the boundaries proposed for the new state included an immense area of country. It gave the proposed state a bit of sea coast; the whole of the Great Basin; the Green, the Colorado, and the Gila river Basins; and was truly an empire in extent. The great area to be included in the proposed state was one of the serious objections against the proposition to admit the state of Deseret into the Union.

18. Article VIII, Const. State of Deseret, sec. 2.

white, male citizens, between the ages of eighteen and forty-five years, except such as are or maybe hereafter exempt by the laws of the United States, or this state; and shall be armed, equipped and trained as the general assembly may provide by law.”

Religious freedom within the state was emphatically affirmed in the following provision:

“Section 3: All men shall have a natural and inalienable right to worship God according to the dictates of their own conscience; and the general assembly shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, or disturb any person in his religious worship or sentiments; provided he does not disturb the public peace, nor obstruct others in their religious worship; and all persons demeaning themselves peaceably, as good members of the state shall be equally under the protection of the laws; and no subordination or preference of any one sect or denomination to another, shall ever be established by law; nor shall any religious test be ever required for any office of trust under this state.”¹⁹

The first election was appointed for the first Monday in May, 1849, at the usual places of holding public meetings in the different districts and settlements; “at which time and place the qualified voters shall vote for or against the adoption of this constitution; and if a majority of all the legal votes shall be in favor of its adoption, the same shall take effect from and after said election.” ” ”

Salt Lake City was declared to be the seat of government, until otherwise provided by law.

While the constitution designated the first Monday in May as the time for the first election, both for the adoption of the Constitution and the election of state officers, the first election was really held on the 12th of March at the “Bowery”—the place of holding religious services—with the following result: The Constitution was adopted and state officers chosen:

For Governor, Brigham Young.

Secretary, Willard Richards.

Chief Justice, Heber C. Kimball.

19. Ibid, sec. 3.

Associate Justices, Newel K. Whitney and John Taylor.²⁰

Marshal, Horace S. Eldredge.

Attorney General, Daniel H. Wells.

Assessor and Collector, Albert Carrington.

Treasurer, Newel K. Whitney.

Supervisor of Roads, Joseph L. Heywood.

The bishops of the nineteen wards that Salt Lake City was now divided into, together with the bishops of Weber River precinct; North Cottonwood precinct; North Mill Canon; South [Little] Cottonwood, Big Cottonwood, and Mill Creek, were elected magistrates to serve in a civil capacity.²¹ The number of votes cast for the candidates is given as 674;²² and as things were being done practically by unanimous consent, it is supposed that the votes for the constitution and for all the state officers, were practically the same.

The constitutional convention which convened on the 4th of March, 1849, before adjournment, memorialized the national congress in behalf of their constituents and the approval of the constitution they were about to submit for consideration.²³

The memorial called attention to the fact that congress had failed to provide, by law, a form of civil government for any part

20. The election of the chief and the associate justices indicates another irregularity, since the constitution provided for the election of these judges by the joint vote of the two houses of the general assembly. The first irregularity consisted in changing of the time of holding the election from the first Monday in May to the 12th of March.

21. If the election of the bishops of the respective wards, referred to in the text, was intended to be the election of the "inferior judges" contemplated by the state constitution, then their election marks another irregularity of procedure, as the constitution declared that the election of the judiciary, except members of the supreme court, should be provided for by the legislature. But evidently there was such unanimity of feeling and action that the people were doing things on the basis of "unanimous consent." Making these bishops civil magistrates was evidently only a temporary arrangement; as also the first election of the supreme court judges, since a few months later, after the new government had been more completely inaugurated, Messrs. Daniel H. Wells, Daniel Spencer, and Orson Spencer were nominated as judges of the supreme court; Andrew Perkins for county judge; with Messrs. William Crosby and James Hendrix associate judges; Messrs. Aaron Farr and Willard Snow magistrates. (Hist. Brigham Young *Ms.*, Bk. 5, January 1850, p. 3).

22. Hist. of Brigham Young, *Ms.*, Bk. 4, p. 38, 39. Entry for the 12th of March, 1849.

23. For date of Memorial see *Mill. Star*, Vol. XII, p. 23. It was afterwards adopted by the General Assembly of the State of Deseret, July of the same year, and forwarded to congress by the hand of the representative of the provisional state government, Almon W. Babbitt.

of the territory ceded to the United States by the republic of Mexico; that "strong fears have been, and still are entertained from the failure of congress to provide legal, civil authorities, that political aspirants may subject the government of the United States to the sacrifice of much blood and treasure in extending jurisdiction over that valuable country;" that in view of their own security, *and for the preservation of the constitutional right of the United States to hold jurisdiction there*, the inhabitants of the "State of Deseret" had organized a provisional State government under which the civil policy of the nation is duly maintained; that there were a sufficient number of individuals residing within the "State of Deseret" to support a state government, thereby relieving the general government from the expense of a territorial government in the region marked off by the boundaries of the proposed state.

"Your memorialists therefore ask your honorable body," concluded this supplementary document to the constitution, "to favorably consider their interests; and, if consistent with the constitution and usages of the federal government, that the constitution accompanying this memorial be ratified, and that the State of Deseret be admitted into the Union on an equal footing with other states, *or such other form of civil government as your wisdom and magnanimity may award to the people of Deseret*. And, upon the adoption of any form of government here, that their delegates be received, and their interests properly and faithfully represented, in the congress of the United States. And your memorialists, as in duty bound, will ever pray."²⁴

As if mistrustful of their application for a sovereign state government and admission into the Union being favorably received, a petition was circulated in April, of the same year, asking for a territorial form of government. Brigham Young records the fact that he signed this second memorial on the 30th of that month, and that it bore the signatures of 2,270 others.²⁵ The boundaries of the territory to be included within the jurisdiction of the civil government to be created, followed practically

24. Mill. Star, Vol. XII, p. 24. *Italics are mine.*

25. Hist. Brigham Young, *Ms.*, Bk. 4, pp. 70-71 entry for April 30, 1849.

those of the "State of Deseret," though here and there extended to more definite lines.²⁶

The justification for petitioning for so large an area of country is disclosed in this second memorial as being, to use their own words,—“we have done more by our arms and influence than any other equal number of citizens to obtain and secure this country to the government of the United States: Therefore,” they continue, “we respectfully petition your honorable body to charter for your memorialists a territorial government of the most liberal construction authorized by our excellent federal Constitution, with the least possible delay, to be known by the name of ‘Deseret.’ ”

Dr. John M. Bernhisel was given the mission of taking this second memorial to Washington, there to make application for a territorial government; at the same time being instructed to call upon Col. Thomas L. Kane and confer with him in the matter. A rather free hand was given to Col. Kane in relation to the boundaries of the proposed territory; as he was authorized to extend, if consistent, the proposed northern boundary line to latitude 43 degrees north; to modify the eastern line, and the line extending to the Pacific coast as he might find it expedient or necessary.²⁷ Dr. Bernhisel was also given a letter of introduction to Senator Stephen A. Douglas, whose aid the Salt Lake colonists solicited, in the name of past friendship for the Saints, and associations with the church leaders.²⁸ Dr. Bernhisel left on his mission for Washington on the 4th of May, 1849.

Surely in all this procedure to establish civil government the Salt Lake colonists were deferential enough to the general government. Their constitution for the provisional state and their memorial accompanying the same breathe no spirit of defiance; give no evidence of a wish for political separation from the United States. Neither does their petition for a territorial form of government. On the contrary these documents represent the people in the Salt Lake valley as taking the initiative in the

26. This more especially on the east and the north; The boundaries were to include all lands "lying between Oregon and Mexico, and between the Sierra Nevada and the 27th degree of West longitude" (i. e. from Washington) (History of Brigham Young *Ms.*, Bk. 4, p. 72).

27. Hist. Brigham Young *Ms.*, Bk. 4, p. 73.

28. Ibid, pp. 73, 74.

matter of establishing civil government only because the general government had failed to provide by law for civil government in any part of that extensive territory ceded to the United States by Mexico;²⁹ that feeling secure in their ability to care for themselves, they instituted this provisional state government for the preservation of the constitutional rights of the United States to hold jurisdiction within its boundaries, and maintain the civil policy of the nation; that if this form of government they presented for a sovereign state in the Union was not consistent with the usages of the federal government, then a willingness is expressed to accept "such other form of civil government," as "the wisdom and magnanimity" of congress "may award to the people of Deseret;" only praying that upon the adoption of any form of government for the country they occupied, their "delegates be received and their interests properly and faithfully represented in the congress of the United States."

If the procedure in all this matter is open to criticism at any point, it would have to be an indictment against the colonists for too great complaisance towards the general government in expressing willingness to accept, practically, any form of government which the "wisdom or magnanimity" of the congress might "award to the people of Deseret."³⁰ The right of the people to local self-government is a more stalwart right than it is here represented to be by the several actions of the Salt Lake colonists. And while they may have been extravagant in the matter of the extensive boundaries they prescribed both for the state and territory they petitioned for, in the matter of asserting the right of self-government for their community, the colonists were over moderate.

So, too, evidently, thought their friend and political advisor, Col. Thomas L. Kane, who, when the agent of the colonists, Dr. John M. Bernhisel,³¹ accompanied by Wilford Woodruff, called upon him in Philadelphia, strongly advised against presenting the petition for a territorial form of government, on the ground

29. See note 2, end of chapter.

30. It is time to define the word "Deseret." It comes from the Book of Mormon, and means "honey bee;" "and they did carry with them *Deseret*, which by interpretation is honey bee;"—speaking of the migration of the people of Jared from Asia to America, see Bk. of Ether, ch. 2, verse 3. Hence the "Bee Hive State:" the Bee Hive is the emblem of industry, and frugality.

that they would be better off without any government than with a territorial government, unless they could at least obtain assurances that the officers would be appointed from residents of the territory. Following are Col. Kane's remarks on this head as reported by Elder Wilford Woodruff:

"You are better off without any government from the hands of congress than with a territorial government. The political intrigues of government officers will be against you. You can govern yourselves better than they can govern you. I would prefer to see you withdraw the bill, rather than to have a territorial government, for if you are defeated in the state government, you can fall back upon it again at another session, if you have not a territorial government; but if you have, you cannot apply for a state government for a number of years. I insist upon it, you do not want corrupt political men from Washington strutting around you, with military epaulettes and dress, who will speculate out of you all they can. They will also control the Indian Agency, and Land Agency, and will conflict with your calculations in a great measure. You do not want two governments. You have a government now [alluding to the provisional state government of Deseret then in existence] which is firm and powerful, and you are under no obligations to the United States." . . . If you have a state government, men may come along and say, 'I am judge, I am colonel, I am governor,' you can whistle and ask no odds of them. But while you have a territorial government you cannot do it. And then there are always so many intrigues to make political parties among you, the first thing you know, a strong political party is rising up in your midst, selfish, and against your interest."³¹

That the violation of these principles and rights of "home rule"—"local self government," discussed above by Col. Kane,

31. The above was reported by Elder Woodruff and is recorded in the Hist. of Brigham Young *Ms.*, Bk. 4, pp. 161-164. See also Journal of Wilford Woodruff, *Ms.* entry for 26th of Nov., 1849. It appears from this interview, reported by Woodruff, that Col. Kane had presented even an earlier petition for territorial government for the Salt Lake colonists; and that this petition was tentatively presented in the closing months of President Polk's administration; and then withdrawn because Col. Kane could not be sure that territorial officers from among the colonists would be appointed, but men from the east who would not be in sympathy with them; from which circumstance he foresaw great difficulties would arise—and they did afterwards arise—and hence he withdrew the petition he had presented. The incident is so important, and as it is one that has escaped our historians, I give the passage from Col. Kane's remarks, as reported by Wilford Woodruff, at the close of this chapter. See *Note 3*.

and dear to Anglo-Saxon people everywhere, but doubly dear to Americans, among whom their necessity and their value had been demonstrated in the colonial days of the United States—that the violation of these principles and rights, I say, were responsible for much, very much, of the difficulty which subsequently arose between the people of Utah and the government of the United States, will be noted in the proper place.

It is not of record that John M. Bernhisel took any steps to present to congress the petition for a territorial government, naturally the advice of Col. Kane would deter him from taking such a step; but he became earnestly active in presenting the cause of the State of Deseret to the members of both the house and the senate of the national congress.³¹

Meantime the provisional state government went into effect. On the 2nd of July, 1849, the general assembly met and on the 3rd the speaker of the house, Williard Snow, administered the oath of office to the state officers. On the 5th in conjoint session, Almon W. Babbitt was “elected delegate and representative to congress.” The house of the Deseret general assembly on the 6th, and the senate on the 9th, “adopted” the memorial to congress, passed by the constitutional convention on the 9th of March previous, praying for the admission of the “State of Deseret, into the Union on an equal footing with the other states;” or “such other form of civil government as congress in its wisdom and magnanimity” might “award to the people of Deseret.” Two thousand copies of the Constitution and Memorial were ordered printed. Later certified copies of the constitution and memorial together with a synopsis of the proceedings of the general assembly were signed by the Secretary of State, Willard Richards, and placed in the hands of the delegate-representative, Almon W. Babbitt, to be presented to congress.³²

Enroute to the east Babbitt went *via* of Kaneshville, where on the 9th of September a public celebration was given in which the Saints in the Missouri River settlements participated in a

31. The services of Doctor Bernhisel are worthy of special mention, and his own report of them as they are recorded in the *Ms. History of Brigham Young* will be found in Note 4 at the end of the chapter.

32. *History of Brigham Young Ms.*, Bk. 4, p. 104.

day of rejoicing in anticipation of the admission of the "State of Deseret" into the Union. A long procession marched through the streets of Kaneshville headed by special officers of the day, and Pitt's martial band. Various banners were displayed along the line, prominent among which was one designed and painted for the occasion. The stars and stripes, constituted the background, but with a rising star represented in the centre, also a Bee Hive, the emblem of the proposed state, and in the white stripes of the flag were the words:

"The Constitution of the United States: May it Live Forever;"

"Liberty and Truth Will Prevail."

"There was music, songs and speeches; a welcome to Mr. Babbitt as the representative to congress from the new state; a response by him, which was the principal speech of the occasion. A public dinner was served at which all partook of earth's bounties; many toasts were given and responded to; one of which was as follows:

"May the new star Deseret be as the Star of Bethlehem, a Guide to the Nations."

The whole celebration ended with a dancing party in the evening.³³

Of course the reason for the rejoicing by the people in the Missouri settlements over the prospect of a state government in the Great Basin, grew out of their intention to migrate to the new state, and their community sympathy with the Saints in the Salt Lake valley.

33. The Day's proceedings are given at length in the *Frontier Guardian* of Sept. 19, 1849. As an item of interest it may be added that in a letter from the First Presidency to Orson Hyde they speak of having heard of Oliver Cowdery's return to the Church, and that his feelings were right; and they express the wish that he might accompany Mr. Babbitt to Washington, and direct Elder Hyde to render brother Cowdery assistance to that end. But doubtless for the reason that Cowdery was absent in Missouri, he did not join Babbitt in this mission. (See *History of Brigham Young* *Ms.*, 1850, p. 105). The letter to Hyde bears date of July 20th, 1849. The Presidency also wrote direct to Oliver Cowdery congratulating him on his return to the Church, admonishing him to righteousness and informing him of their desire that he should accompany Mr. Babbitt to Washington and endeavor "to obtain the admission of the state of Deseret into the union." (*Ibid.* pp. 106-7).

Delegate Babbitt arrived in Washington in due time, but congress appeared to be in no mood to admit "Deseret" into the Union of states. Senator Douglas, notwithstanding Col. Kane's disparaging remark as to his real friendship for the Salt Lake colonists, introduced the memorial of the general assembly of the provisional state, also the constitution, into the senate, describing it as an application for admission as a state, "with the alternative of admission as a territory, if congress should so direct;" and moved that the memorial and the constitution be printed and referred to the Committee on Territories. This on the 27th of December, 1849.³⁴ The same documents were introduced into the house by Mr. Linn Boyd of Kentucky, together with the credentials of the delegate, Mr. Babbitt, which were referred to the house committee on Territories, but not until the 28th of January, 1850.³⁵

The question of admitting Almon W. Babbitt as a delegate from the State of Deseret, was referred to the house committee on elections, which after some time unanimously reported to the house the following resolution:

"That it is inexpedient to admit Almon W. Babbitt, Esq., to a seat in this body as a delegate from the alleged State of Deseret."

The resolution after long debates was finally adopted by a vote of 104 to 78.³⁶

The reasons which prevailed against the admission of the delegate seemed to be (1) that the memorial he presented from the legislature of the provisional state, did not ask for representation in congress until that body had awarded the people of Deseret some form of government;³⁷ (2) that Mr. Babbitt came as the

34. Congressional Globe, Vol. XXI, p. 86.

35. *Ibid*, p. 229. On the 23rd of Jan., Mr. Boyd had previously asked unanimous consent to introduce the memorial, the constitution and the credentials of the delegate (*Ibid*, p. 213), but objections being made, the matter went over to the 28th.

36. The matter was decided on the 20th of July, 1850. Congressional Globe, Vol. XXII, p. 1423.

37. When, therefore, Mr. Babbitt came here [i. e. to Congress] and asked the House to admit him to a seat on this floor, he asked that which his legislative constituency who sent him have not asked. On the contrary, they asked that he should be received *after* a form of government should have been established [i. e. by Congress] and not *before*. (Speech of Mr. Strong of Pennsylvania, chairman of the committee on Territories). In support of which Mr. Strong quotes from

representative of a state, but of a state not in the Union; and, therefore, not entitled to representation in congress; (3) congress could not admit the delegate without at the same time recognizing a legal existence for the "state" from which he came as delegate; (4) the boundaries of the proposed state, as described in the preamble of the Constitution, included portions of both California and Oregon.³⁸

Those who favored the admission of a delegate from Deseret opposed these technical, legal grounds for his rejection, with the broad American principle of the right of a community to representation in legislative bodies where their interests were to be determined; and the right of a community to be self-governing. The case of the delegate and people of Deseret was most effectively stated by Mr. McDonald, of Indiana, who said:

"The people of that territory had provided a state government—a political organization. They were unquestionably citizens of the United States, and their interests should be promoted here by the admission of an accredited agent, capable of furnishing any information which might be required. . . . But the chairman of the committee on elections says, that because Deseret has adopted a state constitution, therefore we must not admit her delegate, lest, thereby, we adopt her constitution also. Does the gentleman believe that the house of representatives can admit a state into the Union?³⁹ Can we, by a resolution of the house, admit a state into the confederacy? Surely not. We cannot, then so recognize the political institutions which these people have formed as to give them more force or effect than attaches to them at this time. Nor do we, by the simple admission of a delegate here to represent the wishes of that

the memorial—"and, upon the adoption of any form of government here, that their Delegate be received, and their interests properly and faithfully represented in the Congress of the United States."

38. For the debates on this whole question see Congressional Globe, Vol. XXII, *passim*, but more especially, pp. 1413-1423. An effort was later made to secure Babbitt's admission on the same credentials after congress had passed the enabling act (Sept. 9th, 1850) creating the Territory of Utah, and fixing its boundaries; but this, too, failed (*Ibid*, pp. 1811, 1850, 1868); though an appropriation was made by Congress allowing him the same for mileage that was allowed the delegate from Oregon—\$2,460. (Cong. Globe, Vol. XXII, pp. 1779, 1949). Douglaston when presenting the same to the senate, at the request of the House Committee on Territories, named the amount given above, but said it was "for mileage *and* compensation" (Cong. Globe, Vol. XXI, p. 822), to be paid out of the contingent fund of the house.

39. Mr. McDonald had previously shown that it would require the co-operation of House senate and executive to do that.

people, adopt or recognize any political organization established by themselves. . . .

From the memorial of the legislature of Deseret, which has been read, and from the report of the committee on elections, it seems that these people have acted with great forbearance, prudence, and moderation. For purpose of self protection, they formed a state government; and they call upon the congress of the United States, either to give them a state government, or to form such other organic law, or regulations as congress in its wisdom many think proper. It is true they did not expect their delegate to take his seat until some form of government had been furnished. But could they have believed that congress would have remained seven months in session and that the question of their organization would not during that long period, even have been approached? And may not this unprecedented delay on the part of congress in acting for the people of that territory, very justly have induced a departure from the strict line of instructions which Mr. Babbitt had received, so that he might ask to be admitted at once, to represent the rights and interests of the people who sent him here? * * * He is admitted merely that he may give information as to the people whom he represents—that he may present their petitions here and ask for them such legislation as may be suited to their peculiar wants and condition.”⁴⁰

Meantime another event had happened which promised for a time to brighten the prospects of “Deseret” in gaining admission into the Union. This was the arrival in Salt Lake valley of General John Wilson with a small military escort, on a mission to the Salt Lake Colonists from President Zachary Taylor.

The general arrived on the 20th of August, 1849. He had been appointed United States Indian Agent for California, by President Zachary Taylor, and was enroute to the field of his labors. The private mission from President Taylor in substance he stated as follows: Trouble was anticipated in the then approaching congress which would convene in December.

40. Congressional Globe, Vol. XXII, pp. 1413, 1414. Mr. McDonald had proposed an amendment to the resolution of the committee on territories, rejecting Mr. Babbitt, in the following language; “That Almon A. Babbitt be admitted to a seat in their House of Representatives of the United States, as a delegate from the territory of Deseret, for the present congress.” His remarks above were in support of this amendment.

Texas had been annexed and was a slave state. So extensive was her territory, that it was capable of being divided into several states all of which, of course, would become slave states. The treaty which closed the war with Mexico had resulted in the United States obtaining an immense area of country, out of which new states and territories would be carved; and, of course, there was in prospect a terrible struggle between the pro-slavery and anti-slavery parties, the former seeking to establish slavery in, and the latter to exclude it from the states and territories to be made out of this new accession of country. It was thought by the administration, that if a large state extending from the Pacific Ocean eastward to Salt Lake—including all the territory ceded by Mexico to the United States—was admitted as one state, leaving the question of slavery to be determined by the people of the state; it would remove the question from congress; and if the proposed state was voted free, as most likely it would be, it would offset the then late accession of Texas and thus calm the rising storm over that question.

General Wilson stated, that so eager was the President of the United States in regard to the subject, that if he (Wilson) found any difficulty in the way, his instructions were to appeal to the patriotism of the Mormon people.

Elder Taylor, Charles C. Rich, and Daniel Spencer were appointed to confer with General Wilson upon the subject of his mission. The result of those deliberations was a proposal by the people of Salt Lake valley, California agreeing therewith, to form a state unitedly, and continue in that condition two years; after which the eastern part of the state was to be formed into a state by itself.

The dissolution of the one state into two, however, at the beginning of 1851 was to be realized automatically by the fulfillment of terms agreed upon in the constitution to be adopted, without any further action of congress. "We are to have a general constitution for two states," writes Brigham Young to Amasa M. Lyman, then in California, "the boundaries of the one mentioned by us, before referred to, [the boundaries of the State of Deseret already described] is our state, the other

boundaries to be defined by the people on the coast, to be agreed upon in a general convention; the two states to be consolidated in one and named as the convention shall think proper, but to be dissolved at the commencement of the year 1851, each one having its own constitution, and each becoming a free, sovereign, independent state, without any further action of congress." And "in case of a consolidated state being formed," "the constitution must, *bona fide*, remain unalterable during the consolidation."⁴¹

Elder Amasa M. Lyman was appointed a delegate to co-operate with General Wilson in representing the Salt Lake Valley colonists to the convention it was proposed to call in California. He was appointed with General Wilson in representing the Salt Lake valley however, was delayed in his journey by snow storms and did not reach California until late in January, 1850. And by this time California had already held her constitutional convention, adopted her constitution,⁴² agreed upon the boundaries of the state, and its first legislature, on the arrival of General Wilson, was in session at San Jose, where it had convened on the 15th of December. The proposals which *Messrs.* Willison and Lyman were authorized to make on behalf of the people of Deseret to California's constitutional convention, were made by memorial to that state's legislature; but Governor P. H. Burnett

41. The letter to Lyman is given *in extenso* in Hist. Brigham Young, and is a strong document, cautious yet bold, and it gives a fine illustration of the statesman-like fore-sight of Brigham Young. (Hist. Brigham Young, *Ms.*, Bk. 3, September 6, 1849, pp. 24-31).

42. When the national Congress adjourned on the 4th of March, 1849, all that had been done in the way of providing civil government for the territory ceded to the United States by Mexico was to extend over it the revenue laws, and to make San Francisco a part of entry. Because Congress had thus failed to provide civil government for the ceded territory (See Bancroft's California, Vol. XI, ch. XII), the people of California proceeded to install a state government for themselves. The convention chosen by the people met on the first of September, at Monterey, and completed its work by the 13th of October (*Ibid*). This action on the part of the people of California was also irregular and without the authority of law, and was necessarily based upon the same facts and principle upon which the people of Deseret acted, viz., the neglect and even refusal of the national congress to provide civil government, the right of the people to civil government, and self government at that, in some form or other. There was strong opposition to the admission of California, chiefly from the southern states, primarily, no doubt, upon the questions of slavery involved in her admission; but also on the ground that her course in applying for admission was irregular, and her "constitution had been formed without the authority of law." (Hist. United States Stephen's, p. 513). She was admitted into the Union, however, as part of Senator Henry Clay's great compromise measure, on the 9th of September, 1850.

reviewed the several proposals one by one in a message to the legislature, condemning them all. Among other things he held that the communities were too far apart to be united even temporarily, and that "Texas and Maine might as well be made one state as Deseret and California."⁴³ The Legislature, whether in consequence of the governor's views or for independent reasons does not appear, refused consideration of the memorial, and there the matter ended.

It may not now be determined what produced the change in the minds of leaders of the Salt Lake colonists in relation to a more earnest desire for a state rather than for a territorial government for Deseret. It may have been the incident of the visit of General Wilson, and the more careful consideration of the advantages of a state government as against a territorial government, necessarily involved in the proposition of a state government in temporary union with California. Or it may have been the views of Col. Thomas L. Kane upon the subject, expressed to Messrs. Bernhisel and Woodruff and reported to Brigham Young, in which he pointed out the undesirability of a territorial government for Deseret, and the necessity of a state government in order to procure the political peace and happiness of her people. His views have already been stated in this chapter. No matter which of these incidents produced

43. Editorial in the *Frontier Guardian*, 29th May, 1850. Also *Deseret News* July 6th, 1850, p. 51. The effort on the part of President Zachary Taylor to establish governments in the territory ceded by Mexico to the United States, is the subject of his message, with accompanying documents, of the 21st of January, 1850. The message of the President was in response to a resolution of the house of representatives asking for information and official documents upon the subject of executive interference in the formation of state or territorial governments in New Mexico and California (see *Congressional Globe*, Vol. XXI, p. 90). In his message nothing is said by the President of Deseret and the mission of General Wilson because the inquiry of the house resolution did not mention the Deseret colonies. The President admitted having appointed Hon. Thomas Butler King, congressman from Georgia, as bearer of dispatches to California, and the appointment of certain officers to California, and New Mexico, whose duties were defined in department letters transmitted with his message. He then adds: "I did not hesitate to express to the people of these territories my desire that each territory should, if prepared to comply with the requisitions of the constitution of the United States, form a plan of a state constitution, and submit the same to congress with a prayer for admission into the Union as a state; but I did not anticipate, suggest, or authorize the establishment of any such government without the assent of congress, nor did I authorize any government agent or officer to interfere with or exercise any influence or control over the election of delegates, or over any convention, in making or modifying their domestic institutions, or any of the provisions of their proposed constitution." (Message and Papers of the Presidents, Vol. V, pp. 26-30).

the change—perhaps both were contributing causes—the change came and that after they had both received the report of California's legislature refusing to consider the question of uniting the Salt Lake and Pacific Coast communities into one state; and the views of Col. Kane, that they had better remain as they were than to accept a territorial government. The general assembly of Deseret passed a series of resolutions to the effect that their agent, Dr. Bernhisel, and their delegate, Almon W. Babbitt, be instructed to withdraw all petitions, memorials, and applications to congress for a territorial government; that they use all proper means to procure an early admission of the State of Deseret under the constitution presented; and representing that it would be far better for the people of Deseret to remain as they were, until congress should see proper to admit them as a state, than to accept a territorial government.⁴⁴

A committee of three was appointed to draft a letter to accompany the resolutions;⁴⁵ and that communication very ably presented the case for a state government, as will be seen by a few excerpts from it:

“If congress has passed, at the present session, an act for the organization of a territory called “Utah Territory,” which they design for us, regardless of all our feelings in the matter, then we have only to yield our quiet acquiescence therein, for the time being only urging the more strenuously, the early adjustment of our boundaries, and acceptances of our constitution and admission. If, on the contrary, they have adjourned, and no action had upon the subject, you will only urge our claims for admission as a state. * * * Had congress given us a territorial organization in the first instance all would have been well: (This doubtless in reference to the application Col. Kane was authorized to make, see Note 3) for then we could have tracked accordingly. But what else, we ask, during the tardy action of congress, could we have done, than what we have? Should we have lain dormant, and permitted our settlements to be overrun by the natives, and ourselves by the lawless and most blameable inaction and indifference, characterise our lack

44. *Deseret News* for Sept. 21, 1850. The resolutions are there given at length. The influence of Col. Kane's suggestions are discernible throughout.

45. D. H. Wells, Parley P. Pratt and Orson Spencer were the committee.

of interest for the welfare of our existence as an enlightened or civilized people. . . .

"Do they object to the name of our state? It is good enough for us, who have to wear it. Do they object to our numbers as being insufficient? Let them take the census! Do they object to our boundaries? Let them leave it to the inhabitants who dwell therein to decide, and if they choose to go into western California, or have a state of their own south of us so let it be.

* * * We admit the boundary asked for is large, when we consider the area; but if land susceptible of cultivation, that will admit of a dense population, is taken into consideration, it is not so large; and we are not advised of a single dissenting voice within our proposed boundaries, that objects to being included therein. . . .

"What propriety or consistency is there in granting us a territorial, and California a state government? When our actual settlers out number them as five to three; and, moreover, those who have been expected to locate there, are at this moment flowing back upon us by hundreds and thousands? We admit the potency of gold; but should not a nation be willing, nay, seek to cherish those who are endeavoring to render her most sterile and barren domain productive; who are extending settlements, making improvements, and developing the national resources of hitherto unexplored regions, thereby adding to the national wealth?

"Let congress give us a government based as all republican governments should be, upon the authority of the people; let them decide our boundaries in accordance with the wishes of the actual settlers, or residents therein, upon the principle of common justice, according and guaranteeing unto us those rights and immunities only, which are the privilege of American citizens in like, or similar circumstances."⁴⁶

The effort to obtain a state rather than a territorial government, came too late, however, even if it could, in any event, have influenced the action of the national congress. The resolutions of the state's general assembly were passed on the 11th of September; the act creating a territorial government for Utah, became a law on the 9th day of the same month and year. The act creating the territory very greatly reduced the area that had been proposed for the boundaries of the state; or for the terri-

46. *Deseret News* of Sept. 21st, 1850, where the letter is given at length.

tory of Deseret;⁴⁷ and it altogether ignored the wishes of the people with reference to the name of the state or territory to be formed by act of congress. The territory of Utah was created; the boon of statehood was withheld for half a century, less four years.

NOTE 1: LETTER TO PRESIDENT JAMES K. POLK; SUNDAY (AUGUST) 9:1846: "The following letter to President Polk was read by Dr. Richards and unanimously sanctioned;—[i. e., by the Council].

"To James K. Polk, President of the United States.

"Sir:—A large portion of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, having passed from the nation of our nativity, and the republic over which you have the honor to preside, and finding ourselves on the western shore of the great Missouri, while others of our friends are following close in our rear, beg your Excellency's indulgence for a moment, while we pour out the pure feelings of our souls before you.

The cause of our exile we need not repeat, it is already with you, suffice it to say that a combination of fortuitous, illegal and unconstitutional circumstances have placed us in our present situation, on a journey which we design shall end in a location west of the Rocky Mountains, and within the basin of the Great Salt Lake or Bear River Valley, as soon as circumstances shall permit, believing that to be a point where a good living will require hard labor, and consequently will be coveted by no other people, while it is surrounded by so unpopulous but fertile country.

While on our way thither and beyond the borders of the states, we were met by Captain J. Allen of your Army of the West, proffering us the enrollment of five hundred men to be marched into California, *via* Santa Fe, there to be discharged at the expiration of one year, receiving the pay of regular soldiers and other valuable and unusual enrollments; to this offer we promptly responded, though it has left five hundred of our loaded teams standing on the prairies of the Pottawatomie and Omaha nations, and nearly as many families destitute of their head and guardians, only as they are counseled and nourished

47. The boundaries were as follows: "All that part of the Territory of the United States included within the following limits *to wit*: bounded on the west by the state of California [Which then extended on the east to the 120th degree of West longitude]; on the north by the territory of Oregon [to the 42nd degree of North latitude; on the east by the summit of the Rocky Mountains, and on the south by the 37th parallel of north latitude." (Charter creating Territory of Utah, sec. 1).

by their friends who were already overborne with cares and worn out with anxiety and fatigues; but in the midst of this we were cheered with the presence of our friend, Mr. Little of New Hampshire, who assured us of the personal friendship of the President, in the act before us, and this assurance, though not doubted by us in the least, was soon made doubly sure by the testimony of Col. Kane of Philadelphia, whose presence in our midst, and the ardor with which he has espoused the cause of a persecuted and suffering people, and the testimony he has borne of your Excellency's kind feelings, have kindled up a spark in our hearts which had been well nigh extinguished, not a spark of love of liberty or democracy, that cannot be, [i. e., love of liberty or democracy had not been extinguished] but love of a country or rulers, from whom previously we had received but little save neglect or persecution.

We also received assurances from Lieut. Col. Allen of the Mormon Battalion, that we should be safe, and that it would be proper for us to stop on any Indian lands, while it was necessary, considering our hindrance in filling his command, and during the pleasure of the President which we fully anticipate will be during all necessary time, and in view of all things here referred to, and many more which the hurrying duties of the camp will not permit us to mention at this time.

1. *Resolved*, That as children of the United States, we have not been disappointed in our anticipations of a brighter day and a more righteous administration in our endeavors for the canvass of his Excellency, James K. Polk, to the Presidency.

2. *Resolved*, That the thanks of this people be presented to President Polk for his friendly offer of transferring five hundred of our brethren to the land of their destination under command of Col. Allen.

3. *Resolved*, That should we locate within the territory of the United States, as we anticipate, we would esteem a territorial government of our own, as one of the richest boons of earth, and while we appreciate the Constitution of the United States as the most precious among the nations, we feel that we had rather retreat to the deserts, islands or mountain caves than consent to be ruled by governors and judges whose hands are drenched in the blood of innocence and virtue, who delight in injustice and oppression, and whose greatest glory is to promote the misery of their fellows for their own aggrandisement, or lustful gratification.

Having received the strongest assurances of assistance and protection from President Polk through our highly esteemed friend, Col. Kane, and that he will continue to use all constitu-

tional powers at his disposal for our good, regardless of popular clamor and cabinet intrigues, to establish us in a land where we can sustain our wives and children, *to help us to a territorial government*, so that we may dwell in peace under our own vine, and eat the fruit of our own labor, and that he will defend us against every aggression by the strong arm of twenty millions of free-men, and all their immense resources, and that he will ward off the scourge of oppression, the rod of tyranny, and the sword of death by all means that God and his country have placed at his disposal—

4. *Resolved*, That we have heard from various sources and have the same confirmed by Col. Kane, that the friends of ex-Governor Boggs, are endeavoring to make him Governor of California, and that we as a people are bound to oppose said Boggs in every point and particular that shall tend to exalt him in any country where our lot may be cast, and that *peace* and *Mormonism*, which are always *undivided*, and Lilburn W. Boggs, *cannot dwell together*, and we solicit the attention of President Polk to this important item in the future prosperity and welfare of the newly acquired territory of our glorious Republic.

5. *Resolved*, That *as soon as we are settled in the Great Basin we design to petition the United States for a territorial government*, bounded on the north by the British and south by the Mexican dominions, and east and west by the summits of the Rocky and Cascade mountains.

6. *Therefore, Resolved*, That we have the fullest confidence in the friendly protection of President Polk, that our hearts are with him to do good, and sustain the best government of earth, that he may depend on our warmest gratitude, and our cordial co-operation in all things that shall tend to exalt him, and our fellow creatures, and that our faith, prayers and blessing shall rest upon him, so long as he shall magnify those glorious principles he has espoused, which we trust will be eternally.

“Done on the West Bank of the Missouri River, near Council Bluffs, Omaha nation, August 9, 1846, in general council of the church aforesaid.

BRIGHAM YOUNG,
President.

WILLARD RICHARDS,
Clerk.”

“P. S.—Please give us your views of Col. Allen’s permit for us to stop on Indian lands, as soon as your convenience will permit. Direct to N. K. Whitney, John H. Hale and Daniel Spencer, Mormon Camp, near Council Bluffs, Fort Leavenworth P. O.”

NOTE 2: REFUSAL OF THE GENERAL GOVERNMENT TO PROVIDE CIVIL GOVERNMENT IN THE GREAT BASIN: The statement in the text of the History, that the United States not only failed to provide civil government in the Great Basin but refused to do it for some time, is quite right and provable. President Zachary Taylor in a special message to congress under date of January 21, 1850, transmitting certain documents and information respecting the founding of government in the ceded territory, says:

"On coming into office, I found the military commandant of the Department of California exercising the functions of civil governor in that territory; and left, as I was, under the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, without the aid of any legislative provision establishing a government in that territory, I thought it best not to disturb that arrangement, made under my predecessor, until congress should take some action on that subject. I therefore did not interfere with the powers of the military commandant, who continued to exercise the functions of civil governor as before, but I made no such appointment, conferred no such authority, and have allowed no increased compensation to the commandant for his service."

This represents the conditions existing as to civil government in the ceded territory up to Jan. 23rd, 1850.

Later, in the same message, after discussing the matter of California's application for admission as a state in the Union, and referring to the part of the ceded territory "uninhabited, except in a settlement of our countrymen in the vicinity of Salt Lake," President Taylor remarked:

"No material inconvenience will result from the want, for a short period, of a government established by congress over that part of the territory which lies eastward of the new state of California." (Message and Papers of the Presidents, Vol. V, pp. 26-30).

On the 11th of December, 1848, there had been referred to the House Committee on Territories, a resolution instructing that committee to "inquire into the expediency of so dividing the territory of Upper California as to organize and extend a district territorial government over that portion of said territory which includes the white settlement in the vicinity of the Salt Lake." Early in January Mr. Rockwell of Massachusetts, made an adverse report on the matter, and it was laid on the table. So that congress, I say, not only failed to provide civil government for the Great Basin territory, but refused to do so, at least from the acquisition of the ceded territory in February, 1848, to January, 1850, a period of about two years. And since the

general government would not take the initiative in establishing civil government, were not the people justified in doing so?

The statement of President Taylor in the above to the effect that no material inconvenience would result from a further delay in the establishment of government by congress in the territory east of California, reveals a lack of information in the part of the President of the actual conditions prevailing in the Salt Lake Valley; for in addition to the considerable Mormon population in the valley—by this time, 1850, numbering 11,380, there was the annual migration through their settlements of thousands of gold seekers who arrived in the valley with many differences and claims to be settled, and naturally expected in such a community as they found on the shores of the Great Salt Lake and in adjacent valleys, civil government established and courts of law to which they might appeal for a settlement of personal grievances and property rights. And while, if the Mormon colonies had been entirely isolated, and had remained exclusively Mormon, they would have found the organization of their Church, and submission to the rulings of its ecclesiastical courts adequate for the maintenance of substantial justice and the good order of society, still a population of mixed faiths, and conflicting interests such as the colonies in the Great Basin were rapidly becoming, could not be expected to be satisfied with the rule of a church in civil affairs; so that there was very great need for the establishment of civil government in the Salt Lake Valley, and very material inconvenience and serious complications were likely to arise by the government continuing to delay, even for a short period longer, the establishment of government by congress over the territory in the Great Basin, President Taylor to the contrary notwithstanding.

NOTE 3. THE VIEWS OF COL. KANE ON THE DESIRABILITY OF A STATE RATHER THAN OF A TERRITORIAL GOVERNMENT FOR THE SALT LAKE COLONISTS. Col. Kane said:

“You must not commit yourselves to any party, but keep a close mouth with all parties, and the most discreet and wise course must be pursued, in order to do anything at all. I will do what I can with the free soil party, my father and Mr. Dallas with the Democrats. It will be the most critical Congress ever held.

“I applied, according to the wish of President Young, for a territorial government. I had my last sad, and painful interview with President Polk. I found he did not feel disposed to favor your people, and he had his men of his own stamp picked out to serve as governor and other officers, who would have oppressed you or injured you in any way to fill their own pockets. He

would not appoint men from among yourselves, and I saw it absolutely necessary that you should have officers of your own people, to govern you, or you were better without any government. I had to use my own discretion, and I withdrew the petition. I am fully decided upon that point—that you must have officers of yourselves, and not military politicians strutting around in your midst, and usurping authority over you. It will not do for you to take up the slavery question, or anti-slavery, or any other side, but be neutral.

“Atchison of Missouri, with the Mormon opposing party, will still be your enemies. Thomas Benton has been an inveterate enemy, and still may be. And all the parties, with the whole congress, are a mass of corruption and abomination. They are all governed by party management, without any regard to principle, and if we do anything upon this subject we shall have to enter into wise management. We have to favor the South some, though they are your enemies, and I hate to do it. Parties are all breaking up and new ones are forming, and no man can tell what a day will bring forth. Thomas Benton was the head of your being driven from Winter Quarters, in the Indian country, and Polk favored it, and I could not turn them from their purpose. I told Mr. Polk we should not present any petition while he dictated matters. Benton is still your enemy at heart. Douglas is going down with a certain class connected with him. The time was when he could have done your people much good by merely bearing his testimony of your good character while he was judge in Illinois, and he would not do it.”

Notwithstanding this opinion respecting Douglas' course, that senator, as will be seen from the text of this History, continued for some time, at least, to assist the agents of the Salt Lake colonists in getting their several measures before the senate.

NOTE 4: DR. BERNHISEL'S ACTIVITIES IN WASHINGTON FOR THE ADMISSION OF THE STATE OF DESERET: The doctor arrived at Washington on November 30, 1849, and took temporary lodgings at the National Hotel which he described as “the center of politics, fashions and folly.” “I met Gen. Cass,” he remarks, “at his invitation, in the senate chamber on the first day of the session, and was introduced to the Vice-President, Willard Fillmore, Mr. John C. Calhoun and a number of other senators. The Vice-President kindly granted me the privilege of the floor of the senate during my sojourn in Washington. On the same day I was also admitted to the privileged seats on the floor of the house of representatives. I merely mention these things to show that the prophecy which you delivered in the council in

regard to my reception at Washington has been literally fulfilled.

“Since my arrival here I have been quite busy among the grave senators, the impulsive representatives of the people, and other functionaries. I took ground and did not experience any difficulty in making the acquaintance of all the leading men in both houses of congress, and that of a host of other members, though not particularly distinguished, yet highly respectable and influential. I conversed freely with all of them, explained matters to them, and answered objections.

“In the early part of the session I called on the editors of all the leading journals in this city, and furnished each of them with a copy of the Memorial and Constitution of Deseret. I also handed copies of them to members of congress, as well as to heads of departments whenever an opportunity presented itself, and I presume that all have not seen them. I also sent a copy to the editor of the New York Herald, which he published. The constitution is highly approved by the South, because it contains no clause inhibiting the introduction of slavery, but the Free Soilers and many other northern members object to it on that ground.”

The Doctor gave an account of the presentation December 27th, 1849, of the memorial and constitution of Deseret to the senate by Judge Douglas, who asked for the admission of Deseret into the Union as a state or for a territorial government, leaving the alternative with congress; and of the presentation of the same to the house by Hon. Lynn Boyd, Jan. 3rd; at which time objection being made they were laid over till the 28th, when they were referred to the committee on territories and ordered to be printed.

About the same time Senator Underwood presented a memorial from William Smith and Isaac Sheen. A similar document was presented to the house by Mr. Stanton. The wholesale calumny contained in Smith and Sheen’s memorial created quite a sensation in both wings of the capitol, and it was referred to the Committee on Territories and ordered to be printed.

The doctor feeling it his special duty and privilege to disabuse the minds of members of congress called upon them in relation to the memorial and thereby had many opportunities of setting before them the history and belief of the Saints. In his interviews with Senator Underwood he refused the charges of Smith and Sheen as to the disloyalty of our people, their refusal to obey the laws of the United States, etc.

In conclusion the Senator remarked to the Doctor, that our people had performed a great deal of work in the valley,—that it

was wonderful that they had been able to make a settlement in that remote region and gather so many people there. The Doctor replied, that considering the circumstances under which the settlement was made, and in so short a time, it was certainly wonderful; and added, that whatever else our enemies denied us, they could not deny us enterprise and industry. The Senator agreed with this view. The Doctor then asked if it were possible for a body of so depraved, vicious and abominable wretches, as we were represented to be, to perform such wonders as we had performed and maintain a spirit of peace, concord and harmony? The Senator replied "That it was not." (History of Brigham Young Ms. Bk. for 1850, pp. 39, 40 41, 42).

Historic Views and Reviews

A POSSIBLE RARE FIND TO ENRICH NEW YORK DOCUMENTARY HISTORY

In constructing the barge canal through Wayne County in 1912, among the tracts of land acquired for the purpose of enlargement of the original Erie Canal, was a small lot on the edge of the Montezuma marshes, in the neighborhood of the village of Clyde, on which stood a little two-room shack, belonging to a hunter and trapper. In demolishing the shack an old trunk was found which appeared to have been owned at one time by Judge Tremper, of Kingston, Ulster county. Judge Tremper lived in the times of the American Revolution and was a prominent citizen of Ulster county, some of the name settling also in Dutchess county.

On opening the ancient trunk there were disclosed a variety of historical documents referring to events relating to the period before and after the Revolution. Among these were two furloughs granted to Revolutionary soldiers signed by General George Washington, an old account book of John Jacob Astor, the noted fur trader and progenitor of the Astor family in America, and several deeds dating back to a period of time before such instruments were officially recorded.

The custom of that time appears to have been the deeds written in duplicate on a single sheet of paper and the duplicate instruments roughly torn apart and the genuineness of either instrument proved by the matching of the irregular edge with its duplicate.

It is understood that the finders took measures to dispose of the contents of the trunk so that the valuable papers and records should be placed in the library of some historical society

for safe keeping. It will be interesting to learn further as to the value of the contents of the trunk.



REVERENCE FOR THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

A HAPPY DISCOVERY

City Librarian David N. Carvalho, of Baltimore, in turning over the books in his custody in the work of cataloguing them, found in an out of the way place a handsomely bound copy of the Declaration of Independence, engrossed on vellum and attested by Charles Carroll, of Carrollton. The copy was presented to the Common Council of Baltimore on July 4, 1828, and was intended to be used in refreshing the memories of that body respecting the Declaration, on every Fourth of July.

The attestation of Mr. Carroll was as follows:

“Grateful to Almighty God for the blessings which, through Jesus Christ our Lord, He has conferred on my beloved country, in her emancipation, and upon myself, in permitting me, under circumstance of great mercy, to live to the age of 89 years and to survive the fiftieth year of American Independence, and certifying by my present signature my approbation of the Declaration of Independence, adopted by Congress on the Fourth day of July, 1776, to which I originally subscribed on the second day of August of the same year, and of which I am now the last surviving signer, I do hereby recommend to the present and future generations, the principles of that important document as the best earthly inheritance their ancestors could bequeath to them, and I pray that the civil and religious liberties they have secured to my country may be perpetuated to the remotest posterity, and extended to the whole family of man.

“CHARLES CARROLL, of Carrollton.”

On December 5, 1912, Mr. Baxter caused the foregoing article to be re-published in the New York Sun, with the following comment:

“How plainly the earnest words of Mr. Carroll’s attestation, with their religious fervor, indicate that they were written when the Declaration and the Constitution were sacred and revered documents, and not, as is the case in these politically wise days, simply subjects for criticism and fault finding.

“JOHN F. BAXTER.”



EARLY NEW YORK NEWSPAPERS

William Bradford, the first printer in the Middle Colonies, who set up a printing press in Philadelphia in 1685, and removed to New York in 1693 as printer for the government, on October 23, 1725, issued the first number of “The Gazette” the first newspaper published in New York city. It was a small sheet badly printed, and its contents were made up chiefly of government reports, laws, messages and speeches, with meagre foreign and domestic news, shipping items and advertisement. Already he had issued in Philadelphia the “Kalendarium Pennsylvaniae” for 1685 and published his tract “Appeal to the People” in 1691, which caused his press, type, etc., to be confiscated. Meantime there had been founded, three newspapers in Boston and Andrew Bradford, son of William Bradford, had established in Philadelphia, as early as 1709 the “American Weekly Mercurie.”

The supremacy of New York as a journalistic centre was slow in asserting itself, as both Philadelphia and Boston produced much more artistic and popular newspapers. Bradford held the field in New York for eight years, principally because he printed the laws of the province. In 1733 the best apprentice from his office, John Peter Zenger, left him to establish a rival journal. He was expert in the printer’s art, but had learned from his master none of his subservient loyalty to the powers that ruled the province. He had during his apprenticeship been a careful observer of the influence exerted by Governor Cosby in shaping the policy of the Gazette, and the incentive to start an opposition paper was largely due to his desire to further the

interests of the people and maintain the liberty of the press. In carrying out his radical plan he became antagonistic, not only to the views as expressed in the Gazette, but with those as well, held by the powers behind the Gazette. This condition resulted in the arrest of the editor and proprietor of the "New York Weekly Journal," the name given to his newspaper by Zenger, on a charge of criminal libel made by the government of the province on the grounds that Editor Zenger through his paper was seeking to alienate the affections of the people: "from the best of kings and raise factions, tumults and seditions among them."

As it was the first action of the kind ever undertaken on the Western Continent it created an intense excitement and called out a great popular protest. Zenger was held in jail with but little hope of a speedy trial, his accusers hoping to thus put to death the offending Journal. In this they were disappointed as the newspaper was continued, and each weekly issue was a further protest of the injustice of the prosecutors. The body of the brave sustainer of the rights of the people was held in prison, but his pen was busy, and its good work was seen in the columns of every successive weekly issue, and felt throughout the city and province as his ringing words of protest were read.

Nine months elapsed before he was brought to trial, August 4, 1735. Mr. Andrew Hamilton was counsel for the defendant, and he offered to prove the statements embraced in the alleged libel. This the court refused to allow, and the case went to the jury after a speech of remarkable vigor and eloquence in behalf of the defendant made by Mr. Hamilton. The jury brought in the unexpected verdict of not guilty, and at once the city went wild with excitement and manifestations of delight. The municipality voted to Editor Zenger the freedom of the city, presented in a gold box amid the applause of the audience, accompanied by the firing of cannon in the park. The scene was the dawn of independence, ushered in by the birth of the spirit that gave voice to the Declaration of July 4, 1776.

Opportunity was at the door of the office of the Journal, but its presence was not recognized by the released editor, and the spirit the incident created was allowed to slumber, and the New York Weekly Journal, unlike its contemporaries in Boston and

Philadelphia, did not swell the echoes of the applause that met the opposition to a free press, raised by an army of free men, and the paper died of slow starvation in its dingy basement office in New York city in 1752. It had few mourners and no successors and the now metropolis of America had no great journal to strengthen the hands of its patriots or join in the applause that ushered in the Declaration of Independence, both in Philadelphia and Boston.

When New York city was taken possession of by the British Army under General Howe in 1776, the few weak and irregularly issued newspapers, not avowedly Royalist, disappeared, and the Gazette was one of four weekly newspapers published under the sanction of the "Commander of the Royal Army." One of these was the Royal Gazetteer to which Major Andre was a regular contributor, and on the day he was captured at Tarrytown by the cow-boys, Paulding, Williams, and Van Wert and turned over to the commander of the Continental post at North Castle, a poem contributed to the Gazette appeared, entitled "The Cow Chase" the last verse of which read:

And now I've closed my epic strain
I tremble as I show it,
Let that same warrior-drover Wayne
Should ever catch the poet."

The circulation of the Royal Gazetteer at that time was about 3,000 copies. It was edited by James Rivington, who had established it as a loyal organ in 1762. While the British occupied New York the loyalty of the Gazetteer to the king was financially remunerative, and consequently Rivington was so outspoken that the patriots in the city mobbed the printing office twice. In 1782 the tone of the paper changed, as indicated by the following announcement: "The publisher of this paper, sensible that his zeal for the success of His Majesty's arms, his sanguine wishes for the good of his country and his friendship for individuals, have at times led him to credit and circulate paragraphs without investigating the facts so closely as his duty to the public demanded, trusting to their feelings, and depend-

ing on their generosity, he begs them to look over past errors and depend on future correction." As a further evidence of his change of policy, he removed the Royal Arms from over his office door and dropped the word "Royal" from title of the paper, making it read "Rivington's New York Gazette and Universal Advertiser," but even these radical concessions were of little avail, and this paper suspended the next year.

At the conclusion of peace Zenger's old paper was revived and published by John Holt as "The Independent Gazette" which was once or twice renamed, until it became the American Citizen, published daily, and the first organ of the Democratic party. This was not however the first daily newspaper published in New York, that honor belonging to the "Minerva," a paper started by the Federalists with Noah Webster as editor. The first copy was issued December 9, 1793, and soon after the "Minerva" became the "Commercial Advertiser" of which William L. Stone succeeded Noah Webster as editor, and he was in turn succeeded by Thurlow Weed, but it was not until Hugh J. Hastings and James Brooks successively became editors that the power of the paper was paramount as a powerful opponent to The Tribune as issued under the editorship of Horace Greeley.



JOHNSON'S IMPEACHMENT

General John B. Henderson, who proposed the Thirteenth Amendment, and was one of the seven Republican Senators who thwarted the attempt to "recall" President Johnson, has written for the December Century his recollections of "Emancipation and Impeachment"—a companion article to General Harrison Grey Otis' review of the events that led to the impeachment proceedings. Of the impeachment and his own attitude in voting against it he says: Article II, Section 4, of the Constitution provides that the President, Vice President and all civil officers of the United States shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other

high crimes and misdemeanors. Thus the principle of the recall, in very broad terms, has been written into our fundamental law. Human nature is such that the idea of resorting to this remedy originates first in the minds of political opponents. As applicable to Presidents, the recall was probably much desired by the enemies of John Adams, the second President, and of Andrew Jackson, the seventh. Fortunately it has actually been invoked only against the seventeenth President. Andrew Johnson, who owed his position to the recall by assassination of Abraham Lincoln. His impeachment, I believe, was due mainly to a counter-tide of passion, prejudice and political revenge. His trial formed a crisis in the life of the nation, the dangerous import of which may not yet be fully understood. His rescue from conviction by the narrow margin of one vote was followed by demands for the recall of the seven Republican senators who voted with the Democrats. I happened to be the youngest of the seven, though not the least berated. By the refusal of a re-election, all of the seven were retired to private life. Then out of several years of bitterness came the wisdom of reflection. Those who had reviled, began to praise and finally to utter words of thankfulness. Even some of the leaders of impeachment, in the calm of reason, have put on record frank confessions of error. Thus it has been my happiness to live to see the keenest disappointment of my public life transformed into its chief honor.

At the second inauguration of Lincoln I was chairman of the committee which escorted the President to the Capitol, and sat by his side while Andrew Johnson, after taking the oath as Vice-President, harangued the crowded Senate chamber. During the painful ordeal Mr. Lincoln's head dropped in the deepest humiliation. As I offered him my arm for the procession to the steps of the Capitol, where he delivered the inaugural, he turned to the marshal and said, "Don't let Johnson speak outside."

Senator Doolittle, who had escorted the Vice-President elect to the Capitol, told me that when they went into Mr. Hamlin's room Johnson said to the retiring Vice-President:

"Mr. Hamlin, I have been feeling very ill. Can you give me some good brandy?"

A bottle of French brandy was found, and to brace his nerves

for the task before him, he poured out the full glass that wrought the mischief. His reputation was that of a temperate man; and this was his only show of inebriety; but the scene was so deeply humiliating that a caucus of Senators a few days afterward seriously considered the propriety of asking him to resign as their presiding officer.

General Henderson then, after narrating a story told by President Lincoln at the time, based upon his own disuse of liquor and tobacco, describes his serious disagreements with General Grant and Senator Sumner on the question of impeachment which caused a break in his friendship with Senator Sumner, which lasted for several years, and was healed only when Sumner invited Henderson to dinner at the time the Santo Domingo controversy was at its height. General Henderson continues: I was a little surprised, but I went to his dinner, where I found a very good company. When I was ready to bid him good night he insisted on my staying, as he wished to talk with me; but I was reluctant, as I wanted to do some work before I went to sleep. Still he insisted, and after Senator Thurman, who lingered enjoying his cigar, had gone, Sumner said that he had desired for several years to have a private talk with me over the impeachment of Johnson. He then said impressively:

"I want to say that in that matter you were right and I was wrong."

"Mr. Senator," I answered, "I am very glad to hear you say so for my own satisfaction, and also on your own account, because your course was a disappointment. I believed that you would take ground against impeachment.

"That was my original impression," he replied, "but Johnson talked so foolishly, and was so abusive, I came to believe it would be just as well to turn him out." After a pause he repeated earnestly: "I didn't want to die without making this confession, that in the matter of impeachment you were right and I was wrong. But," he added, "if it is just as convenient to you, I would rather you would say nothing about it until I am dead—and I won't live many years."

A STUDY OF A RURAL COMMUNITY

The Express Printing Company of Lititz, Pa., announces the publication of "A Study of a Rural Community," by Charles Wm. Super, Ph.D., LL.D., former president of the Ohio University and author of History of the German Language and of contributions on Historical, Educational, Ethical and Philosophical topics to German-American and British periodicals. This valuable contribution to ethnological knowledge of the early Pennsylvania-Central portion of the State, were published in "The Pennsylvania-German settlements, and especially those of the Southvania-German," a monthly magazine edited by H. W. Kriebel, and contained in the January, February, March, and April numbers of 1911. In this form they attracted our attention, and we are glad that they proved so interesting and valuable as to induce Doctor Super to revise the series and publish them in book form for general distribution. In this series he has preserved with unvarying distinctness, reminiscences of three generations, the first contemporaneous with his grandfather, born in the eighteenth century, the second with his father, born early in the nineteenth century, and the third with his own, beginning before the middle of the nineteenth century. Of the latter he tells of what he saw as well as of what he learned.

As a student of ethnology, a keen observer of the present and a researcher into the past, Doctor Super brings to us in the pages of this "Study of a Rural Community" a rich mine of well arranged facts, interesting in every detail and not dull in a single particular. Its philosophy is such as we have all studied and thought out in our own lines, especially if like the reviewer we were brought up in the same environments, but we have hardly dared to call our reasoning philosophy. Our regrets that we did not draw out from our intimate associates of the first and second generation in our boyhood days all they knew of the two or three generations before are very kin to the thoughts and expressions of the author and there is a bond of sympathy that makes us drink in his words, applaud his skill in expressing our very thoughts, and put out to him our hand with a hearty, thank you, as we close the book, but to reopen it often as the lessons call

for a further elucidation from his skilled form of expression preserved by the type. It is a book to be read and handed to our children to read, especially if we hope to keep them wedded to the soil or brought back to it if they have been lured away. It is the very essence of rural life illuminated by a philosopher who has read the thoughts of every intelligent boy, brought up with the smell of the soil in his nostrils.



AMERICAN MANUFACTURERS

LAMB'S TEXTILE INDUSTRIES OF THE UNITED STATES. Editor-in-chief, John Howard Brown; managing editor, E. M. Norris. In Four Volumes. Vol. I, \$10. Boston: James H. Lamb Company.

The first volume of a series on the textile industries of this country contains much information of use to everyone interested in cotton manufacturing. Cotton is placed at the head of the textile manufactures of the world. Among the contributors are Daniel C. Roper and E. M. Norris, who tell the history of cotton production in the United States; C. M. Blaisdell and A. L. Smith, whose topics are Egyptian cotton and cotton ginning; W. W. Finley, who treats transportation in its relation to the cotton industry; William F. Draper, author of a history of spinning; George Crompton, who revised a history of weaving, and George O. Draper, who treats the subject of textile machinery. The evolution of the transmission of water-power is described by Charles T. Main; Sidney B. Paine discusses electric power as applied to textile machinery; F. W. Dean's contribution is on mill engineering, and the history of factory fire insurance is related by Frederick Downs. Other articles are on bleaching, dyeing and printing by L. Da Costa Ward, dyestuffs and dyeing industries by H. A. Metz, the coal tar dye industry by J. F. Schoellkopf, and cotton seed and its products by E. M. Norris. In Carl Gellei's sketch of cotton speculation in America is an account of the operations of Daniel Sully.

The biographical sketches of such men as Samuel Slater, George O. and William F. Draper, William W. Crapo, Frederick C. Sayles, John Crane Whitin, William Whitman, Stephen Greene and George Crompton are commendable in their freedom from excessive eulogy. The series promises to make one of the most important industrial works ever published in America.



HISTORIC NEW ENGLAND TOWNS REVISITED—OR BACK ON MY NATIVE HEATH

The above is the title of a series of contributions by the Rev. Andrew M. Sherman, of Morristown, N. J., the initial number of which will appear in the January, 1913, issue of AMERICANA.

This series will be descriptive of a visit recently made by the author and his brother to several of the old historic towns in the eastern part of the Old Bay State, including Bridgewater, Plymouth, Kingston, Duxbury and Marshfield, in the latter of which the author was born, and in the former of which he spent a part of his early boyhood.

Genealogy and history of great value, much of which has never before been in print, will be interspersed with incidents and anecdotes, and with reminiscences of the author, particularly of his early days in old Bridgewater.

The series will be illustrated with halftone engravings of building, private and public, and of interesting views and historic spots in the different towns visited by the author.



HISTORY OF THE JEWS IN AMERICA

New York, The Jewish Press Publishing Company, 1912

The author of this work, Mr. Peter Weinknik, has condensed in a handy volume of four hundred and thirty pages with an exhaustive index of nineteen pages, a mass of general information

that will be welcomed by every student of history, and found an indispensable addition to the library of every Jewish family in America.

The growth of these families in the United States from less than one thousand in 1813, to nearly as many million in 1913, is phenomenal. Mr. Wieknik does not devote much space to a consideration of the early history of the Jews in America, but fully elucidates the contemporaneous history of the Jew, as he becomes so large a factor in the life of the American Nation. The work is divided into seven parts: Part 1 deals with the Spanish and Portuguese Period; Part 2 with the Dutch and English Colonial Period; Part 3 with the Revolution and the Period of Expansion; Part 4 with the German Period of Immigration; Part 5 with the Civil War and the Formative Period; Part 6 with the Russian Period of Immigration, and Part 7 with the Twentieth Century, Present Condition. The work is illustrated with twenty-five portraits of prominent men and women, and a frontispiece illustrating Ezekiel's Statue of Religious Liberty, dedicated to the People of the United States by the order of B'Nai B'Ritt,, and erected in Fairmont Park, Philadelphia. The very reasonable price, \$1.50, as fixed by the publishers, insures for this work a very large sale.



DEATH OF WILLIAM H. DREW

William H. Drew, only son of Daniel Drew, famous as a New York financier in the 50's, and founder of Drew Theological Seminary, Madison, New Jersey, died at the Bloomingdale Asylum, White Plains, New York, on December 8, 1912. The burial was in Drewcliffe cemetery in South East, Putman county, where his father's remains rest. His only sister was Catherine D. Clapp. She died many years ago.

With the death of William H. Drew, the name of Drew, by right of descent from the great financier, becomes extinct.

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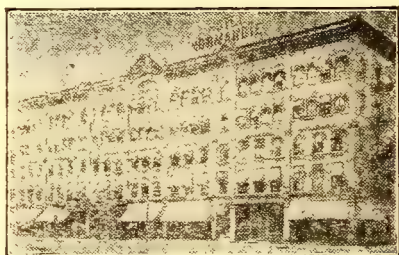
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